Police Culture in Malta

Thesis submitted in candidature for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2004

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DEDICATION

This thesis is especially dedicated to my beloved mother, Doris Cauchi Fiott, who sadly passed away at the start of my study. It is also dedicated to my dear husband, Mario, my son, Ramon and my father, Joseph Cauchi.

DECLARATION

This work has not been presented previously either wholly or in part for any other degree and is not being currently submitted for any other degree.

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This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by in text citations giving explicit reference. A bibliography is appended.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to my tutor, Mr Andrew Willis. I would not have been able to complete my work without his kind patience, perseverance, encouragement, availability and invaluable advice. I am also very grateful to the University of Malta for sponsoring my PhD.

Thanks are also due to the Commissioner of Police - Mr John Rizzo and the entire Malta police force, especially the police officers who diligently completed my questionnaire. This thesis would not have materialized had it not been for their generous collaboration. I am also very grateful to Professor Anthony Buhagiar and to Dr Maya Brinkworth for their precious guidance. I must also thank Ms Marie Azzopardi, my very diligent and reliable data-inputter.

Special thanks go to my husband, Mario who selflessly assisted me with the word-processing and the proofreading of this thesis. During the five years in which I compiled my thesis, I have had to face very difficult moments. I would not have been able to continue studying without his constant support. I must also thank my best friend Sandra Scicluna for being always there for me.

Finally, I must thank my precious son Ramon for his patience and support.

ABSTRACT

Police Culture in Malta

by

Jacqueline Azzopardi Cauchi

This dissertation is an attempt at identifying the threads that constitute and bind the complex tapestry of Maltese police culture. It describes police culture as understood by various authors, especially by Reiner (2000:87-101) however, it also describes police culture from the Maltese perspective. As Chan (1997:66) explains, there exist several 'cultures within a police force' and the culture of one police force varies from the next.

Police cultures do not originate in a vacuum but within dominant cultures. Thus, the dominant culture of a particular society determines the type of its police culture. Therefore, the recent political history of the Maltese islands influenced the nature of its police culture. Indeed, Maltese opinion leaders, Dom Mintoff in particular, moulded police occupational culture: verbal and physical harshness, political intolerance, fear, unconditional obedience for those in command, firmness and hard-headedness.

Reiner (1992:109) explains that police experiences are the building blocks of police culture. These serve as guidance to other police officers, helping them to deal with and adjust to the stress induced by policing. Successive generations of police officers absorb this culture, use it as a point of reference, transform it and carry it on to the next generation of police officers. Cox (1996:167-169) explains that police recruits are 'encouraged to treat other citizens encountered as "symbolic assailants"', basing their attitudes on stereotypes. Thus, since the 'cultural model of organisations emphasizes the underlying values, beliefs, and attitudes of organizational members' (Fyfe, Greene, Walsh, Wilson and McLaren, 1997:160), this thesis investigates the self-conceptions and the attitudes of Maltese police officers as well as their relationship with: the community, offenders, victims, the judiciary and corrections.

An insight into how Maltese police officers view society and their role within it facilitates the comprehension of their operating methods. Effective cultural change is not imposed: it comes from within the police force, triggered by the very officers who are constantly changing police culture (Chan, 1997:237). The findings of this study could pave the way for better police training and for the consequent improvements in Maltese policing.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is about police culture in Malta. It identifies the elements that constitute police culture in Malta and addresses the following questions: Does police culture exist? How does it originate and develop? How did the Maltese police culture originate and develop? Does every Maltese police officer share the same culture? Can it be modified?

The word "culture" is used widely. One hears about '… the culture of dependency, the culture of pain, the culture of amnesia … camera culture, gun culture, service culture, museum culture, deaf culture, football culture …' (Eagleton, 2000:37) and, as in this study, 'cop culture' (Reiner, 2000:87). The classical notion of culture (the arts), as a universal 'medium' (Eagleton, 2000:38), unified people. In contrast, the modern notion of culture emphasises differences between societal groups (Eagleton, 2000:38), fostering segregation. The modern idea of culture implies that a culture originates when a sizeable group of people 'begin to share speech-habits, folk lore, ways of proceeding, frames of value, a collective self-image' (Eagleton, 2000:37). Thus, in its modern sense, culture projects 'a distinctive way of seeing the world, but not necessarily a unique way of seeing' (Eagleton, 2000:37).

The concept of culture has acquired various interpretations over time. Consequently, the word "culture" may carry different meanings even within the various disciplines. In science, for example, it can signify a process and a product (Hebdige, 1997:358). During the 1800s, culture came to represent all that upheld human values. It incorporated efforts to collect, catalogue, exhibit and promote the valued masterpieces of humankind. Art and culture were considered synonyms. However, within two centuries, the concept of culture evolved to encapsulate the diversity of humanity composed of the numerous and varied races. The narrow, racist definition of culture was gradually removed to make way for the notion of a multi-cultural humanity. Now, people had the possibility of comprehending the various 'ways of life' (Clifford, 1997:64) that roamed the globe. The concept of culture was no longer reserved to the European masterpieces but included all races.

In turn, this new idea of culture forked itself further into two ramifications: the first found its roots in the classical and conservative field, finding its expression in activities associated with all forms of art, whereas the second ramification emerged from the study of humankind (Hebdige, 1997:358). The concept of culture became a

> … particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour. The analysis of culture, from such a definition, is the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture. (Williams, 1958 quoted in Hebdige, 1997:359).

It is precisely this notion of culture that has been adopted in this research. Makin, Cooper and Cox (1996:247) believe that in the same way that a multi-cultural globe became acceptable, one could also accept the notion that every organisation has its culture. These authors also postulate that since organisations are found in the midst of 'national cultures, they can also be considered as sub-cultures'. Schein (1984 quoted in Makin et al., 1996:247) describes organisational culture as:

> … the pattern of basic assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, and that have worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to these problems.

Therefore, organisational culture is constituted by the unofficial, undocumented regulations, which are adopted by employees in their conduct and attitudes. This unwritten code of behaviour is that which varies the conduct of employees in one organisation from that of employees in another organisation (Wilk, 1989 quoted in Makin et al.., 1996:247).

A common assumption made by scholars in this field is that culture is composed of different elements, which exist at differing measures of consciousness. Basic assumptions are very deeply ingrained within individuals' cultural construction. These comprise unconscious generalisations on ascribed suitable conduct and physical/verbal responses in particular circumstances. Basic assumptions trigger automatic reactions from individuals as they are internalised and accepted unquestionably.

Values occupy the second level of a person's unconscious luggage of behavioural instructions. Values regulate an individual's perception of how things should be and what deserves priority in an organisation. Persons may generally act without making the conscious effort of referring to values however, if challenged, most people would quote them. One finds norms on the brink of consciousness. These serve as guidance for suitable conduct in diverse organisational circumstances. Finally, in Schein's (1985 cited in Makin et al., 1996:248) levels, one finds artefacts. These tangible guides symbolise the organisational culture. They comprise: the example provided by others, actual written rules, procedures and organisational styles.

Sackmann (1991 cited in Chan, 1997:68) defines culture as 'the collective construction of social reality'. According to Chan (1997:68), culture comprises every type of structured knowledge held collectively by individuals. In Chan's (1997:68) model, organisational culture occupies four levels: 'dictionary knowledge' – providing the meaning of things and events within an organisation; 'directory knowledge' – which could be considered as an instruction manual of how to operate within the organisation; 'recipe knowledge' – which commands

particular procedures in particular circumstances; and 'axiomatic knowledge' – which stands for the basic assumptions that justify the organisation's modus operandi. This knowledge is usually nurtured and perpetrated by the organisation's high officials thus determining the fate of the organisation especially in relation to how it would evolve or devolve. Sometimes, this knowledge is amended but usually this only happens after a thorough assessment exercise.

Sackmann (1991 cited in Chan, 1997:68) agrees that cultural knowledge finds its expression in groups more than in individual persons. Chan (1997:68) claims that this knowledge is the result of social interaction. Thus, it may be altered and promulgated 'by organisational processes through repeated applications. In time, these cognitions are imbued with emotions and acquire degrees of importance; they also become 'habits' of thoughts that translate into habitual actions' (Chan, 1997:68).

Fyfe, Greene, Walsh, Wilson and McLaren (1997:160) state that the 'cultural model of organisations emphasizes the underlying values, beliefs, and attitudes of organizational members.' They claim that 'cultures produce language, symbols, heroes, villains, and myths' (Fyfe et al., 1997:160). Thus, the comprehension of a particular organisation's culture leads to a better understanding of that organisation – in this study, the police. Skolnick (1994:41) explains how the unique characteristics of policing, 'danger, authority and efficiency', generate police culture, insisting that police officers exhibit 'distinctive cognitive tendencies'. Fyfe et al. (1997:160) claim that the 'occupational culture of policing has often been associated with a mixed set of values and attitudes.' Reiner (1992:109) refers to police culture as 'the values, norms, perspectives and craft rules …' Erickson et al. (1987 quoted in Chan, 1997:69) consider police culture as a 'tool kit' for officers. Chan (1997:70) maintains that 'transmission of this culture is not by a process of socialisation and internalisation of rules, but through a collection of stories … which instruct officers on how to see the world and act in it.' Police culture thus provides law enforcement officers with model policing procedures of specific cases. These model answers extinguish police officers' need to seek the truth thus restricting their insight in particular cases. Consequently, often law enforcers reach biased and prejudiced conclusions which are justified by preceding police stories (Chan, 1997:70).

Fyfe et al. (1997:113) stress that only the comprehension of the culture of an organisation enables one to fully comprehend 'the attachments people have to the organisation and to their own goals.' In turn, this knowledge enables authorities to understand each employee's motivation. Reiner (1992:107) claims that one has to understand police culture to effectively analyse policing procedures and police officers' 'political function'.

A commonly held misconception is that police officers use criminal justice departmental law as points of reference when conducting police work. Smith (1986:88) postulates 'that rules may also come from other sources, for example from the occupational culture'. Hence, criminal justice laws and departmental criterion are generally assigned marginal importance in police work (Reiner, 1992:107). In fact, Reiner (1992:107) claims that 'A central tenet of the highly practical culture of policing is that "you can't play it by the book"'.

Fyfe et al. (1997:43) stress that it is very difficult for one to find the same circumstances repeatedly in communities. Consequently, one cannot expect to find police procedural regulations to govern every situation. As a result, one could hardly expect law enforcement officers to avoid using discretion in their work. Reiner (1992:108) postulates that the police operate 'in accordance with situational exigencies.'

Unwritten regulations are not clearly and strongly defined. Police officers are guided by the examples of others that have already experienced similar cases. Reiner (1992:109) concludes that police culture has evolved into a categorised collection of experiences that are constantly referred to in police work. Thus, police culture enables police officers to 'cope with and adjust to the pressures and tensions that confront the police' (Reiner, 1992:109). This culture is promulgated from one generation of police officers to the next. However, law enforcers do not merely accept it passively. Instead, they continue to develop and divulge it through their interactions.

Makin et al. (1996:247) claim that the concept of culture has developed from agriculture and the maturation of crop. Therefore, when one carries this analogy to the concept of police culture, one expects organisational styles and culture to differ geographically and chronologically. Reiner (1992:136) however adds that, not only does one find several similarities when comparing the police cultures over time, but also when comparing the police culture of countries all over the world. This thesis sheds light on whether the same can be said about police culture in Malta.

Chapter 1 explores the various meanings of the word "culture". Chapters 2 and 3 constitute the literature review. Chapter 2 deals with the internal world of police culture. It explains why Reiner's (2000: 87-101) notion of police culture is adopted as the structural mould of this thesis, including the key categories of: police officers' strong sense of mission, police suspicion, the isolation and solidarity of the police force and police conservatism.

However, a mere discussion of the core themes (the nature of policing and the police officers' sense of mission, suspicion as one of the job-requirements of police officers, group

cohesion within the police force, police conventionalism, patriarchy within the police force, police racism and the police as pragmatists) does not cover all the components of police culture. The nature of interactions between the police and the various sections of society is important. Chapter 3 deals with the intricate relationship that exists between the police and society. It describes the attitude of the police towards: youths, victims of crime, victims of domestic violence (partners, children and the elderly), informers, members of different social classes, other criminal justice partners and law offenders. It also reveals how these attitudes are cultivated by police culture.

Chapter 4 explains the methodology of the study of police culture in Malta, as an end in itself but also to enable replication (Dooley, 1995:55). Chapters 5, 6 and 7 constitute the discussion of the research findings: Chapter 5 tackles the components of police culture in Malta; Chapter 6 deals with conservatism and police culture in Malta; and Chapter 7 describes the relationship between Maltese police officers and the public.

Chapters 5 and 6 compare and contrast findings with what Reiner (2000:87-101) considers as the elements of police culture: a strong sense of mission, action, cynicism, pessimism, suspicion, isolation, solidarity with colleagues, pragmatism and conservatism. Chapter 6 is a discussion of Maltese police officers' conservatism. It explains how this nature could have been formed and accentuated by the recent political history of the Maltese islands, particularly under the rule of Dominic Mintoff (Prime Minister of Malta in the years 1955-58, 1971-84).

Chapter 7 reviews the interactions between the Malta police force and various sections of society, including: youths, members of different social classes races, offenders, the elderly, victims of crime and of domestic violence, informants, other criminal justice professionals, and Maltese police officers' attitudes on sentencing practices. Chapter 7 opens a window on the social world of Maltese police officers. Chapter 8 offers a synthesis of the results, discussing the most salient findings

Chan (1997:12) describes how an 'occupational culture' emerges from the very nature of policing. Manning (1977 cited in Chan, 1997:12) explains that this culture comprises a variety of unofficial suppositions, ideals, and traditional, routine practice that tends to substitute regulations and official training. This thesis exposes and discusses numerous ideas on police culture. Nevertheless, since several authors concur on the core elements of police culture, and since Reiner's (2000:87-101) model appropriately summarises and incorporates the views of these authors, enriching them with his own, this thesis adopts Reiner's (2000:87-101) model of police culture. This study offers insight into police culture in Malta by exploring the self-

conceptions and attitudes of Maltese police officers as well as their relationship with society and their criminal justice partners. This leads to a better understanding of their conceptual world and professional practice – hopefully contributing to improved policing in Malta.

Chapter 2: The Internal World of Police Culture

Police work 'involves an evident diversity of tasks and activities' and is 'often full of ambiguity' (Wright, 2002:4). Chan (1997:12) explains how every contact of the police with the public involves a 'moral judgement of their social risk' and the possible use of force. Chan (1997:12) describes how an 'occupational culture' emerges from these circumstances. Manning (1977 cited in Chan, 1997:12) holds that this culture comprises a variety of 'informal assumptions, values, and accepted practices that tend to circumvent or defy legal rules and formal instructions.' This chapter reviews conceptions of police culture, teasing out common denominators and concludes that Reiner's (2000:87-101) model offers the most appropriate framework for an empirical study of police culture in Malta.

Several researchers have tried to identify the key ingredients of police culture. Warren and James (2000:33) explain how Skolnick and Fyfe actually identified interconnected elements of policing that comprised the 'working personality of the police officer'. Policing combines the exercise of authority, hostility towards the public and a constant sense of danger (Skolnick, 1994:46). Warren and James (2000:34) claim that 'danger and authority give rise to a need for police officers to develop a sense of suspiciousness'. They use this sense to identify perilous situations and protect themselves, their colleagues and the public. In turn, this enables them to nourish a sense of internal solidarity. Ericson and Haggerty (1997 cited in Kendall and Wickham, 2001:103) see police culture as a product of the 'risk society', feeding on fear and the social distribution of negativity. They also see it as reflecting a 'knowledge society', where there is an obsessive concern for detail and where information is disclosed with great caution. Kendall and Wickham (2001:104) consider these as 'wild general claims'.

More helpfully, Skolnick and Fyfe (Warren and James, 2000:34) believe that police culture comprises four elements: 'danger, authority, suspicion and solidarity'. According to them (Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993 quoted in Chan, 1997:45), the 'fundamental culture of policing is everywhere similar … since … the same features of the police role – danger, authority, and the mandate to use coercive force – are everywhere present'. Reiner (2000:87-101) claims that police culture is composed of the following elements: a strong sense of mission, action, cynicism, pessimism, suspicion, isolation, solidarity with colleagues, pragmatism and conservatism. Smith and Gray (1983 cited in Heindensohn, 1995:78) identified: initiation rituals, group solidarity and discipline. However, further research conducted by them reveals different key elements: 'gross machismo … characterized by four elements: alcohol, violence, sex, and a lack of human sympathy'. Chan (1997:44) maintains that policing reflects a 'siege mentality' and requires a 'code of silence', and that both contribute to secrecy and to the

toleration of police malpractice. Shearing and Ericson (1991 cited in Waddington, 1999:106) give no importance to the commonly cited ingredients of police culture (machismo, racism and sexism), nor do they believe that police culture reflects reactions to specific situations, such as danger. They maintain that police culture acts as a guide to successful performance, and that it is transmitted by symbolisms found in stories told and re-told by police officers.

The notion of police culture has been challenged. Eagleton (2000:37) thinks that 'culture' is a loose term seeking to encapsulate an array of interests 'reflecting the fragmentation of modern life' whilst police culture is 'both too nebulous and too exclusive' to be useful. Waddington (1999:106) points to some apparently major flaws of the concept of police culture. He claims that even if one accepts Shearing and Ericson's model of culture, one cannot prove that police officers would still choose to be guided by their particular culture, over the dominant social culture. Waddington also claims that police culture might not even be the only source of police inspiration. Waddington holds that advocates of the idea of police culture seem to unquestionably accept that policing is a profession only suitable for the cunning and perspicacious. In contrast, he points to the fact that the officers conducting regular, on-the-beat duties are usually the youngest and least experienced and 'lack … subtlety and insight'. Finally, Waddington (1999:106) emphasises that even if Shearing and Ericson's model of police culture actually determines police performance, it is very difficult to prove empirically.

Warren and James (2000:34) cite two main problems: the supposition of 'uniformity and homogeneity in values, experiences and beliefs' and the 'overly deterministic' element of the culture that allegedly guides police officers. They refute the idea of a single police culture and hold that there are multiple 'values and beliefs' within police forces and that officers make 'autonomous and accountable decisions', which may or may not conform to the law; but they do not rebut the idea of police culture. On the contrary, they consider it a vital dimension that 'help shape the ways in which police officers make sense of their experiences and make decisions in their everyday work practices' (Warren and James, 2000:34).

To claim that police culture is 'everywhere similar' (Skolnick and Fyfe 1993 quoted in Chan, 1997:45) is to claim too much. It forecloses all the possibility of variance between police forces, within forces and between individual police officers. Heidensohn (1995:77) states that there 'appears to be considerable diversity within and between police cultures'. Waddington (1999:105) warns against the 'dangers' of considering police culture as 'homogenous and monolithic' whilst insisting that 'individual police organizations' create and nourish 'their own distinctive culture'. Waddington illustrates the possibility of circumstance-induced police cultures by reference to the Los Angeles Police Department's apparent adoption of the culture of violence (excessive coercive force) following the Rodney King incident. Websdale and

Johnson (1997 cited in Waddington, 1999:105) point to the attitudinal differences between urban and rural police, claiming that urban police officers seem to be more distant from the public and 'inward looking'. Others (Manning, 1993 quoted in Chan, 1997:66) discuss the hierarchical divisions – 'command, middle-management, and lower participants' – within police forces and their respective cultures. Fielding (1995 cited in Waddington, 1999:105) insists that, the culture of the lower policing ranks even varies according to the jobs performed by each officer. There are also cultural differences between the so-called, elite groups such as the investigative departments and the quasi-military sections, as well as between the other sections such as the traffic division and the canine section (Waddington, 1999:105).

Gender also gives rise to cultural differences or clashes within the police force. Heidensohn (1995:79) explains that gender figures prominently because of the need to account for the 'macho character' in policing. Reiner (2000:97) points to the existence of a dominant police culture premised on 'old-fashioned machismo'. Hunt (1984 quoted in Martin and Jurik, 1996:63) stresses that, 'the policeman's world constitutes a symbolic universe permeated with gender meanings'. Clarke (1992:6) distinguishes male and female values, where the former reflect the dominant police culture. Marshall (1991 cited in Clarke, 1992:6) goes further and argues that women's values have been obliterated.

In view of this diversity, Waddington (1999:105) argues that 'culture – as a set of shared artefacts – almost disappears entirely and the monolith crumbles into a pile of rubble.' This is too dismissive. Chan (1997:69) points to the oversimplification of supposing that police officers are inert creatures shaped by an omnipotent, monolithic police culture. Shearing and Ericson (cited in Chan, 1997:69) insist that, instead of allowing themselves to be passively socialised into police culture, police officers actively construct their culture and use it as a guide to performance. Chan (1997:69) usefully refers to police culture as a 'tool-kit' used in the construction of order in the on-the-job lives of police officers. This thinking retains the concepts of police culture and variations within it, but it allows police officers to show autonomy and initiative within it. Culture becomes compatible with diversity rather than the single determinant of police behaviour.

The social theory of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1996:149 and Chan, 1997:70) explains the development of cultural practice with the use of two key terms: the 'field and the habitus'. It offers a more dynamic interpretation of police culture. Bourdieu theorises that society comprises a collection of independent fields each of which is a 'social space of conflict and competition where participants struggle to establish control'. During this fight, the participants alter the constitution of the very field. Hence, in Bourdieu's view, each field is a construct of possibilities – of benefits, rewards or penalties – however, within it is an element of

'indeterminacy' (Bourdieu, 1990 quoted in Chan, 1997:71). Adapted to policing, this theory explains the history-old interactions between particular social factions and the police. This field is bound to the legal and discretionary powers entrusted to the police as well as to society's material resources. Habitus is a system of 'dispositions' that ingrain past experience and make it possible for people to deal with a variety of unpredictable circumstances (Wacquant, 1992 cited in Chan, 1997:71). Thus, Bourdieu does not perceive culture as an object but explains it in terms of relations. Consequently, the habitus and the field operate successfully only in relation to each other. Policing tactics and modus operandi emanate from the habitus but they are activated by the encounter with a particular field or circumstance.

For Chan (1997:71-3) the habitus comprises police 'cultural knowledge', incorporating both 'commonsense' and 'policing skills', whilst the field is made up of the 'structural conditions' under which policing takes place. She claims that people have long acknowledged the intimate connection that exists between police culture and police working conditions since it is believed that police culture has 'developed as a way of coping with the danger and unpredictability of police work.' However, Chan warns against the danger of misusing this theory and simplistically presenting police practice as merely the product of structural conditions (field) and cultural knowledge (habitus). She explains how such an interpretation would ignore the fact that police officers are 'active participants in the construction and reproduction of cultural knowledge and institutional practice'. Chan (1997:73) warns against the naïve view leading to the mistaken belief that 'it is possible to change cultural knowledge and police practice simply by changing structural conditions'. She explains how 'the active role of "police actors"… forms a crucial link between these elements,' refuting the ideas that structural conditions totally establish cultural knowledge, cultural knowledge dictates practice and that police officers are 'passive carriers of police culture'. Instead, she (Chan, 1997:73) insists that police officers 'have an active role to play in developing, reinforcing, resisting or transforming cultural knowledge.'

Chan's (1997:66) arguments, that police culture is in continuous metamorphosis and that police officers are its zealous sculptors busily shaping and re-shaping it, are persuasive. So is Reiner's (2000:87) conclusion that the components of police culture are not over-powering, neither the same world-over nor static. Reiner (2000:87) even acknowledges that there are cultural divergences according to 'individual variables as personality, generation, or career trajectory, and structured variations according to rank, assignment, and specialization.' In addition, he explains that police culture also varies geographically and chronologically. There are unofficial regulations but they are not conspicuous or concretely recorded. Reiner (2000:87)

holds that these rules are 'embedded in specific practices and nuances according to particular concrete situations and the interactional processes of each encounter'.

Following Skolnick and Fyfe (1993 quoted in Chan, 1997:45), Reiner (2000:87) highlights commonalities in police culture. Eagleton (2000:37) is less convinced about the over-use of culture. Waddington (1999:106) argues that it is very difficult to prove that police officers are guided by police culture and not by the dominant culture in their particular society. If the 'police are the public and the public are the police' (Peel, 1829 quoted in Peak and Glensor, 1996:1), meaning that the members of the police force are also members of a society, police culture runs in parallel with the dominant culture of that particular society. In fact, police culture may be considered as a subculture of society at large. A subculture is a 'subdivision within the dominant culture that has its own norms, beliefs, and values' (Adler, Mueller and Laufer, 1995:136). Adler et al. (1995:136) explain that subcultures ensue when individuals living in analogous situations and conditions 'find themselves isolated from the mainstream'. Consequently, they unite and maintain each other. Therefore, subcultures 'exist within a larger society, not apart from it' and thus 'share some of its values' (Adler et al., 1995:136). Hence, whereas police officers are not immune to the dominant culture of their society, they still develop their own, particular culture that may have its roots in the same dominant culture. This supports Waddington (1999:106) when he doubts whether 'police sub-culture is the exclusive or even prime source of cultural influence.' The dominant culture of a society might very well be the key to police culture. Waddington (1999:106) also questions the existence of police culture by noting that supporters accept the notion that policing is a profession suited for the shrewd and the sagacious when most routine jobs are conducted by the youngest who lack experience, 'subtlety and insight'. This view of young police officers does not invalidate the notion of police culture. Subcultural theories (Adler et al., 1995:136 and Brown, 1998:32-33) suggest that these young police officers may, in turn, form their own subculture; but this subculture would still be part of the wider police culture.

Despite the controversy regarding the origin, nature, diversity, dynamics and significance of police culture, there 'seems to be widespread agreement that it exists …' (Heidensohn, 1995:78). There is debate about its key characteristics, but there are strong arguments, following Chan (1997:66) that 'a theory of police culture should account for the existence of multiple cultures within a police force and variation in cultures among police forces'. In turn, police cultures are influenced and shaped by the dominant cultures within which they exist. The dominant culture of a particular society determines the nature of the culture of its police. Exploration of police culture in Malta needs to be set in the context of Malta's modern political history. This is supported by Shelley's (1999 in Mawby, 1999:76)

insistance that 'it is impossible to analyse policing in the post-Soviet states without addressing the Soviet legacy' since political forces have a strong effect on the policing of a particular country.

Maltese Modern Political History

The Maltese archipelago has passed from one foreign rule to another, including occupation and colonisation by the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Arabs, the Knights of St. John, the French and finally, the British. Malta remained officially a British colony until the 21st of September 1964 when it was finally granted independence. The last British troops left Malta on the 31st of March 1979.

Some would hate to admit it, but the main contributor to contemporary Maltese culture may well be Dominic Mintoff – Malta's prime minister between 1955-1958 and 1971-1983. Mintoff was born in "Bormla", an industrial centre situated in the middle of the Grand Harbour, in 1916. He was of humble origins, actively embracing and promoting the working-class culture throughout his political career. Boissevain (1994:411) claims that 'Mintoff unquestionably had … charisma'. Schein (1997:229) emphasises the importance of charisma and the 'mysterious quality of a leader's ability to communicate major assumptions and values in a vivid and clear manner'. Boissevain (1994:411) continues by describing Mintoff as: '… firm, rarely admitting error, consulting with few … like the traditional Maltese father – aloof, manly, harsh and looked after his own ... physically tough …'. When faced by opposition, Mintoff threatened. Futile bluff was certainly not his style. In 1998, at the venerable age of 82, Mintoff caused the collapse of the 22-month-old New Labour government, claiming it was ill-treating the working class and ignoring his advice. This is precisely what transformed Mintoff, leader of the Malta Labour Party until 1984, into a 'cult object', adulated by the Maltese working class which considered him as a 'man's man' and '… an undisputed leader' (Boissevain, 1994:412). Mintoffians (his supporters) worshipped him as their powerful idol and obeyed him blindly. Mintoff became their role model. They faithfully emulated his way of dress and style. Their support seemed dangerously religious. They even referred to Mintoff as 'Salvatur' (Saviour) (Boissevain, 1994:412). Unconditional support and blind allegiance was evident in a letter from a staunch Labour Party supporter, published in 'it-Torca' (17 July, 1977), which appealed to Mintoff to teach supporters how to shoot in order to defend the Labour Party from its rivals. Political violence broke out in the late 1970s and escalated in the 1980s.

Frendo (1991:214) argues that making independence work in Malta was 'never easy' due to a combination of factors, including its small size, limited material resources and lack of

experience in self-government. Before 1971, Malta had a Nationalist government headed by Dr George Borg Olivier. Frendo (1991:214) maintains that, while Mintoff's Malta Labour Party was animated by his charisma, Borg Olivier's Nationalist Party was kept alive by 'traditional allegiances and networks, the electorate's presumed common sense, and distrust or fear of Mintoff …' The Nationalists represented traditional values. Their relationship with the working class was almost non-existent even to the extent that they did not use the same language (Frendo 1991:212). In turn, the working class regarded the Nationalists as elitists and as Catholic bigots.

Political differences were to lead to violence. In 1971 the Labour Party won the general elections and Mintoff became prime minister. Malta became a socialist state that grew under the influence of Soviet Union socialism. Between 1971 and 1987 (under Labour governments) Maltese society became increasingly polarised. Extremists from both parties clashed, transforming the Maltese roads into battlefields. The late 1970s and the 1980s were characterised by disorder, violence, frame-ups and torture. Maltese society began to tear itself apart. There were oppressors and victims, with some naïve bystanders. The litany of conflict was both ugly and damaging:

1977 (3rd June): All the Maltese medical doctors who had obeyed a strike ordered by their union, were locked-out by the Labour government.

1977 (28th December): Karen Grech, the daughter of a Labour Minister, was murdered after she accidentally opened a letter-bomb which was destined for her father.

1979 (15th October): The residence of the then leader of the opposition, the Hon. Dr Eddie Fenech Adami, was ransacked.

1979 (15th October): The offices of a Maltese, English language daily newspaper, "The Times of Malta" were burned down.

1980 (30th July): Nardu Debono was killed at the Police Headquarters while in custody.

1980 (20th December): The nuns of the order of the Blue Sisters were extradited.

1981 (3rd January): The Labour government suspended the judges for five weeks.

1981 (15th December): The Labour Party was reinstated after getting a majority of parliamentary seats but a minority of votes. This caused a public outcry however, according to the Maltese constitution, as it was then, the Labour Party had the right to govern.

1982 (23rd August): A bomb was planted at the Nationalist Party's headquarters.

1983 (25th September): A bomb was placed at the Archbishop's Palace.

1983 (27th November): The Nationalist Party headquarters were raided by the police.

1984 (19th September): Maltese teachers went on strike, were locked-out and replaced by unqualified Labour supporters.

1984 (25th September): Mintoffians ransacked the headquarters of the Malta Union of Teachers.

1984 (28th September): Labour thugs ransacked the Archbishop's curia situated right in front of the Malta Police headquarters. They were undisturbed by the police.

1984 (28th September): Labour thugs ransacked and burned the Malta Law Courts.

1984 (22nd December): Dom Mintoff resigned from Prime Minister and was replaced by Dr Karmenu Mifsud Bonnici who had not even contested the General Elections.

1986 (30th November): The Prime Minister did not allow the Nationalists to hold a meeting at Zejtun – a Labour stronghold. The Malta Law Courts issued this permit declaring that the Nationalist Party had the constitutional right to deliver its message anywhere on the islands of Malta. Thus, the meeting was organised however, Labour thugs greeted the approaching Nationalists with ballistic displays and barricades. Vehicles were set on fire and shots were fired. Some Nationalists reacted violently while others fled to safety, creating a stampede. Many people were injured. Luckily, no one was killed. The police were incapacitated either from a lack of human and material resources or from a lack of motivation to act.

1987 (5th April): The police shot in the direction of Nationalist supporters, which were gathered at a meeting at Rabat.

1987 (12th May): The Nationalist Party won the General Elections. The Mintoffian era was over.

Although political persuasion could colour one's interpretation of these events, most would agree that the police of that time were unable to control the Mintoffian thugs. This may have been due in part to a lack of material and human resources, and inadequate expertise. Some officers may have feared violent retaliation had they acted. Other officers were loyal to the Labour Party either condoning violence against Nationalist supporters or actively engaged in it (Darmanin, 1996:227). The public image of the police in Malta was badly damaged, and arguably, its effects are still evident today.

The Maltese constable's image as protector of the weak faded and was replaced by that of a gangster – or agent – at the service of the Labour government. The respect once enjoyed by the Malta police was transformed into fear and distrust. Although it is difficult to find a politically neutral account of policing during this period, it is undeniable that the police commissioner, Dr Lawrence Pullicino, was charged with having contributed to the violent death of Nardu Debono (whilst the latter was in custody), when it was his precise duty to prevent such an abuse from happening. He was also charged with having committed an act of perjury when a magisterial inquiry was being held after the discovery of Debono's corpse ('In-Nazzjon Taghna', 10th March, 1993). The ex-police commissioner was convicted and sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment. Contemporary police culture in Malta is heavily predicated on malign neglect (at best) or active political hooliganism (at worst).

The Mintoffian era can be described as the glory days of the Maltese working class. Mintoff knew how to use the 'cultural resources' that he shared with his supporters: language, 'humour and folk wisdom' (Boissevain, 1994:409/410). He very skilfully communicated and actively glorified the working class values of common sense, rationality, unity, anti-intellectualism, husbandry, ingenuity and masculinity. Mintoff was seen to have driven the British off the island because they would not meet his terms (Boissevain, 1994:412) and to have emancipated the Maltese working class from British rule and Victorian values. This view does not go unchallenged. Darmanin (1996:14) claims that Mintoff actually extended the British stay from 1974 to 1979 until the contract for using Malta as a military base ran out.

The Mintoffian era established socialist culture as the dominant culture. The lower classes emerged from passive submission and imposed their values: trouble, toughness, smartness, fate and autonomy (Miller, 1958 in Vold and Bernard, 1986:214). The whole population was affected and members of the Malta police force did not remain immune. The Labour government imported soviet-style policing (Borg, 2001:6) which originated in Moscow but was 'exported throughout … socialist societies' rendering the Malta police force 'a militarized body suppressing political opposition' (Shelley in Mawby, 1999:76). Since the 'police are the public and the public are the police' (Peel, 1829 in Peak and Glensor, 1996:1) it is very probable that the Malta police force also adopted the following cultural elements: verbal and physical harshness, intolerance, fear, unconditioned obedience of those in command, authoritarianism, firmness, hard-headedness, pragmatism, thrift, patriarchy and paternalism.

Governments 'develop police forces' that are 'suited to their emergent political systems' (Shelley in Mawby, 1999:75). In 1987, Malta found itself with a police force and certainly not with a police service. Lord Scarman claims that '… when a community becomes resentful and restless and there is widespread loss of confidence in the police, the particular

circumstances may require a review of police methods' (Benyon, 1986a:23). This happened in Malta. A 1998 survey, commissioned by the Malta police force concluded that: 'Following a period in the eighties where the public image was somewhat negative, there has been a conscious effort on the part of the Police to improve their image and to gain the trust of the public' (Survey of the General Population: Malta Police force Modernisation Programme, Management Efficiency Unit, 1998). This survey ends on a very positive note: it claims that the endeavours of the Malta police to redeem its image may finally be 'bearing fruit'. The survey reveals that women, the elderly, the less affluent and those from low socio-economic backgrounds have a positive attitude towards the Malta police. Other groups were much more negative in their assessment, especially: youths (18-34 years), persons with a high level of education and those coming from high socio-economic sections. These differences may be a legacy from the 1980s. Under the Mintoffian Labour government, the police were regarded as protectors of the working class. Perhaps this explains why the less affluent individuals, from modest socio-economic backgrounds regard the Malta police positively, in contrast with individuals belonging to the middle and upper classes.

Political and policing legacies from the 1980s have contemporary relevance. Falzon (2001 in Borg, 2001: vii) claims that during the 1980s the Maltese lived in fear, deprived of liberty and democracy. Borg (2001:1) explains how this period was characterised by violence, political murders and abuse of power by a group of police officers, giving a detailed account of the cases of police malpractice. This decade left an indelible scar on policing in Malta. Shelley (1999 in Mawby, 1999:76) claims that 'All the former socialist states are left with a common legacy: demoralized and corrupted police forces with little or no respect for citizens' rights.' Thus, although liberty and democracy have been restored in Malta, strong elements of the Mintoffian cultural heritage probably live on in Maltese police culture: verbal and physical harshness, intolerance, fear, unconditional obedience of those in command, firmness, hard-headedness, pragmatism, thrift, patriarchy and paternalism. Reiner (2000:89-100) offers a specific and all-inclusive list of the ingredients of police culture that bear a strong resemblance to the Mintoffian legacy: 'a sense of mission, suspicion, isolation/solidarity, conservatism, machismo, pragmatism and racial prejudice'. A list that could also be used to describe those that, for sixteen years, led Malta and that consequently shaped the modern Maltese police force.

A strong sense of mission

The focal point of police culture is the strong sense of mission as perceived by police officers themselves (Reiner, 2000:89 and Reiner, 1992:111). Milton (1974 quoted in Horne, 1980:74) stresses that '… the favored image is that of an armed man of action continuously involved in the fighting of crimes and criminals' – the product of 'myths about the nature of

policing' (Heidensohn, 1992:99), efficiently created and perpetuated by the media. Deaux, Dane and Wrightsman (1988:150) claim that 'the media … [is a] … powerful source of attitudes' capable of creating attitudes and reinforcing existing ones. Benyon (1986b:46) argues that television 'projects unreal images and expectations into millions of homes', depicting a false impression of police work. Reiner (1992:184) claims that television gives the impression that law-enforcers always 'solve or foil crime(s) … through the exercise of remarkable personal skill and daring.' However, this may not be a true reflection of real policing.

Reiner (2000:108 and 1992:138) argues that initially, two political mythologies about police work existed: the law and order myth and the repressive state apparatus myth. The first depicts the police force as an efficient machine for preventing and detecting criminal acts. Through this perspective, police officers are considered as strictly law-enforcers. The second myth presents the police force as a repressive political force, leading people to crime because of its labelling techniques. However, Reiner (2000:108 and 1992:138) believes that these two mythologies have been replaced by a third one: 'a consensual, community myth' – a myth since it has not been empirically tested.

Reiner (2000:109) maintains that the police role has always been the subject of intense discussions. Is the police organisation a force (police officers as law-enforcer) or a service (police officers as social workers)? Reiner (2000:111) holds that 'most police-work is neither social service nor law enforcement, but order maintenance'. Lord Scarman insists that the main mission of the police is 'to cooperate with others in maintaining "the normal state of society"… the maintenance of public tranquillity comes first' (Benyon, 1986a:35). Yet, it is evident that several law enforcers reserve very little consideration for this service role and fail to perceive it as their real mission (Benyon, 1986a:27). Instead, police officers consider themselves as 'the thin blue line' (Reiner, 1992:112) actively protecting social order by rising up to anyone who challenges their authority. They consider themselves indispensable protectors of the community and thus loyally forfeit their right for industrial action. However, British police officers have been financially compensated for this since 1978 when the Edmund-Davies pay formula was introduced. Reiner (1992:113) shatters police officers' conviction that society cannot afford doing away with their services by citing examples of police strikes elsewhere which did not result in a break down of social order. However, one should be aware of the self-perception of the police force to be able to see the social world from its eyes.

Many youngsters enter the police force lured by: '… the glamour, excitement and challenge of the crime-fighting aspects of the work … the pull of 'big white cars and flashing blue lights …' (Reiner, 1992:46). They enter policing enthusiastically expressing 'values of civic assistance, support for public safety, and the protection of the innocent from those who

would victimize them' (Fyfe et al., 1997:160). However, this fervour soon dies out and freshly-recruited police officers are soon rendered 'more cynical and distant' (Fyfe et al., 1997:160) from the community. Perhaps they grow immune to the plight of the public, which is not always as respectful to the police as recruits expect. Disenchantment with police work is symptomatic of this disappointment and the consequence of their disillusion. They had expected policing to be 'fun, challenging, exciting, a game of wits and skill' and have entered the police force only to discover that policing 'is often boring, messy, petty, trivial and venal' (Reiner, 2000:89-90). They soon realise that their 'hedonistic love of action' (Reiner, 2000:90) cannot be satisfied and this may well be the first step towards police cynicism and pessimism. The court system may trigger the second and most decisive step towards this state of mind. Offenders do not always get what – according to police officers – they deserve. Consequently, police officers may start to believe that it is not the gravity of one's crime that determines the sentence, but the calibre of one's lawyer. Thus, wealthy, dangerous offenders get off the hook whilst poor offenders get harsher penalties although their offence might have been less grave. It becomes evident to police officers that they might be risking their lives for nothing. Their painstaking efforts are not rewarded. Their mission is ridiculed. In Australia, for example, the Fitzgerald Report (1989:200 quoted in Chan, 1997:46) states that in 1989 the Queensland police force had a culture of 'contempt for the criminal justice system, disdain for the law and rejection of its application to police, disregard for the truth, and abuse of authority.'

This negative police culture may have grave repercussions on police performance and their reputation. Benyon (1986a:25) claims that 'the need for a good public image' which was so much harped upon by the founders of the police is not only losing resonance but the exemplary public image of the police has been 'eroded … by allegations of corruption and misbehaviour, and by the resort to heavy-handed policing … detectives involved in crimes, and perjury and planting of evidence … detectives … implicated in armed robberies …' The Fitzgerald Report (1989, quoted in Chan, 1997:46) claims that police culture in Queensland has allowed police misconduct to flourish, unseen and untouched 'from detection and prosecution'; as did the Mollen Report (1994 cited in Chan, 1997:46) in describing the relationship between police culture and police corruption in New York.

Suspicion

Many believe that police officers have a specific personality, which distinguishes them from other people (Hollin, 1989:127). Suspicion is commonly believed to form part of every police officer's personality inventory. Are naturally suspicious people attracted to policing or are police recruits socialised by police culture and rendered suspicious? (Hollin, 1989:131). Whatever the answer, suspicion plays a crucial role in the life-worlds of law enforcers.

Kirkham (1981 quoted in Hollin, 1989:133) stresses that 'Chronic suspiciousness is something that a good cop cultivates in the interest of going home to his family.'

Peel (1829 quoted in Peak and Glensor, 1996:4) claims that the main police mission 'is to prevent crime and disorder …' implying that police officers must have the skill to identify potential offenders and suppress crime before it occurs. 'Crime prevention is the anticipation, recognition, and appraisal of a crime risk and the initiation of action to remove or reduce it' (English and English, 1996:353). Hence, suspicion becomes a job requirement for police officers and a direct result of the sense of mission (Reiner, 2000:91). Police officers' suspicion is a reaction to the 'danger, authority, and efficiency elements in the environment', 'they need to keep a lookout for signs of trouble, potential danger and clues to offences' (Reiner, 2000:91). Police officers are required to study the community within which they operate and to gain familiarity with its inhabitants.

However, crime prevention techniques such as singling out potential offenders may be questionable. Police officers' judgements on individuals emanate from their own culture and experiences. As a result, stereotyping, which 'are beliefs about the characteristics of members of an identifiable group' (Deaux et al., 1993:355) and labelling ensue with all their adverse consequences. Whilst explaining labelling, Hollin (1994:11) claims that 'An individual becomes a criminal when the people who hold power – judges, parents, police, teachers, etc. – decide to confer the label "criminal"'. Merton (1948 cited in Brehm and Kassin, 1993:132) explains how such processes often develop into self-fulfilling prophecies. Police officers might misjudge targeted persons whilst, their perceived expectations trigger suspects to act in a manner conforming to police officers' expectations. Thus, the suspicious attitude of law enforcers might, in fact, create not prevent crime.

Isolation and solidarity

The police force can be considered as an interactive group composed of three important elements: 'roles, norms and cohesiveness' (Brehm and Kassin, 1993:504). The initial two elements have already been discussed, the third element is cohesiveness. When one belongs to a group, one acquires companionship. Brehm and Kassin (1993:507) explain that when a group emerges it starts practising decision-making and adopting strategies to reach its aims. They argue that 'Whatever the issue, the attitudes of group members affect what they do.' Hence, police culture affects the outcome of police operations. Groupthink – which is 'an excessive tendency to seek concurrence among group members' (Brehm and Kassin, 1993:510) – ensues. The police force is a very cohesive group. This is conducive to groupthink. Being 'composed of people from similar backgrounds, isolated from other people, directed by a strong leader, and

lacking in systematic procedures for making and reviewing decisions', makes the police force a potential candidate for groupthink. Janis (1982 cited in Brehm and Kassin, 1993:510) argues that 'stressful situations can provoke groupthink. Under stress, urgency can overrule accuracy, and the reassuring support of other group members becomes especially desirable.'

Shearing (1992:351) maintains that police officers perceive their relationship with the public in a 'we/they perspective'. They claim that police officers view themselves as a highly cohesive group – isolated from the public. Manning (1971 cited in Shearing, 1992:351) holds that police officers are convinced that citizens consider them as a 'hated and distrusted enemy' and police officers react by considering the 'public as their enemy'.

Clearly, this perception is in direct contradiction with Peel's famous axiom: 'The police are the public and the public are the police' (Peak and Glensor, 1996:1). Benyon (1986a:7) describes the 1950s as the 'Golden Age' of policing. This period was characterised by the exemplary relationship that existed between the British police and the majority of the British general public and the resulting reciprocal co-operation. This 'British police advantage' (Benyon, 1986a:8) was envied by police officers all around the world. Benyon stresses that the key to policing success lies in six elements of policing namely: 'effectiveness, identity, participation, legitimacy, justice and consent.' Policing reaches the optimum level only when these factors are evident. 'Effectiveness' refers to people's judgement of police officers' reactions to offences and unrest, successful law enforcement as well as their promptness in answering distress calls. 'Identity' refers to the extent to which citizens see themselves in police officers. The Police Federation in 1961 told the Willink Commission that there '"could be nothing more disastrous for relationships between police and public" than to make the police a profession' (Benyon, 1986a:12). The likelihood of citizens identifying themselves with professionals is highly remote. Thus, transforming police officers into professionals further distances the police from the public. 'Participation' echoes in the community policing approach, where the public is considered as the police force's partner in its effort to fulfil its mission (Peak and Glensor, 1996:70). 'Legitimacy' depends on whether the police are perceived by the public as conforming to policing regulations and perceived values. Police officers are expected to detect the breaking of laws and to act as arbiters between victims and offenders. When this fails, officers are expected to apprehend law-offenders and bring them to justice (Cox, 1996:6). Policing strategies thus require officers to protect the rights of individuals (Cox, 1986:165) without exceptions. When the police itself is seen as the violator of human rights and the perpetrator of wrongdoings, or when 'heavy-handed policing' techniques are adopted, the indispensable, exemplary 'public image' (Benyon, 1986a:25) is shattered. Benyon claims that police reputation has suffered persistent blows in the past twenty years 'by

allegations of corruption and misbehaviour, and by the resort to heavy-handed policing.' The police are seen to be acting with justice when their performance is characterised by fairness. For the police to be just, their actions must 'guard the rights and common interests of all' (Benyon, 1986a:16). The community will consent to the police when the preceding factors are present.

Episodes such as the Rodney King incident [In March, 1991, Rodney King, a coloured driver, was beaten by four white police officers in the USA. This event was video recorded and transmitted all over the world. The police officers involved were subsequently arraigned in court however; they were not found guilty (Brehm and Kassin, 1993:145)]. This episode substantially damaged the police. The absence of a balance between the professional interests of the police and the democratic concerns of the community, lead to a breakdown of the six policing criterion mentioned above and the consequent rift of the police force from the community. One often assumes that this animosity breeds 'police solidarity, secrecy, and a hostile, sometimes violent, response to the public' (Westley, 1953, 1956 cited in Shearing, 1992:352). This internal comradeship often leads to the concealment or justification of police misconduct (Chan, 1997:44). It 'offers its members reassurance that the other officers will "pull their weight" in police work, that they will defend, back up and assist their colleagues when confronted by external threats, and that they will maintain secrecy in face of external investigations' (Goldsmith, 1990 quoted in Chan, 1997:45).

According to Reiner (2000:91-95) solidarity finds fertile grounds in the demands of police work. Indeed, outsiders might think that the police always support each other and to the same great degree but the 'them and us outlook' inherent in police culture not only 'makes clear distinctions between types of them' but also between types 'of us' (Reiner, 2000:92). Fielding (1995:11) claims that internally, the police force 'is marked by deep and intensely-felt divisions.' Reiner (2000:91-95) insists that solidarity may surely be one of the main ingredients of police culture, however members of the police force are segregated 'according to specialism and rank' – for example 'street cops' and 'management cops' (Reuss-Ianni, 1993:2-4).

Benyon (1986a:20-21) considers specialisation as a synonym of professionalisation. Specialisation/professionalisation could be considered as indispensable to modern society but the ensuing side effects may not be as beneficial. Lord Scarman (quoted in Benyon, 1986a:21) claims that police officers have been transformed into professionals having 'a highly specialised set of skills and behavioural codes of their own.' He also warns that professionalism creates schisms in the police force and justifies the creation of elitist groups. Lord Scarman acknowledges the advantages of modern technology but, warns against the elimination 'of the human factor, so essential if policing is to command public support.' In Peel's own words: 'The

police at all times should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police;' (quoted in Melville Lee, 1901 cited in Peak and Glensor, 1996:4). Besides isolating the police force from the public, specialisation and professionalisation isolate members within the police force. Ericson (1991:25) claims that 'expansion and specialization' are the cause of internal discord, prompting sub-units to develop particular 'interests, often in direct conflict with those of other sub-units.' Bittner (1970 cited in Ericson, 1991:25) sheds more light on the gravity of the situation by claiming that numerous methods are used to 'create and perpetuate internal power resources.'

Police conservatism

It is commonly assumed that the British police force tends to be conservative in both attitude and political inclinations (Reiner, 1992:121). Conservatism as a concept opposes 'liberalism and reformism' (Young, 1995:274). Personalities, which have always opposed change throughout history, may be categorised under the label 'conservative'. The survival of conservative thought results from human beings' natural resistance to everything novel and unknown. This instinct is further sustained by the conservative's preparedness to promote 'traditional, hierarchical forms of social organisation' and to interpret any attempt to change as 'subversive', 'anarchic' and dangerous (Young, 1995:275).

People described as conservative, resist change and adhere to tradition. Persons may or may not fit into this description before entering the police force but once an officer, conformity, compliance and obedience become the order of the day. Conservatism emerged in opposition to the ideals of the French Revolution in defence of 'the traditional order against … individualism and rationalism' (Young, 1995:275). Conservatism upholds 'the values of community, kinship, hierarchy, authority … absolute power' (Nisbet, 1970 quoted in Young, 1995:275). These values are preserved and perpetrated with great zeal within the police force (Chan, 1997:43). Reiner (2000:96) describes the police force 'as a hierarchical, tightly disciplined organisation'. Hence one could assume that members with conservative attitudes fit comfortably within the police force. Consequently, one would assume that British police officers automatically find themselves comfortable within the Conservative political niche. This may not be the case especially since the majority is of a working class background (Reiner, 2000:96). Police officers have employment grievances that are very similar to those of any other employee. Thus, militancy is often fuelled but, 'the role of policing labour disputes inclines officers to anti-union views' (Reiner, 1992:122).

A special relationship developed between the British police force and the Conservative Party in England during the 1979 election campaign (Benyon, 1986a:32). 'The Guardian' of the

17th March, 1982 reported James Anderton, Chief Constable of Greater Manchester as stressing that 'A police service, immune from the ideological pressures of any single political party, provides the surest and only guarantee of the people's individual freedom' (quoted in Benyon, 1986a:32). However, his attempts at restraining the police force's overt support to the Conservative Party proved futile. It became very evident that the police federation had 'nailed its flag for all to see to the Conservative Party mast' (Reiner, 1985 quoted in Benyon, 1986a:32). This affinity became increasingly obvious during the 1984 miners' strike when the British police force overtly gave in to the ideological pressures of the Conservative government, thus damaging the 'image of policing' (Benyon, 1986a:33).

Thus it seems that police officers tend to be conservative both politically and in attitudes. Consequently, sexism (Heidensohn, 1992:117), racism (Chan, 1997:43) and pragmatism (Reiner, 2000:101) flourish in an organisation whose aim is held to be that of 'maintaining order' and 'improving community unity' (Roberts and Henry, 1996:74).

Sexism

When women entered the police force at the beginning of the twentieth century they appeared to abandon the Victorian 'patriarchal ideal' (Carrier, 1988:xi). Halcombe (1973 quoted in Carrier, 1988:xi) states that this ideal 'assigned to the perfect woman ... the special role of domesticity and dependence, [and] of subjection'. This may have constituted a challenge to male supremacy in policing. Thus, policewomen continue to face several barriers within policing. This section is a brief account of a woman's career journey from entry into the police force, through mid-career and promotion, with particular emphasis on the major barriers faced by policewomen in Malta.

Cain (1979 quoted in Heidensohn, 1995:69) shows how complex the police role is by claiming that police officers 'are appointed with the task of maintaining the order which those who sustain them defined as proper'. When one considers the diversity of tasks performed by police officers – the friendly beat-officer, the mobile squad officer pursuing criminals, the armed officer controlling demonstrators or the officer in class teaching children about safety and hazards – one acknowledges the 'contrasting images of police-work' (Walklate, 1995:104). Roberts and Henry, (1996:73) claim that the 'role of police in contemporary society is one of the most controversial'. The police role for women is even more controversial due to their traditional image as social carers contrasting with their newer, harsher image of law enforcers. Bayley (1985 quoted in Heidensohn, 1995:69) states that 'the unique characteristic of the police is that they are authorised to use physical force to regulate interpersonal relations in communities'. Indeed, policing is forged on the 'cult of masculinity' (Walklate, 1995:117).

Engels (1978 cited in Bryson, 1992:240) predicts that gainful occupation frees women from oppression. However, Carrier (1988:xxi) argues that the entry of women in policing was '… far from liberating women from the traditional female stereotype'. Until very recently (2001) gender discrimination within the Maltese police force began at recruitment: the height requirement (5'6") matched the average height of Maltese males, who are taller than females. This meant that fewer women could enter the police force. Although the height of prospective police recruits is still considered, the selection board is now allowed to be less rigid than before: sound moral values, smartness and a sound educational background outweigh the lack of a few inches.

When women join an organisation such as the police force, they face the myth that only 'the man's world is the "real world"' (Clarke, 1992:127) so, they either can accept this situation or face being branded as inferiors. Equality of opportunity now means that females have to prove that they are as good as men at any job traditionally performed by men. The variety of female skills, which would enhance organisational achievement, could be being overlooked. Lever (1976 cited in Clarke, 1992:127) argued that girls tended to be 'more co-operative, valued relationships, and encouraged sensitivity and empathy for others.' Clarke (1992:127) believes that organisations would certainly be much more human-centred and fruitful if 'female values' were to be adopted.

Reiner (2000:97) describes police culture as 'one of old fashioned machismo'. He states that police officers' sexist attitude was facilitated by the intrinsic discrimination in the recruitment processes and the granting of promotions. Police culture compels policemen to demonstrate their antagonism to sexual deviance (e.g. homosexuality and paedophilia) by habitual 'sexual boasting and horseplay' often at the expense of policewomen (PSI, 1983, volume IV: pp. 91-7 quoted in Reiner, 2000:97). Alcohol and sex are rooted within the police culture, resulting from the main values and tensions experienced in the policing career. Reiner (2000:98) claims that 'it has always been tough for women police officers to gain acceptance.' Policewomen were employed only after an extended campaign (Carrier, 1988 in Reiner, 2000:98) and although females have been officially accepted in the police force, they still suffer from gender discrimination (Heidensohn, 1992:117).

The Home Office Circular 87/1989, 'Equal opportunities policies in the police service' states that policies in the police force 'should ensure that the best use is made of the abilities of every member of the force' (Walklate, 1995:117). However, this is rarely the case. Martin and Jurik (1996:64) claim that males conceive policing as 'action-oriented, violent, and uncertain.' Policemen associate these objectives with masculinity. They view 'real police-work' as crime fighting (Martin and Jurik 1996:64). Their concept of police-work is echoed by Bittner (1990

quoted in Heidensohn, 1992:73): 'The policeman and the policeman alone is equipped, entitled, and required to deal with every exigency in which force may have to be used, to meet it.'

Consequently, outside 'real police-work' is performed by males, whereas inside 'supervisory, station house ... police academy assignments' and clerical duties are left in the hands of females (Martin and Jurik, 1996:64). Hunt's (1998 cited in Martin and Jurik, 1996:84) research indicates that policewomen are more frequently assigned office placements rather than patrols. The rationale behind this attitude is that in specialised units, cumbersome equipment is used. There is also considerable competition between police officers for the available tasks. The few females who obtain these tasks are frequently isolated and transferred (Martin, 1919 and Price et al., 1992 in Martin and Jurik, 1996:84). Due to gender stereotyping policewomen are often given desk duties, frequently colluding with these arrangements because it avoids difficulties with male officers on the beat and because of this job's attraction to policewomen with family responsibilities (Martin and Jurik 1996:84).

It is difficult for women to enter a policing career and to face the strain of being a policewoman. Some would argue that the prospect of promotion for Maltese policewomen could be restricted due to the 'glass ceiling'. Martin (1991 quoted in Burn 1996:73) defines this as 'those artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organisational bias which prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organisation into management positions ... qualified women and minorities are too often on the outside looking into the executive suite'. A high official within the Maltese police academy once explained that in the police force, one could not expect policewomen to acquire important positions because women tend to marry and bear children.

There are diverse explanations for the existence of this 'glass ceiling'. According to the 'human capital approach' (Burn, 1996:73), salary scales and opportunities for promotion are linked closely to 'human capital'. Remuneration and career prospects are composed of the personal bank of experience and skills found in each individual. Some believe that men possess more personal wealth than women, so they are more frequently promoted than females. Raggins and Sundstrom (1989 cited in Burn 1996:74) claim that 'gender is actually a better predictor of a person's rank in the organisation than length of time in the organisation'.

Azzopardi Cauchi's (1998) study of 200 policewomen in Malta showed that only 67 (33.5%) work in districts as opposed to the General Headquarters (GHQ) and most of these are generally confined to inside, day-to-day paper work. When asked whether they, themselves were satisfied with their rank, the interviewees answered in the affirmative. This can be explained by Raggins and Sundstrom's (1989 cited in Burn, 1986:76) belief that gender is the

better predictor of rank, and is corroborated by the disquieting reasons policewomen gave for job satisfaction. The subsequent question then asked why the interviewees were satisfied with their rank (Table 2.1). Sixty per cent of the district policewomen appear ambitious whereas a meagre 36.6 per cent from those in the GHQ want to move on. Ten per cent of the district policewomen and 30 per cent of the GHQ policewomen claim that their job was already as tough as they could handle. A noticeable 30 per cent (district) and 33.3 per cent (GHQ) presume that they have achieved the top rank possible for a woman.

Table 2.1: Are you satisfied with your rank?

	District policewomen	GHQ policewomen
Yes, but would move on.	60.0%	36.6%
Yes, already bad as it is.	10.0%	30.0%
Yes, already a lot for a woman.	30.0%	33.3%

In Malta there are ten policewomen for every 77 policemen (Table 2.2). The numbers reveal that there is a proportionate amount of female sergeants. Yet, this could merely be a superficial show of equal career prospects within the police force in Malta. A closer look might show that although female sergeants adequately represent policewomen, the latter continue to occupy gender-specific work-roles. Within the rank of inspector, the ratio is of 10:163. This suggests either a lack of opportunity for, or poor ambition of, female police officers (Table 2.3). Azzopardi Cauchi (1998) suggests that this lack of motivation could be indicative of Maltese policewomen's 'learned helplessness' (Brehm and Kassin, 1993:648). They might have resigned themselves to be content with the little that they have managed to achieve (Table 2.4).

Table 2.2: The amount of women in high ranks: Does the ratio of women in high ranks concord with that of women in the Maltese Police force?

	Females	Males	Ratio women:men	Ratio women:men
Women police constables	165	1,264	1:7.7	10:77
Women police sergeants	31	255	1:8.2	10:82
Sergeant Majors		9		
Inspectors	4	65	1:16.3	10:163
Superintendents		12		
Assistant Commissioners		7		
District Commissioner		1		
Commissioner		1		
Police Population	200	1,614	1:8.1	10:81

Table 2.3: What rank do you aspire to reach?

	No aspiration	Sergeant	Inspector	Sergeant Major
District Policewomen	60.00%		40.00%	
GHQ Policewomen	67.00%	23.00%	7.00%	3.00%

Table 2.4: Out of a 100, how much chance do you think you have of achieving the aspired position?

	0.0%	25.0%	50.0%	75.0%	100.0%
District Policewomen		43.0%	57.0%		
GHQ Policewomen				100.0%	

All policewomen maintain that they have every right to aspire and gain managerial positions. Azzopardi Cauchi (1998) suggests that although most Maltese policewomen behave passively, they still think that women are as equally proficient as men in managerial positions. In fact, 80 per cent of the GHQ female officers interviewed believed that in the future, a female commissioner could head the Maltese police force. On the other hand, only 30 per cent of the policewomen working in districts shared this optimism. Perhaps, this derives from the fact that they are more subject to gender-related mockery and humiliation than their GHQ counterparts and are thus discouraged.

Table 2.5: Why aren't you confident of reaching your aspiration?

	Gender	Favouritism	Competition
District Policewomen	25.0%	75.0%	
GHQ Policewomen	30.0%	30.0%	40.0%

Although Maltese policewomen feel that they are potential victims of discrimination, a mere 25 per cent of the district policewomen and 30 per cent of the GHQ policewomen attributed it to their gender (Table 2.5). Azzopardi Cauchi (1998) however, was constantly reminded by the interviewees that sexual harassment came with the job and that those who did not resist it received additional benefits. Hence, even favouritism in its broad meaning might be a result of women's subordination to men within the Malta police force. Thus, in accordance with Bryson (1992:240) the author maintains that women enter the realm of outside work with several drawbacks and already branded as subordinates. When women decide to start a career in policing they are faced by a major invisible obstacle which fortifies this traditionally 'male dominated occupation' (Grennan and Munoz, 1996:341).

Some researchers hold that women might have managerial skills but lack leadership qualities (Burn 1986:74). Other scholars (such as Bass, 1981; Eagley and Johnson, 1980; Hollander, 1983; Powell, 1990 all cited in Burn, 1996:74) disagree. Burn (1986:74) claims that

several women have 'leader-style management skills and a greater proportion of women in staff positions displayed a greater orientation than men in line positions', concluding that women 'are actually well-suited for leadership positions'.

Women often fall victims to stereotyping. They are traditionally viewed as home-carers who are unable to command and take decisive action. Burn (1986:75) claims that even the traditional roles equip females with leadership qualities. Raggins and Sundstrom (1989 cited in Burn, 1986:76) believe that gender-ascribed stereotypes link power to men. This notion, and the lack of female role models, restrains people from accepting women in high ranks.

Burn (1996:77) maintains that 'organisational norms may dictate the hiring and promotion of males over females into management position'. The U.S. Department of Labour 1987 research (cited in Burn 1996:17) on the glass ceiling revealed that many senior officials avoid divulging corporate norms regarding equal employment opportunities. Some organisations may purposely point out that women are not adequate for managerial positions (Burn, 1996:77). Therefore, women may not reach high-ranking positions notwithstanding their proficiency. Hunter (1976 cited in Burn, 1996:78) maintains that women gain insignificant, dispensable positions, which render them 'structurally disadvantaged'. Women are not then assigned tasks that would arm them with the experience and skills necessary for senior positions – and the idea that women do not make adequate managers becomes 'a self-fulfilling prophecy' (Burn 1986:78).

Burn (1996:79) believes that 'women's responsibilities to home and family may prevent upward mobility in the organisation.' Women's familial responsibilities might stop them from devoting that additional effort required for career advancement. In addition, a woman may voluntarily choose a career with poor possibilities of advancement just to be able to care for her family and home. Burn (1996:81) reiterated that 'employees may also assume that the performance of employed women with children is reduced by their family responsibilities'. The Maltese high police official referred to above clearly stated this reason when asked by the author to justify the absence of women from police higher rank positions. Barrett (1988 quoted in Clarke 1992:1) summarises the position:

> To enter, prosper and survive within an organisation can depend upon how a person is viewed by decision makers; whether the person is viewed as a full organisational member, as someone who 'fits in', as a 'committed' person. This scenario is highly problematic for women given that they are too often viewed as having a primary commitment to a domestic life outside the organisation.

Policing is certainly a field, which remains exclusively 'masculine' and staunchly firm against the integration of women (Martin and Jurik, 1996:63). There might have been

advancements in policing and in the way in which women are considered, yet chauvinism still prevails in the police force. One would still find many policemen that believe that women do not have the requisite physical or emotional qualities to deal with a policing career. Thus male officers may sustain that policewomen 'should not be allowed to exercise the moral authority of the state or be integrated into policing' (Martin and Jurik, 1996:63). Young (1991 quoted in Martin and Jurik, 1996:63) believes that police culture encourages policewomen to 'assume "male characteristics" to achieve even a limited acceptability'.

Azzopardi Cauchi (1998) claims that the major problems encountered by women in the police force are:

- The traditional idea of the role of the police.
- Police culture being rooted in machismo and sexism.
- The dual role of most women (domestic carer and career seeker).
- The lack of training endured by women who are generally restricted to office-work.
- The disrespect of female values within the police force.
- The idea that only men are suitable for dealing with 'real' police-work.
- The disrespect towards the role of policewomen.
- The stereotyping of women.
- The idea that women are not able to manage effectively.

Upon entry into the police force, females face a very hostile culture that separates and marginalizes them. Women 'enter a police organisation with rules, policies, and practices that are far from gender-neutral' (Martin and Jurik, 1996:73). Consequently, females find themselves in unimportant employment posts, leaving them with scarce chances for climbing up the career ladder.

The prospects for policewomen appear limited. Grennan and Munoz (1996:352) believe that only if a 'fair and equal' appraisal system is used will policewomen 'finally attain the number of higher ranking positions that should have been offered to them years ago'. Mill (1938 quoted in Carrier, 1988:250) claims that 'the things which women are not allowed to do are the very ones for which they are peculiarly qualified'. One questions whether policing, and especially certain sections within it, could be an example of this.

Women are not the only victims of the police force's machismo syndrome. Berrill (1992:32) maintains that gay people often become the object of their derision. Some officers extend their mockery to actual harassment and violence directed against sexual deviants. Berril (1992:32) claims that 'Nationwide [USA], there have been numerous documented cases of police verbal and physical abuse, entrapment, blackmail, unequal enforcement of the law, and

deliberate mishandling of anti-gay violence cases …' Police officers consider themselves an expression of masculinity thus, they vigorously protect their heterosexual image by overtly showing their disapproval of 'sexual deviance' (Reiner, 2000:97). Homosexuals and paedophiles are viewed with disdain. However, police officers behave in a similar way even with people of different races.

Racism

Racism is 'any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person because of his or her color' (The US Commission on Civil Rights, 1969 quoted in Deaux et al., 1993:356). Brehm and Kassin (1993:176) claim that racial prejudice is commonly associated with depictions of old-fashioned racism represented by 'slavery, lynch mobs, the Ku Klux Klan, segregation of public facilities …' These grave symbols of racism may, now-a-days not be frequently resorted to however, a modern 'form of prejudice … surfaces in subtle ways when it is safe, socially acceptable, and easy to rationalize' (Brehm and Kassin, 1993:176). Therefore, there may be individuals who consider themselves not racist but who still feel repulsion in face of other races. Deaux et al. (1993:356) maintains that 'racism can exist on either an individual or an institutional level'.

Police racism is said to occur when police officers label, pick-upon and excessively prosecute particular sections of society 'on the basis of phenotypical or cultural markers, or national origin' by the adoption of police powers (Castles 1992 quoted in Chan, 1997:17). Similar to other types of racism, police racism emerges in diverse circumstances, under several semblances and changes intensity according to chronological and geographical conditions (Castles, 1992 quoted in Chan, 1997:17). Police racism can be expressed in a spectrum of manners 'ranging from prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory law-enforcement practices, to the illegal use of violence against members of minority groups' (Chan, 1997:18).

Manifestations of police racism continue to be recorded all over the globe. Observers compared the 1991 Rodney King incident to an 'old-fashioned lynching – an act of pure racism' (Brehm and Kassin, 1993:145). Moreover, it was claimed that this was just one of a myriad of racial offences committed by law enforcers and it only gained public attention after an amateur video cassette of the incident was repeatedly transmitted on television.

In Australia, a 1989 amateur video clip was transmitted on the ABC television news. This showed a couple of New South Wales 'police officers with their skin painted black and nooses around their necks', harassing two Aborigines whose demise was being investigated by the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (Chan, 1997:174). Also in Australia, Chan (1997:174) refers to a television documentary called 'Cop it Sweet' which featured police

performance in Redfern, Sydney – an area notorious for the poor relationship between police officers and Aborigines. The Sydney Morning Herald of the 7th March, 1992 (quoted in Chan, 1997:169) describes the document as:

> … a shocking account of six weeks in the life of the Redfern police … [T]hese real-life coppers artlessly revealed the bovine obstinacy and banal prejudice that sustains hostilities with the Aboriginal community … They spoke automatically of 'coons' and 'gooks' and pubs 'full of lesbians'. Asked to explain what he meant by a 'suss' car, one policeman suggested a red Laser with an Aborigine driving it … These ludicrously young officers, who were sharp enough to sense that what they learned at the police academy was 'bull----', knew nothing about the people they were policing and were unable or unwilling to find out.

McIntyre (1992:649) claims that the Aborigines are gradually but steadily claiming 'their rights to self-government and empowerment', consequently they now 'present a new challenge to the traditional ways that police have addressed the native people.' McIntyre (1993:647) reveals how even Canada is facing the phenomenon of police racism, which has been publicised by the media and investigated by the government. In fact, several reports have been compiled such as: Now is not too late (1977); Report to the civic authorities of metropolitan Toronto and its citizens (1979); and Race relations and policing task force (1989). Other documentation includes that submitted by the Royal Commission on the Donald Marshall Jr. Prosecution (1986). The latest documents are the Halifax race riots (1991), the Harper commission report (1991) as well as the Rolf and Cawsey reviews of the criminal justice system in Alberta (1991). All these documents mentioned by McIntyre (1993:647) show the intensity of the problem of police racism in Canada.

Britain is no exception. In 1981 a heavy-handed stop and search policy caused the infamous Brixton riots. In 1985, Mrs Cherry Groce, a member of the black community, suffered paralysis after a policeman shot in her direction whilst raiding her house in Brixton, leading to further disorders (Benyon, 1986a:25). Lord Scarman concluded that the police was, in fact, guilty 'of racially prejudiced behaviour and harassment in Brixton' (Benyon, 1986a:27).

British police malpractice is in no way restricted to this particular area. Benyon (1986a:28) maintains that:

> A study in 1976 found out that of 2112 people arrested under this legislation [the Vagrancy Act 1824] in London an unduly high proportion, 42.0 per cent, was black and a Home Office study showed that a black person was *fifteen times* more likely to be arrested for 'sus' [vagrancy] than a white person.

Racism appears to be ingrained in police performance (Benyon, 1986a:28) and it appears to be directed against all those who do not fit the description of the typical English person. It seems that British police officers do tend to target particular citizens because of their prejudice,

justifying their racism on the premise that by their actions they are protecting society from ill-doers. However, the controversial Stephen Lawrence case (Bowling, 1999:xi) could suggest that sometimes police officers might protect ill-doers if the victims are of a different race. In April 1993, a black youth called Stephen Lawrence, was killed in a racist attack. The British police was heavily criticised when their '"palpably flawed" and incompetent' (Bowling, 1999:xi) investigations did not lead to the arrest of the killers.

Racism is a disease that has plagued Britain throughout history (Virdee, 1995:12). Typical examples of their racism comprise that against the Irish, who were targeted in the late nineteenth century (Scraton and Chadwick, 1991:175); the Afro-Caribbeans in the 1970s (Scraton and Chadwick, 1991:174) and the West Indians in the early 1970s (Benyon, 1986a:28). Even recently, British history has been marred by violent disorders in Liverpool (1981) and Brixton (1985). Virdee (1995:12) claims that notwithstanding the fact that historically, racism has plagued British society, it is only lately that this problem was placed on the political agenda.

Benyon (1986a:27) maintains that 'Fairness is closely related to justice and is affected by changes in conduct and methods'. Thus, only the restraint of police racist attitudes will eventually instil a sense of fairness and win the public's consent, improving police effectiveness. Geller and Morris (1992:264) believe that:

> … the police, [in the USA] albeit with occasional headline-producing exceptions and with ample room for improvement in low-visibility conduct, display less institutional racism in their dealings with others … than is displayed by the average citizen.

They attribute this success to the fact that 'blacks held the top post in over 250 American police agencies' (Geller and Morris, 1992:264). Virdee (1995:57) claims that there are several factors that affect public opinion such as 'schools, the media, advertisers …' and is convinced that these have an indispensable role in the fight against racism. Children need to be vaccinated at a very early stage against this disease. Today's children may be tomorrow's police officers.

Reiner (2000:101) believes that most police officers come from a working class background. Thus, it can be maintained that working-class culture dominates the other cultures inherent in the police force. Hence the majority of police officers believe in luck and fate, rely on common sense as the major guiding force, are unable to postpone gratification, oppose intellectualism and value wit (Miller, 1958 cited in Vold and Bernard, 1986:214). Reiner (2000:101) holds that '… what it is important to stress is the very pragmatic, concrete, down-to-earth, anti-theoretical perspective which is typical of the rank and file …' According to Reiner (2000:101), law enforcers tend to be very practical, only concerned with proceeding from one day to another with minimal complications and bureaucracy. This attitude breeds in them an

aversion to change and improvement – a dislike of experiments and research (Reiner, 2000:101).

Another argument in favour of police-intellectualism is provided by Benyon (1986a:20) when he emphasised that although Lord Scarman warned against the professionalisation of the police force, he acknowledged the importance of reaching and maintaining 'high standards of recruitment, training and conduct …' if the public is to be adequately served. Bittner (cited in Bolen 1997:78) claims that the police provided 'authoritative, on-the-spot remedies to a great variety of situations' which comprised dealing with complex social issues. Adequate academic training is indeed an indispensable weapon in police forces' arsenals all over the world. By rejecting it, police officers disarm themselves.

This chapter started by presenting various views on police culture. The ideas of several authors on police culture were discussed. Skolnick and Fyfe (Warren and James, 2000:33) claim that the interconnected elements of policing generate a certain working personality within police officers. They argue that policing is a mixture of authority, personal/unforeseen danger and public bitterness that give rise to a police culture that is everywhere similar. Warren and James (2000:33) state that police authority gives rise to suspicion and a sense of internal solidarity, but add that police culture exists in multiple forms even within the same police force. Even Skolnick (1994:46) stresses that personal danger adversely affects police officers' judgement. Similarly, Ericson and Haggerty (1997 cited in Kendall and Wickham, 2001:103) sustain that police culture is a sign of the existence of a 'risk society', which feeds on fear and the social distribution of negativity. Thus, they imply that police officers obsessively withhold information, creating a knowledge society.

When discussing police culture, Smith and Gray (1983 cited in Heindensohn, 1995:78) mention: initiation rituals, group solidarity, discipline and cultural variance. Chan (1997:44) mentions police officers' 'siege mentality' and their 'code of silence'. She considers police culture as a tool kit, adding that police officers are not inert creatures but are actively involved in transforming and promulgating their culture. Shearing and Ericson (1991 cited in Waddington, 1999:106) believe that police culture is transmitted via symbolisms found in stories and that it serves as a guide, but they also insist that police officers are actively engaged in constructing their culture. Indeed, the idea that police culture is not static and homogenous is a recurring theme. In fact, Heindensohn (1995:77), Hunt (1984 quoted in Martin and Jurik, 1996:63), Clarke (1992:6) and Marshall (1991 cited in Clarke, 1992:6) indicate that police culture differs according to the officers' gender. Race also seems to affect police culture (Holdaway, 1996 cited in Waddington, 1999:105). Cultural variances are manifest even within police forces and between officers – of different ranks and assignments, operating in urban and

rural areas (Fielding, 1995 cited in Waddington, 1999:105; Manning, 1993 quoted in Chan, 1997:66; Waddington, 1999 and Websdale and Johnson, 1997 cited in Waddington, 1999:105). Waddington (1999:105) is quite sceptical regarding the very existence of police culture, suggesting that police officers might be guided by the dominant societal culture rather than by their own. Reiner (2000:87-101) seems to synthesise and incorporate all the major arguments in his discussion of police culture, suggesting the following key components (Reiner, 2000:89-100): 'a sense of mission, suspicion, isolation/solidarity, conservatism, machoism, pragmatism and racial prejudice'. While claiming that police culture is similar all over the world Reiner insists that it is not overpowering and it is not the same everywhere, admitting that police culture varies according to each officer's personality, generation, career path, rank, assignment, specialisation, geographic location and time period.

Since many authors agree on the core elements of police culture and since Reiner's (2000:87-101) model appropriately summarises and incorporates the views of these authors, enriching them with his own, Reiner's (2000: 87-101) notion of police culture was adopted as the theoretical and structural framework for the current study. Thus, Reiner's themes provided a structure that enabled the author to neatly present the various views (by different authors) under five main headings, namely: police officers' strong sense of mission, police suspicion, the isolation and solidarity of the police force, police conservatism and police pragmatism. However, the researcher also points at the possible limitations of Reiner's theoretical framework by presenting arguments that conflict with the sustainers of the notion of police culture. Eagleton (2000:37) claims that the idea of police culture is 'both too nebulous and too exclusive'. Waddington (1999:106) argues against the idea of police culture by posing the following objections: one cannot prove that police officers would choose to be guided by their particular culture rather than by the dominant culture; police culture is not the only source of inspiration for police officers; advocates of the idea of police culture erroneously assume that policing is a profession only suitable for the cunning and perspicacious when the youngest (and therefore those who lack subtlety and insight) officers are placed on the beat; and police culture is very difficult to prove empirically. Warren and James (2000:234) claim that the notion of police culture poses two main problems: the supposition of 'uniformity and homogeneity in values, experiences and beliefs and the 'overly deterministic element of police culture'. The discussion of these various themes is an attempt to shed light on the convictions, self-conceptions and attitudes of police officers and their working culture around the world. These include: the nature of policing, police officers' sense of mission, suspicion as one of the job-requirements of police officers, group cohesion within the police force, police conventionalism, patriarchy within the police force, police racism and the police as pragmatists.

However, a discussion of these themes alone does not necessarily exhaust all the possible indicators of the nature of police culture. Reliable indicators could very well lie in the types of interactions between the police and the various sections of society. Consequently, the subsequent chapter will deal with the complex relationship that exists between the police and society.

Chapter 3: The External World of Police Culture

Historically, the spelling of the word 'policing' might have varied, however, the function of this agency remained the same: 'the legislative and administrative regulation of the internal life of a community to promote general welfare and the condition of good order … and the regimenting of social life' (Neocleous, 2000:1). This agency was, and still is, regulated by what are referred to as police ordinances.

Hall and Scraton (1985 quoted in Scheingold, 1991:22) stress that '… the state is … required to organize society, civil, moral and intellectual life … The state is the site and agency through which popular consent for these is won or lost.' Culp Davis (1971 quoted by Neocleous, 2000:11) refers to the state as 'the great society' and stresses that 'the welfare of the ruler and the happiness of the subjects can never be separated'. Hegel (1830 cited in Neocleous, 2000:47) considers the police as an 'integrating' instrument in the hands of the state. Hegel (1830 quoted in Neocleous, 2000:47) argued that the police exist to 'mediate between the individual and the universal … [to] … care for the particular interest as a common interest' in order to prevent crime and provide security and welfare for citizens. Similarly, Colquhoun (1796 cited in Neocleous, 2000:51) perceives society as 'something to be ordered, and this is the project of police.' Colquhoun (1796 quoted in Neocleous, 2000:49) insists that 'the prevention of crimes and misdemeanours is the true essence of Police'. Clearly, Hegel and Colquhoun's ideas reverberate in the notion of community policing. Trojanowicz and Carter (1988 quoted by Peak and Glensor, 1996:71) describe community policing as a 'philosophy and not a specific tactic; proactive, decentralized approach, designed to reduce crime, disorder, and fear of crime'.

The term 'community' implies homogeneity, intensive social unity as well as common shared interests and values. This idea is reflected in Etzioni's (1995 cited in Wright, 2002:134) communitarian thesis. However, Wright (2002:135) claims that the variations of cultures and values that exist within communities clearly indicate that one cannot assume that a community is homogeneous. That is why 'there is no single program to describe community policing … [it] differs according to the community needs, politics, and resources available' (Peak and Glensor, 1996:71).

Even the idea of 'community' tends to be 'problematic' (Wright, 2002:135). Wright (2002:136) warns against the practice of using the word 'community' as a synonym for 'society' since a society may be comprised of different communities. Apparently, during the 'golden age' (1950s) of policing, people tended to settle in homogeneous communities (Wright, 2002:135). However, the years brought progress and progress carried technological advances, causing and enabling the mobility of different people. Communities became increasingly

heterogeneous and problems developed. Some found it difficult to integrate within the British communities and social tensions mounted. As a consequence of the 'increased mobility of people and … globalisation' the likelihood of the 'miraculous triumph of communal togetherness' rapidly faded away (Wright, 2002:135). Thus contemporary police forces are faced with the ever-growing tensions and complexities of modern life as well as with the mushrooming of novel crimes that are being made possible by advanced technology.

The common aim of the police is that of 'maintaining order, improving community unity … and greatly lessening family violence incidents' (Roberts and Henry, 1996:73). Hobbes' (1651 cited in Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1988:224) social contract theory stipulates that in the primitive 'state of nature' individuals lived in total personal liberty. This liberty exposed them to numerous dangers so citizens enter a social contract whereby persons surrender a portion of their personal freedom to the state in return for protection and a guarantee of order and stability. However, there may be citizens who infringe this contract for personal gain at the expense of others. Consequently, society needs the services of persons – police officers – who are responsible for keeping guard against such threats.

Order-maintenance continues to occupy a prominent position on the state's priority list for various reasons, including the ever-rising incidence of crime, the various mutations of crime, the reactions of governments to public outcries, and the advantage taken by rival political parties on this issue. However, the prime reason for holding order-maintenance high on the political agenda remains that 'If order is not maintained, the process of nation-building will be based on only incomplete and insecure foundations' (Brewer, Guelke, Hume, Moxon-Browne and Wilford, 1996:1). Brewer et al. (1996) argue that the police should be given the attention that matches the importance of their function as protectors of civil society.

Police officers are also expected to act as negotiators and arbiters and, where necessary, they are expected to catch offenders and forward them to the law (Cox, 1996:6). Jefferson and Grimshaw (1984 cited in Benyon, 1986a:16) reiterate that policing strategies require officers to 'guard the rights and common interests of all.' However, one can predict that the police cannot favour all the individuals/groups involved in a discord. In 1978, the 'Royal Commission was asked to strike a balance between bringing offenders to justice and protecting citizens' rights and liberties …' (Buck, 1986:150). This is the classic and continuing dilemma for policing.

Brewer et al. (1996:1) claims that, understandably, the British would squirm at the idea of tainting the friendly 'bobby' with politics or at considering this British symbol as the agent of the state. Things changed in the late 1970s. In 1979, the Conservative party in government latently or overtly attributed precisely the role of state agents to British police. The 1980s

incidents have shown the British police's preparedness to adopt heavy-handed policing styles, showing its propensity not to remain neutral. One can note similarities between the UK and the Maltese circumstances that led to the tainting of their respective police forces. Brewer et al. (1996:2) claim that 'the idea that the police act in political ways to enforce government policies is no longer confined to the tributaries of radical opinion: it has flowed into the mainstream of British political debate.' Examples of the manifest loyalty of the police towards the state may be observed in several countries. Many Irish Republicans, for example, viewed the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) as oppressive agents of the British state although Brewer et al. (1996:3) consider the UK as fertile ground for liberal and tolerant ideals; but 'By focusing on public order, policing is clearly revealed as a political activity' (Brewer et al. 1996:4). Different policing methods reflect the different society-police-state relations (Brewer et al. 1996:5).

Reiner (2000:109) maintains that the theme of the police role has always been the centre of intense debate. Should one refer to the police as a force, clearly implying that the police officer is primarily a law enforcer or should one refer to the police as a service, indicating that the police are more socially inclined? Reiner concludes that 'most police-work is … order maintenance' (Reiner, 2000:112). He also (2000:48) believes that public confidence in the police is at its best when officers maintain order without resorting to heavy policing methods, such as the use of physical force. Good police officers may depend on invoking authority just by their presence and may rely on their developed interpersonal skills. Notwithstanding all this, however, and besides the fact that interpersonal skills 'are not adequately recognised, rewarded or understood' (Reiner, 1992:113), policing methods depend on state-societal relations; but clearly, the 'state' in Western Europe, Australia, Canada and the United States represents a different notion than, for example, the 'state' in Cuba.

Bayley (1977 cited in Brewer et al. 1996:227) groups policing approaches under the following labels: 'authoritarian', 'oriental' and 'Anglo-Saxon'. As would be expected, 'authoritarian' policing is adopted in autocratic systems of government. In such systems, the domineering state acts as the big brother, interfering whenever it deems necessary to achieve its aims. Such states have all the potential to become police states, in which the police are free to intervene wherever they encounter the smallest deviance and where personal liberty is prone to constant deterioration. Police action in these places is rarely regulated by the law. Police officers in authoritarian states are often left free to create and administer their own laws. Consequently, the police become very powerful state agents with the primary function of protecting the state and certainly not that of serving the public. Authoritarian police exist to control and not prevent crime. Hence, militaristic policing becomes the order of the day. Such appears to be the case with Maltese policing during the 1980s.

Conversely, 'oriental' policing prioritises service through community policing. The police become part of the tapestry of the daily lives of citizens and are regarded as the servants of society, whose function is control but by means of 'persuasion, counselling and community support' (Brewer et al. 1996:228). Police officers also serve as role models, giving importance to every call for help or service and respectfully treating every citizen. 'Oriental' policing is found in Japan, Malaysia, Korea and China (Brewer et al. 1996:228).

'Anglo-Saxon' policing may be regarded as a mixture of these styles. When the 'Anglo-Saxon' policing style is adopted police officers are more specialised (Brewer et al. 1996:228). They focus on law-enforcement duties and do not function as state agents or social workers. Their performance is backed by the law, so performance is not fuelled by individual morality. With the exception of the odd officer, 'Anglo-Saxon' police purposely keep their contact with the community to a minimum, reserving their energies for emergencies when contact with the public becomes unavoidable. Their performance is regulated by law and this alone dictates their behaviour and guarantees the rights of community members. The authority of the state and of the police force is zealously safeguarded and demarcated by a society that is aware of its rights and apprehensive of police interference. According to Bayley (1985 cited in Brewer et al. 1996:229) this policing approach can be found in 'liberal-democracies'.

In the same way as policing styles vary according to relationships between the state and society, the attitudes of police officers vary according to the policing style of their police force. On entering the police, officers bring in their cultural baggage which changes according to experience and environment. Thus policing styles may change without the necessary adjustments to all officers' individual cultural luggage. Emerging governments may decide to change their system but individual police officers may find it difficult to adjust and perpetrate an outdated culture. Older-generation police officers may find making adjustments difficult, but these are precisely the officers with seniority and high rank who determine police culture at the fore or organizational level. This inhibits reform and consolidates conservatism. In extreme cases new governments with new liberal democratic values can be serviced by policing that clings to older-style policing which is guided by older-style authoritarian values.

Culture does not emanate from a vacuum; there is a reason why Maltese police officers act in the way they do, but clearly police-work is never done thematically. Police activity is all about continuous interactions with different sections of society. The complexity of police-work lies in the unpredictability of events and the different types of people involved. Reiner (2000:112) explains how the 'successful police officer draws on the authority of her office, as well as her personal and craft skills in handling people, rather than the core of coercive power …' thus implying that, the ideal police officer should master social skills, be able to assess

given situations and interact with the public accordingly. However, Reiner (2000:112) also warns that these skills are not 'adequately recognized, rewarded or understood' mainly because the traditional role of police officers is so ingrained in the social and police culture. Another way of exposing the nature of police culture would be by exploring the quality of police-public interactions. After discussing the major elements of police culture, the author reviews the relationship of the police with youths, the elderly, victims of crime, victims of domestic violence, persons from different social classes, informants, offenders, the judiciary and correctional personnel – the people who comprise the matrix of police-public and police-professional relations.

The relationship between the police and youths

Society is segmented and grouped according to several variables (Brown, 1998:15). Age is one such variable. Individuals are categorized mainly under labels, such as: children, adolescents, adults and elderly. Society has expectations of each group, assigning privileges to certain groups whilst withholding them from others. For example, it bars children and adolescents from being 'self-determining, to have direct access to the general forms of power and resources … to have a voice in the making of decisions …' (Brown, 1998:16). Although individuals in a mid-category position may feel comfortable, it is at the transitional points where problems seem to emerge and escalate into confrontation (Brown, 1998:14). For adolescents this is 'the discovery of a new life phase' (Brown, 1998:15). Adolescence represents renovation – the enemy of the advocates of the status quo. This explains why older generations seem to be always warning against the 'slack morals' that erode the 'backbone of the nation' (Brown, 1998:15).

Maltese society has its roots in Roman Catholicism. In fact, Baldacchino (2000:65) claims that the Roman Catholic Church is 'clearly, the strongest contributor to Maltese culture'. The Roman Catholic Church in Malta exercises power through its teachings, thus animating religious beliefs, tradition and attitudes (Cole, 1994 in Sultana and Baldacchino, 1994:605). This constitutes a good part of the local cultural baggage which the Maltese carry with them throughout their different walks of life. Police officers are no acception. Since Maltese police officers are also part of society they 'reflect the dominant attitudes of the majority of people' (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1968 in Reiner, 2000:98). Thus, clearly the Roman Catholic Church not only plays a determining role in the moulding of Maltese culture in general but also in the shaping of police culture in Malta.

Roman Catholicism is permeated by patriarchalism. Infact, Miceli (1994:87) describes how the 'old concept of patriarchal rule … prevails' while other authors (Abela, 1992:19; Callus, 1998:94) explain how Maltese citizens lead a 'predominantly traditional way of life' based on patriarchy. However, although these values met with relatively little resistance until the 1980s (Abela, 1992:18), things changed during the 1990s. Abela (1994:260) explains how a values study showed that 'more are inclined to think that new ideas are generally better than old ones' and that one has to act boldly rather than waste time reflecting. Clearly, these values seem to be associated with the younger generations. Abela (1994:254) also states that there is 'an emerging concern for the freedom of expression, the protection of the environment and a better quality of life'. Again, these views seem to converge with youth-mentality.

Moreover, better educational opportunities have rendered Maltese youths more articulate, more active and more determined in their claims for participation in society. In addition, the increased educational opportunities have produced a much more qualified generation of adolescents and young adults. It has become increasingly difficult to justify the denigration of youths based on the lack of academic qualifications. Instead, their obvious lack of experience is being used, to the frustration of Maltese youngsters. Even law-abiding youths may be regarded with contempt by the older generations. If Peel's claim is correct that if 'The police are the public and the public are the police' (in Peak and Glensor, 1996:1) then members of the police force cannot be expected to remain immune to this negative view of youths. As a consequence, police officers tend to act against youths, even when they are not breaking laws, thereby confirming the view that 'Relations are … poor between police and young people' (Chan, 1997:2).

If patriarchalism is the backbone of Maltese society it certainly is nothing less for the police force, whose world is one 'of old-fashioned machismo' (Reiner, 2000:97). The police force is a 'hierarchical, tightly disciplined organisation' (Reiner, 2000:96) where subordinates are expected to conform and obey passively. Skolnick (1966 quoted in Reiner, 2000:97) claims that police officers are 'conventional people'. Youths are not; they are the epitome of change – physical and mental change (Atkinson, Atkinson and Hilgard, 1983:92-93) and this leads to cultural clash.

Haines and Drakeford (1998:1) start their book by claiming that 'Our [the British] society does not like young people'. Loader (1996:24) blames it on the many negative images used by society to portray the young. Primarily, youths are perceived as catalysts of revolutions (Bell, 1994:421). They are seen as the omens of the often-dreaded social change (Loader, 1996:24) and the enemies of traditional values. Maltese youths are no different. They strive to

create a 'new order of social relations; an order free from the routine and conservatism of traditional Maltese society' (Bell, 1994:422).

Youths are 'expected' (Brown, 1998:3) to be tumultuous, divergent and incorrigible, consequently they are very easily associated with crime and 'trouble' (Loader, 1996:24). Haines and Drakeford (1998:4-5) present several excerpts from newspapers depicting modern youths as: '… graceless, Godless, sullen, illiterate … unmannerly …' and as 'ill-educated, spiritually dead and amoral androids'.

Brown (1998:3) describes how society is 'bombarded' with representations of lazy, 'anti-authoritarian, subversive – and inevitably criminal' youths. One can hardly argue against the existence of such youngsters, but it could be the case that this type of youth receives the most exposure. Consequently, the young become automatically connected with images of disorders, uprisings and any other sort of trouble (Graycar and Jamrozik, 1989 in White and Alder, 1994:114). This makes their presence undesired in public spaces. Furthermore, 'moral panics' conjectured by the media, shock communities with youth 'crime waves' (White and Alder, 1994:114), strengthening their convictions that youths are a threat to society. This in turn, licenses the police to adopt any necessary methods to 'clean up the streets', and to 'keep young people in line' (White and Alder, 1994:117).

Haines and Drakeford (1998:3) devote considerable attention to societal attitudes towards youths since 'the way in which young people are regarded in our society has the most formative influence upon public policies towards them.' These authors stipulate that there exist two main notions of youths. The first depicts them as carefree creatures, indulging in lust and leisure. The second portrays them as badly bred, wild beasts that have been let loose on society. Those who conceive youths as reckless may jealously regard them as irresponsible, undeserving, lazy beings that are living in bliss, whereas, those who consider youths as untamed creatures, are apprehensive of them (Haines and Drakeford, 1998:3).

Haines and Drakeford (1998:3) claim that 'Suspicion, hostility and oppression are the products of fear' that have strongly contributed to the criminalisation of youth. Suspicion is considered as one of the main elements of police culture. Individually, police officers may not feel the need to approach youngsters and ask them to 'move on' yet, 'even when the police have some sympathy for young people's plight, and believe the allegations against them to be unfounded, organisational constraints [public demands] require officers to resolve their dilemma in ways prejudicial to young people' (Loader, 1996:82). Consequently, stereotyping and labelling take their toll. Self-fulfilling prophecies come through and some youths do live up to society's negative expectations and become criminal (Brehm and Kassin, 1993:132). Another

adverse effect of the police's practice of targeting youths is that 'their actions may serve to sour police relations with young people' thus drastically reducing positive, crime preventive, youths-police contact (Loader, 1996:83-84; White and Alder, 1994:117). When youngsters avoid contacting the police even when they are victimised, they inadvertently perpetrate the assumption amongst police officers that youths are the aggressors, not the victims. Loader (1996:91) claims that, although police officers adopt a 'we know best', paternalistic attitude, they seem to ignore the fact that even youngsters may fall prey to crime and criminals.

The negative attitude of the public demonises youngsters (Haines and Drakeford, 1998:3). The young are automatically perceived as delinquents and thus a threat to society. White and Alder (1994:116) indicate the bias of the police against youths by listing the slang used by officers when referring to youngsters: 'louts', 'larrikins', 'no-hopers', 'gang-members', 'dole-bludgers' and 'hooligans'. Piliavin and Briar (1964 cited in Pearson, 1994:1188) claim that the police are immediately suspicious if a youngster has a particular hair-do, sticks to a particular fashion or walks in a particular manner. Therefore, in accordance with Werthman and Piliavin (1981 cited in Pearson, 1994:1188), 'A "delinquent"… is a young person whose moral character has been negatively assessed'. Thus, youths are identified and marginalized by society. As a reaction, they 'form a separate subculture' whose value system is in direct conflict with that of society (Siegel and Senna, 1994:161). Cohen (in Siegel and Senna, 1994:161) describes a subculture as a culture that retrieves 'its norms from the larger culture but turns them upside down'.

Youth subculture is 'the expression of the dissatisfied, structurally marginated youth; it is the epitome of youth resistance …' (Bell, 1994:421). Youths have always identified themselves with media heroes. For Borowski and O'Connor (1997:83) unlike the 1960s students, modern students attend school in pub-wear and even familiarise with their teachers in places of leisure, thus smudging the barrier between traditional authority figures and peers. Youth subcultures dictate values and behaviours to youngsters and peer-pressure obliges them to accept and perpetrate this culture in schools (Borowski and O'Connor, 1997:83). Borowski and O'Connor (1997:84) reached the following conclusion:

> … there has been an active invention and re-invention of youth styles … this has been accompanied by a loss of school culture at years 11-12, replaced by small, informal social groupings and an emerging secondary school work culture. This 'youth culture' strongly challenges parent and teacher authority, and many parents in particular find the defiance both fearful and threatening.

Hence, society seems to be faced by a monster it has created itself and continues to nourish by its negative attitudes towards youths. Although 'attitudes die hard' (Haines and Drakeford, 1998:4), they stand to be corrected – one solution may lie in a cure aimed at treating 'A

profound historical amnesia [that] has settled around the youth question, whereby it is imagined that in the past young people were orderly, disciplined and well behaved' (Pearson, 1994 cited in Haines and Drakeford, 1998:4). Such an understanding of youth culture would promote more empathetic police-youths encounters and interventions.

The relationship between the police and victims of crime

Viano (1989:4) describes the victim of crime as 'any individual harmed or damaged by another or by others who perceives him- or herself as harmed, who shares the experience and seeks assistance and redress, and who is recognized as harmed and possibly assisted by public, private, or community agencies'. Viano (1998:4) adds that even organizations, conglomerates and groups of people can fall prey to crime and 'claim victim status'. Spackman (2000:4) claims that, although everybody responds differently to crime, there exist commonalities in people's reactions to crime. She claims that when harm is purposely inflicted, it becomes very difficult for victims to cope with the ordeal. They feel 'violated' and 'insecure' (Spackman, 2000:5). Besides suffering physical and financial losses, victims of crime experience a loss of control, self-confidence and trust in fellow citizens.

Viano (1989:4) and Spackman (2000:5) explain the different, consecutive stages in the progression of reacting to crime victimization. Viano (1989:5) claims that individuals may suffer harm without necessarily considering themselves as victims. Cultural, traditional or religious beliefs may provide them with rationalizations, which may lead them to perceive themselves responsible for their victimization. Self-blaming happens especially in cases of domestic violence and sexual harassment/assault. However, the nature of this first stage reaction to crime victimization depends on the victim's personal strength (or lack of it) and way of life. Spackman (2000:5) states that the victim's initial reactions are shock, disorientation, panic, disbelief and denial; though, subsequently, victims of crime might also experience fear and helplessness as well as guilt (Spackman, 2000:5).

Viano (1989:5) describes the second stage as when victims genuinely acknowledge that they are victims. Viano (1989:5) refers to this step as 'crucial' since it is the first step to recovery. He blames society's silence in relation to certain crimes as the primary obstacle to acknowledging one's victimization. Indifference to certain crimes and victim blaming may be ingrained in certain cultures. They might emanate from a value system that 'actively support, justify, and legitimise victimization' (Viano, 1989:6). Passive acceptance of victimization may also be the result of a 'nonconscious ideology' (Viano, 1989:6). This ideology might not have been overtly transmitted from one generation to another, but individuals might have been socialized into a certain mentality by the creation and perpetuation of stereotypes. This frame of

mind is conducive to a state of 'learned helplessness' (Atkinson, Atkinson and Hilgard, 1983:428) – when individuals accept adversities with little or no resistance since they have been socialised into believing that they are powerless under certain conditions. Agreeing with Spackman, Viano (1989:6) holds that individuals find it very hard to recognise that they are victims of crime because of the 'novel, threatening, and shattering nature of the experience' and the consequent need of a 'new configuration of meaning' (the need to re-build one's foundation of safety). Victims of crime may feel unable to 'carry on with their normal life' because their 'normal life', their stability, has been 'shattered' (Spackman, 2000:6). Moreover, stigmatisation might prevent particular victims of crime from publicly declaring that they have been victimized (Viano, 1989:10).

However, once victims of crime start considering themselves as such, they find themselves having to decide on a course of action. This is the third stage (Viano, 1989:9). It is only after accepting reality that victims of crime 'may begin to reconstruct their lives' (Spackman, 2000:6). This is the stage when crime victims seek help from other people. Viano (1989:10) claims that victims of crime share and evaluate their experiences with people that are considered as trust-worthy and close. These interactions determine whether and how crime victims proceed. However, the decision of whether to report the crime or not depends on several factors, which Viano (1989:10) lists as faith in the police, extent of damage, rapport with the offender, nature of reporting procedures, fear of scorn and reprisal as well as the location of the victim's home.

Finally and most importantly, victims of crime need society's comprehension and support. In fact, the fourth stage (Viano, 1989:11) is when victims of crime start obtaining society's recognition and backing but, unfortunately, Viano (1989:12) claims the extent of society's response to victims of crime 'will inevitably depend on … status, visibility, and power'. This further highlights the need for more adequate public policy that would secure the rights of all victims of crime.

The victim's first contact with the criminal justice system would probably occur in the third stage with the victim's acknowledgement of victimisation and a decision to contact the police (or not) depending upon perceived confidence in the police. When victims of crime decide to approach the police, investigations and the gathering of evidence commence, leading to the subsequent capture and incrimination of the offender (Spackman, 2000:17). However, according 'to the British Crime Survey, fewer than 50.0 per cent of crimes are reported to the police'. This could be indicative of the victims' lack of faith in the police and might emanate from the commonly-held impression that victims are the 'forgotten participants' within the

criminal justice process, 'valued by the police only for their role in reporting crimes when they occur and appearing in court as witnesses' (Skogan, 1989:71).

Skogan (1989:71) refers to responding officers as the connection between crime victims and the state, implying that any effort to improve the situation of victims must necessarily involve the participation of these officers. Karmen (1990:163) claims that police officers are 'the first representatives of the criminal justice system' that victims meet after the crimes, and that they have considerable expectations of the police, including a presumption that officers will take immediate action, give on-the-site first aid, readily accept the victims' versions of the incident, embark on an extensive investigation, solve the crime, incriminate the victimizer and recover the lost belongings. Skogan (1989:71-72) explains how, besides needing help with 'pressing problems', crime victims also expect the police to take them seriously, listen to them, be sympathetic as well as provide advice, 'reassurance' and 'protection'. Paradoxically, what is considered as being professional behaviour by police officers may not concord with what is considered as professional performance by crime victims. Skogan (1989:72), in fact claims that, while police officers seem to strive to remain detached and are 'preoccupied with technical efficiency', crime victims judge police performance according to the extent of 'time and trouble' officers take when assisting them. 'Victims can become bitterly disappointed with the police if officers are slow to arrive, disbelieve their accusations, superficially investigate the incident, fail to make arrests, and fail to recover stolen property' (Karmen, 1990:163). Victims are further aggravated by a painful 'lack of information' as regards to criminal justice procedures and victim support services as well as an equally painful 'lack of feedback' on the development of their case (Skogan, 1989:71).

The nature of the interaction between crime victims and police seems to depend largely on the police force's conception of its role – with the community-policing model best seeming to fit the expectations of crime victims (Peak and Glensor, 1996:71). Failure to embrace this model would automatically bar certain police forces from living up to the crime victims' expectations. It is only in recent years that the Maltese police force has taken a clear stance in this direction with a 2002 bill to amend the Malta police ordinance and criminal code. The new police act binds the police to 'respond immediately to any request for the protection and intervention of the law', guarantees the setting up of a police board that would investigate any complaints made against the police, provides a witness-victim protection programme and permits victims to give evidence viva voce during the trial while being screened from the accused or by contemporaneous television transmission.

It would be unfair, however, to accuse the Malta police force of having completely disregarded victims of crime before 2002. The Maltese are a close-knit nation bound with

solidarity and strong family ties (Van der Wolf, 2000:622) that has survived two great wars and earned the George Cross for bravery. Over the great tests of time Maltese people have learned to take care of their own and any lack of official victim support does not result from a lack of compassion from fellow citizens. Paradoxically, the lacuna could be due to the fact that, since the Maltese felt confident of the solidarity of family and friends in times of need, the setting up of victim support services was not considered a priority – although even before 2002 the Malta police force felt it necessary to set up a victim support unit. The internal protocol guides Maltese police officers to refer victims of crime, especially victims of domestic violence and sexual abuse to this victim support unit (Van der Wolf, 2000:615). The questioning of crime victims occurs in private, usually in one of the offices at the station, but in cases of violent crime the victims are questioned either at home or in hospital (Van der Wolf, 2000:634). Children are generally questioned by the police in the presence of a family member or a guardian (Van der Wolf, 2000:634), but this is standard police practice rather than a legal obligation. Maltese police officers do provide advice to victims of crime but they are not bound to inform victims about whether the offender would be prosecuted or not (Van der Wolf, 2000:622-621).

This may lead to victims feeling frustrated and dissatisfied with the Malta police. Prior to the establishment of the police board, any complaints against individual police officers were forwarded to the Malta police headquarters (the Police Complaints' Unit) by filling in a form. However, even this might have fallen short of the expectations of Maltese crime victims. Wemmers (1996:58) claims that there are three factors which determine victim satisfaction, namely: 'standing', 'trust' and 'neutrality': standing refers to the dignified and respectful treatment of victims; trust refers to the sensitivity to victims' needs; and neutrality refers to an objective, prejudice-free consideration of the case.

The relationship between the police force and victims of family violence

The term 'family violence' or 'domestic violence' includes violence perpetrated by family members against other members of the same family. Victims may comprise spouses/ cohabitees, children and elders. Forms of abuse vary and are sometimes inflicted concurrently. They may be physical, psychological, emotional and/or sexual (Tifft, 1993:ix). Tifft (1993:x) claims that inflicting violence on 'an intimate partner essentially involves one person attempting to control the thoughts, beliefs, realities, and/or conduct of another'. The concept of family/home is often associated with shelter, love, warmth and protection (Berkowitz, 1993:240). However, sometimes family homes become battlegrounds where the powerful inflict pain on the weak.

Defining family violence and ascertaining who is the 'intimate partner' or 'victim' has proved problematic (Tifft, 1993:171). Benjamin and Adler (1980 cited in Tifft, 1993:171) and Freeman (1979 cited in Tifft, 1993:172) conceive domestic violence as physical abuse. Benjamin and Adler (1980 cited in Tifft, 1993:171) consider temporary discernible wounds or wounds that need nursing as the result of domestic violence while Freeman (1979 cited in Tifft, 1993:172) claims that an abuse is evident when continuous or grave physical violence is inflicted on a member of the family by another. These definitions could imply that there exists a degree of abuse which is socially and legally acceptable and consequently, that only particular victims deserve attention (Merwine, 1987 cited in Tifft, 1993:172). Tifft (1993:172) stresses that such definitions ignore induced pressure, threat of violence and exposure, sexual abuse, psychological and emotional injury, induced isolation and the vandalism of the victim/s' belongings or pets.

Limiting domestic violence to physical assault in the home could give a tainted view: one based on class. According to Miller's cultural theory (Vold and Bernard, 1986:214) unlike the middle class, the lower class has 'focal concerns' which include toughness. Lower class people are held to value masculinity, perseverance and physical prowess highly. Thus, perhaps unlike middle class people, they often resort to a particular form of family violence: physical abuse. If researchers focus only on this particular type of domestic violence, they exclude other forms (such as psychological abuse) perhaps more usually perpetrated by the middle class. In this manner, policy makers formulate policies which only protect a particular population of victims. More helpfully, Lerman (1984 cited in Tifft, 1993:172) postulates that domestic violence:

> should refer to any overt acts, attempts, or threats, including battery, assault, coercion, sexual assault, harassment, unlawful imprisonment, unlawful entry, damage to property, and theft, where the perpetrator and the victim have or have had an ongoing personal relationship or living arrangement

According to Tifft (1989 cited in Tifft, 1993:172) domestic violence may be 'defined as acts, processes, or social arrangements that obstruct an intimate's potential to develop freely and fully'. As the definition of domestic violence widens so too does the role of the police in dealing with it, as will the expectations the victims have of the police.

Brehm and Kassin (1993:384) argue that researchers can only give an estimate of the prevalence of domestic violence, primarily because this abuse happens in the privacy and confines of the home. The 1975 and 1985 American national crime victimisation surveys indicate that spouse (female and male partner) abuse occurred almost at a constant rate (Brehm and Kassin, 1993:384). The surveys revealed more than 3 million American couples engaged in severe violence as victims or perpetrators. Athough husband abuse is usually given minimal

importance, these surveys exposed a high level of wife-to-husband abuse, and also indicated that male partners suffered the most 'severe' abuse. Indeed, 'wives can be just as violent' as any husband and perhaps, sometimes even more (Tanti Dougal, 1994:648). Maltese police statistics (Tanti Dougal, 1994:648) show, however, that during the period between January 1992 and May 1993 there were 147 reported cases of wife battering compared with just seven cases of husband battering. These figures may be misleading since under-reporting is a real issue and the prevailing culture might hinder men from reporting abuse inflicted by their female partners, reflecting the stereotypical view that 'The real man is the man who can hold his own' (Naffine, 1997:118).

Domestic violence is real and has real consequences, and this directs attention to the way it is policed. The Malta Management Efficiency Unit and the Police Community and Media Relations Unit 1998 report (page 39) claims that 'Although overall public opinion of the police force is positive, analysis indicates that … [some] groups (the list includes women) tend to be more positive'. This is doubtful. A study conducted by Azzopardi Cauchi (1998:44) indicated that 'the Malta police force is highly gendered and guided by the macho ideal'. The research showed that the Maltese police force is saturated with gender discrimination against women. Given that the role of police officers usually reflects the mentality of society towards women (Horne, 1980:24), one wonders how Maltese police officers could manage to deal effectively with battered women (as claimed in the 1998 report) when the trivialisation of domestic violence emanates from police culture itself.

Walklate (1995:117) claims that policing is forged on the 'cult of masculinity'. The dominance of this culture within the police force inclines officers to be more sympathetic towards the interests of men (Sherman, 1992:32), and more concerned with macho-style law enforcement than service-style policing. Benyon (1986a:27) believes that the majority of police officers fail to conceive their real mission as a service. They view themselves as the protectors of lay citizens … 'the thin blue line' (Reiner, 1992:112). This image contrasts strongly with responsibilities for dealing with domestic disputes. Frequently, wife assault is conceived as a private business and not '"real" crime' (Hilton, 1993:38). Consequently, ambitious officers may not be interested in tackling domestic violence (low-profile crime) and may prefer to engage in combating high profile crime (e.g. drug trafficking, burglaries and street assault). Hilton (1993:38) emphasises the general belief that the police act in accordance with what they perceive as public expectations rather than with the aim of combating crime. Thus, the public's perceived gravity of wife battering and the public's expectations from the police seems to be the primary motor that drives police response.

Another reason why police officers give domestic violence such a low priority comes from their innate chauvinism (Reiner, 1992:111-129) – one of the main ingredients of police culture. Studies conducted by Saunders (1980 cited in Hilton, 1993:42) and Stith (1990 cited in Hilton, 1993:42) confirm that police officers tend to uphold traditional gender-roles and actually condone marital violence. Stith's (1990 cited in Hilton, 1993:42) research indicates that, male law enforcers who admitted abusing their wives 'were less likely' to take action against an abuser. Saunders and Size (1986 cited in Hilton, 1993:40) concluded that police officers were more prompt to justify marital abuse than were victims and lawyers and that police officers ascribed a higher level of liability to the victim than did victims and lawyers. Jaffe, Hastings, Reitzel and Austin (1993:66) claimed that police officers tend to identify with the abuser and with the idea 'that "a man's home is his castle"'. They might be disinclined to prosecute those who seem to be upholding male authority. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that 'Although arrest and further criminal justice intervention for wife assault has not been explicitly ruled out by policy, police officers are endowed with discretion in deciding whether arrest and charges are warranted. An apparent reluctance on the part of police to intervene in wife assault …' has been recorded (Hilton, 1993:37).

There are many reasons for low-level or non-existent police action. Officers might find themselves unable to prove that wife assault has actually occurred consequently, police officers have traditionally adopted the practice of taking legal action only when victims require medical assistance after an attack (Jaffe et al., 1993:64). Officers might fear the personal injury they risk in domestic cases (Roberts, 1984 cited in Jaffe et al., 1993:65). Officers might assume that the public does not approve the arrest of violent partners and thus might avoid arresting abusive partners (Dobash and Dobash, 1979 cited in Jaffe et al., 1993:63). Many victims do not co-operate with the law and 'exhort police officers not to lay charges' (Jaffe et al., 1993:67). They do this to avoid jeopardising the family income and to avoid probable retaliation (Brown, 1995:228). Finally, officers tend to doubt whether arresting abusers would actually help the victims (Jaffe et al., 1981 cited in Hilton, 1993:69).

Child abuse is 'Any act of commission or omission by individuals, institutions or society as a whole, and any conditions resulting from such acts or inaction, which deprive children of equal rights and liberties, and/or interfere with their optimal development' (Cook and Bowles, 1980:120). Definitions of child abuse may vary culturally, geographically and chronologically but the essence of the offence will include non-accidental physical abuse, sexual abuse and/or neglect (Braun, 1988:30) and emotional abuse (Spock and Rothenberg, 1992:47).

Tifft (1993:91) claims that 'Many parents do not even question their assumed natural hierarchical authority and claim right to control "their" children.' This assumption lies at the roots of child abuse. An old English saying goes: 'spare the rod, spoil the child'. Apparently, many parents could adhere to this axiom. Traditionally, physical chastisement was an acceptable method of child rearing. Spock and Rothenberg (1992:437) refute this idea and warn about the adverse consequences of physical punishment: it encourages bullying and instils a culture of violence in the young. Children suffer neglect when guardians are indifferent to their needs (Braun, 1988:30). Spock and Rothenberg (1992:47) claim that babies who spend their infancy 'lying neglected in their cribs … wither – in body, in intellect, and in emotions, never fully to recover.' Hostile parents breed hostile children, dominating parents breed bullies and neglectful parents breed depressive children (Spock and Rothenberg, 1992:47). A child may also be victimised sexually by being forced to participate in sexual acts or by being exposed to pornography (Braun, 1988:30). Browne and Finkelhor (1986 cited in Allison and Wrightsman, 1993:253) list the adverse effects left on victims of child abuse: '… depression, very low self-esteem, feelings of isolation, interpersonal problems, and substance abuse'. The causes of child abuse may vary: Abusive parents may themselves have been abused or neglected physically or emotionally as children (Milner and Crouch, 1993:39); having impoverished, unemployed, drugged, alcoholic parents (Flanzer, 1993:172); having poor housing facilities and living in poor environments.

Zellman (1990 cited in Myers, 1992:103) claims that 'Many professionals fail to report abuse and neglect that they know about'. Many abused children can only receive society's attention if concerned individuals become aware of their predicament and report it to the responsible authorities (Besharov, 1993:258). Legal action only follows if abused children themselves, or the reporting citizens, are taken seriously. Walklate (1995:117) holds that policing is moulded on the 'cult of masculinity'. Martin (1980 cited in Crank, 1998:181) believes that the police treasure the values of 'toughness … aggressiveness … violence'. This makes them perfect candidates for being themselves abusive parents. Their culture may lead police officers to trivialise cases of child-abuse, thus minimising police response.

Elder abuse is described by Eastman (1984 quoted in Decalmer and Glendenning, 1993:7) as 'the systematic maltreatment … of an elderly person by a care-giving relative. This may take the form of physical assault, threatening behaviour, neglect and abandonment … , or sexual assault.'

Decalmer and Glendenning (1993:6) claim that elders may fall victims of physical abuse, psychological abuse, medical abuse, social and environmental abuse, material abuse, passive neglect and active neglect. Physical assault includes 'being hit, sexually assaulted, burned or

physically restrained' (Hickey and Douglass, 1981 cited in Decalmer and Glendenning, 1993:6). Stein (1991 quoted in Chapman and Hall, 1994:7) describes physical abuse as 'the non-accidental infliction of physical force that results in bodily injury, pain or impairment'. Psychological abuse is exercised when the elder person is subjected to degrading and humiliating treatment (Hickey and Douglass, 1981 cited in Decalmer and Glendenning, 1993:6). Stein (1991 quoted in Chapman and Hall, 1994:7) defines psychological abuse as 'the wilful infliction of mental or emotional anguish by threat, humiliation or other non-verbal abusive conduct'. Elders may be medically abused by either being given more drugs than needed or by not being given the needed drugs. This is referred to as medical abuse (Block and Sinnot, 1979 cited in Decalmer and Glendenning, 1993:6). Social and environmental abuse includes 'the deprivation of human services, involuntary isolation and financial abuse' (Chen et al., 1981 cited in Decalmer and Glendenning, 1993:6). The elderly may be materially abused of when their money and possessions are purposely mismanaged and/or taken by their carers. Senior citizens may also be compelled to leave their homes and enter institutions (Rathbone-McCuan and Voyles, 1982 cited in Decalmer and Glendenning, 1993:6). Some senior citizens are simply abandoned and ignored. Hickey and Douglass (1981 cited in Decalmer and Glendenning, 1993:7) called this passive neglect. Active neglect was the label given to the action of not providing elders with their basic needs and necessary medication and care (Rathbone-McCuan and Voyles, 1982 cited in Decalmer and Glendenning, 1993:7). Stein (1991 quoted in Chapman and Hall, 1994:8) defines neglect as 'the wilful or non-wilful failure by the caregiver to fulfil his/her caretaking obligations or duties'.

The roots of elderly abuse may very well grow out of culture. Culture constructs stereotypes about elders. Although stereotypes may not necessarily be negative, they are the pillars that sustain prejudice and discrimination. Deaux et al. (1993:218) believe that society tends to 'disparage the elderly, assuming that they are past their prime, incapable of any significant physical or mental activity, and generally dependent on the aid of friends, relatives, and institutional personnel,' but this may be true only for a small minority of senior citizens (Langer, 1983 cited in Deaux et al., 1993:218). However, culture equips individuals with inexact pre-conceived conceptions and expectations and, consequently the elderly are seen in predominantly negative terms (Hazan, 1994:28-32), including being: conservative, inflexible, resistant to change, intellectually sterile, unable to learn, devoid of sexuality, preoccupied with spiritual matters, stuck in the past, depressed, loners, dependant, in need of institutionalisation, incapable of initiative and senile.

All these assumptions have been refuted by studies (Hazan, 1994:28-32) but the assumptions reflect deep and abiding cultural beliefs. They then become a 'self-fulfilling

prophecy' (Deaux et al., 1993:137). Although all the above labels contribute to the victimisation of elders, the last three are particularly linked to elder abuse. These labels justify carers' decisions to institutionalise their elders and assume control of their property and finance, reducing senior citizens to easy prey for abusive minders (Hazan, 1994:30).

Elders are veterans of the past, possessing a mine of experience and knowledge – a section of society that should surely invoke veneration, yet is victimised. The reasons why carers abuse their elders vary, including: carers'/elders' personality traits, the lack of support for carers, carers' thirst for revenge, the carers' financial constraints and the carers' escalating stress levels (Chapman and Hall, 1994:15:131:152). Troisi (1994:659) claims that in Malta, it is customary for the unwed or childless daughter to care for the family's elders. However, Troisi (1994:659) maintains that 'in recent years … various social and cultural changes have subjected the traditional care of the elderly provided by Maltese families to a strain.' These changes include the reduction in the Maltese family size and increased opportunities for gainful employment. Both these factors resulted in a decrease of carers available for each dependent elder, and more stress is placed on available minders.

Pritchard (1995:60) claims that 'the most frustrating thing in working with elder abuse is … that there is little legislation to protect vulnerable older people.' Senior citizens are considered by the police as responsible adults. Police intervention can be secured only if abused elders, or witnesses, complain to the police, but victims are frequently reluctant to press charges for various reasons. These may include fear of retaliation and a desire to protect their carers out of love (Powell and Berg, 1987 cited in Decalmer and Glendenning, 1994:63). Griffiths (1980 cited in Decalmer and Glendenning, 1994:63) maintain that this reaction has provided the police with the justification for not intervening in these cases.

Decalmer and Glendenning (1994:63) claim that 'Other possible reasons for the under-use of legal procedures may lie in the attitudes and/or level of expertise of professionals in this field'. Police officers use discretion in the carrying out of their duties. In cases of elder abuse, 'their primary task is to determine such things as competency of the older adult' (Coleman and Karp, 1989 cited in Fusco Johnson, 1991:138). This is problematic. It may be easier and safer to collude with general cultural assumptions about the elderly, thereby minimizing the need to intervene.

The relationship between the police and informers

Reiner (2000:7) defines policing as a facet of social control which exists worldwide in societies that are faced with 'at least the potential for conflict, deviance, or disorder'. Reiner (2000:7) adds that policing 'involves surveillance to discover actual or anticipated breaches, and

the threat or mobilization of sanctions to ensure the security of the social order'. Policing techniques may be either reactive or proactive, or both concurrently. Hough (1996 quoted in Johnston, 2000:47) describes traditional policing as clearly 'reactive', doubting its ability to deal with the sources of the troubles to 'which uniformed patrols are deployed' almost routinely after the incidence of crime. Conversely, proactive policing entails 'covert forms of policing' (Neyroud and Beckley, 2001:125) – the deliberate penetration of police officers into the criminal world – not necessarily following the occurrence of crime. These proactive, underground policing tactics involve the use of informers.

Informers are described by Billingsley, Nemitz and Bean (2001:5) as individuals who assist the police by disclosing facts that assist law-enforcers in their work. They explain that there are two main categories of informers: the 'professional' informers who assist the police in exchange of compensation and 'public-spirited' informers who help the police because they are conscientious citizens. Gill (1994 cited in Johnston, 2000:57), however, points to four kinds of informers: the 'volunteer citizen' who volunteers information on a particular occasion; the 'undeveloped casual source' who ends up having to provide information because of the nature of his/her work; the 'developed casual source' who is specifically commissioned to collect related information (against payment) and; the 'long term deep cover operative' who may be a converted criminal operating within the targeted arena.

The increased tendency to adopt proactive, intelligence-led policing techniques in the UK and Europe has raised controversies regarding the use of informers (Neyroud and Beckley, 2001:125). Johnston (2000:58) indicates the main problems associated with the use of informers, namely: their doubtful effectiveness and efficiency and the questioned validity of information; the possibility of having informers manipulating and overpowering police officers; ethical considerations and the question of accountability; and the possibility of luring police officers to corruption.

Billingsley et al. (2001:7 and 5) explain how the 'informer system illustrates the full extent of human betrayal' and how the informer world is one of 'half-truth, deception, innuendo and betrayal'. On consulting the Bible, one could even trace this system back to biblical times, when the notorious Judas (one of Jesus Christ's twelve disciples) sold the information that led to the capture and sentencing of Jesus Christ (Matthew 26, 1-5, 14-16; Mark 14,1-2, 10-11: John 11, 45-53), who is considered by Christians as the son of God, saviour of humankind. It is not surprising that in Roman Catholic cultures like Malta, the informer system seems to be very much associated with this event and, consequently, it has to shoulder the heavy weight of what is considered as Judas' great sin. In fact, in Malta, it is not rare to refer to an alleged turncoat as 'Judas'.

An issue that keeps emerging in the informer system debate is the motives of informers: what makes people want to assist the police by disclosing valuable, often incriminating information on others? Billingsley (2001:84-86) provides the following list of motivations in order of priority: personal financial gain; feeling an aversion towards the crime; anticipated leniency of the court when sentencing the informer; vengeance; confirmation of being on the side of the law; being in search of a favour; being on friendly terms with a particular police officer; experiencing pressure from the police; engaging in the eradication of rival illicit businesses; information-giving may be part of a deal with the police; answering to the challenge of being a police informer; feeling indebted to the police; and, finally, actually enjoying being an informer. Skolnick (1967 quoted in Billingsley et al., 2001:18) records seven major reasons for acting as informers: apprehension of the law and of a heavy personal sentence; vengeance; the need to halt or hinder the illicit doings of a rival; experiencing enjoyment from being an informer; being 'demented, eccentric or a nuisance'; receiving a financial reward in exchange of the information; and repentance.

Therefore, after perhaps excluding the 'public-spirited' (Billingsley et al., 2001:5), the informer seems to thrive on the worst side of human nature: treachery, egoism and self-preservation. The extent of this lies in the 'ironical twist … that when the corrupt police officer is detected it is likely to be the erstwhile informer who informs' on the officer (Billingsley et al., 2001:16). This implies that by utilizing the informer system, the police appear to be actually taking advantage of the weakness of human nature. In addition, the informer system may bind police officers to purposely conduct investigations incompetently to shield their informers (Williamson and Bagshaw, 2001:51). Another negative aspect of this system is that, for it to be effective, the police tend to permit individuals (those acting as informers) to persevere in 'activities that might amount to very serious crimes' to preserve their credibility (Waddington, 1999:124). Undoubtedly, these considerations gives rise to ethical issues (Billingsley et al., 2001:17) which are possibly accentuated by a rampant 'lack of integrity' and the consequent 'unprincipled informer handling' (Williamson and Bagshaw, 2001:50). In support of this, Waddington (1999:124) illustrates how law enforcers become implicated in 'corrupt deals with informants in order to get results', insisting that the enticement towards corruption is prevalent in 'all informant-based' operations.

This sort of corruption may not necessarily have its roots in human avarice. It may be the consequence of the 'paper-thin line between the [informer] handler acting in an acceptable or non-acceptable manner' (Billingsley et al., 2001:6) – the 'short step' to criminality (Waddington, 1999:125). As stated by Grieve (1992 in Billingsley et al., 2001:12), 'the root of all problems with informers is the weakness of the officers involved, and the failure of the

organisation to outline the dangers' of the informer-criminal becoming even more successful and 'dangerous' than the very criminals sought by the police. Furthermore, Billingsley et al. (2001:6) claim that the 'best informers' are the ones who are busily engaged in the criminal world, also referred to as 'participating informers'. This gives rise to ethical questions: to what extent can law enforcers be permissive with their informers? How much informer-incriminating information can police officers withhold from their colleagues? Should law enforcers react to every bit of information provided, even though they may be dealing with only a particular type of crime?

Billingsley et al. (2001:6) argue that, although the 'need for clear guidelines is obvious', instruction and 'integrity' in police officers are equally essential. The Association of Chief Police Officers (1992 quoted by Billingsley et al., 2001:12) states that the successful treatment and utilization of informers entails 'judgement, experience and the management of risk'. Therefore, the informer system seems to be very closely linked with police discretion, which implies that the 'police actually make policy about what laws to enforce, the extent to which they should be enforced, against whom, and on what occasions' (Cox, 1996:48). When one considers police cultural assumptions: 'Personal experience is a better action guide than abstract rules' and that 'police officers make the best decisions' (Manning, 1978 cited in Cox, 1996:49), the dangers of this system become increasingly clear. Williamson and Bagshaw (2001 cited in Billingsley et al., 2001:17) may be right in wanting 'the whole police culture to be reviewed', providing 'more appropriate supervision' and thus helping police officers face other dilemmas: how does one verify whether the information is valid and reliable? Should anyone be used as an informer? How can the police force deal with the aggressive competition between officers that are fuelled by the informer system? Do the advantages of the informer system outweigh the disadvantages? Finally, what can be done to contain any damages of the informer system?

One must have the means to verify facts, ascertaining that the information provided is cost-effective and making informers answerable while, continuing to respect and shield them (South, 2001:73-5). South (2001:17) believes that the National Guidelines (Billingsley et al., 2001:12) offer some limited guarantees. The UK's effort to standardize the use of informers by requiring both them and their information-money to be registered may be a solution but Dunnigham and Norris (1996 cited in Waddington, 1999:124) demonstrate that, notwithstanding this move, unregistered informers continue to be used.

Police officers must decide whether or not child/juvenile-informers should receive payments for their services even if they know that these informers are addicted to particular vices (Billingsley et al., 2001:7). They must also decide whether or not to use the following persons as informers: marital partners, siblings, relatives, friends and business collaborators.

Should police officers be revulsed by the human betrayal implicit in the informer system, or does the revulsion fade in face of the 'reduction in crime, especially of serious offences' (Billingsley et al., 2001:7-19)?

Waddington (1999:124) claims that the informer system provides fertile ground for 'competitive individualism' and self-preservation efforts of police officers to germinate. Settle (1995:2) explains how the contradicting demands made of the police may lead officers to adopt unconventional methods, verging on the legally and ethically unacceptable. In the pursuit of their personal gains, police officers compete for the instrumental bit of information that might help them in the solution of cases – the ticket for their success. This is where the rift between 'street cops' and 'management cops' (Reiner, 2000:92), and that between same-rankers, is accentuated as officers feel exploited by their colleagues who persist in withholding information regarding particular cases (Waddington, 1999:124).

Neyroud and Beckley (2001:125) as well as Ericson and Haggerty (1998 cited in Neyroud and Beckley, 2001:125) explain how, on the one side, advocates of the use of informers are enthusiastically in favour of using any system to combat crime for the common good while, on the other side, critics of covert policing depict the state as a big bully. Marx (1988 cited in Neyroud and Beckley, 2001:125) mentions the two perspectives for viewing deception: 'ethical deception' and 'deceptive ethics'. The supporters of the informer system argue that the use of covert policing is necessary for the common good. Conversely, those who consider this issue from the 'deceptive ethics' perspective, refute any tactic that involves 'lying and rule-breaking by the state, such as may be involved in undercover and participant informant operations' (Zander, 1994 cited in Neyroud and Beckley, 2001:126). However, notwithstanding all these arguments, Billingsley et al. (2001:5) as well as Neyroud and Beckley (2001:127) stress that informers are indispensable for effective policing. Therefore, the only way to contain any possible damage could be to regularise the informer system. The UK has a 'de facto national policy to facilitate and encourage the use of informers' (Dunnighan and Norris, 1997 quoted in Johnston, 2000:57). This policy has been overtly supported (Johnston, 2000:57) and the UK National Guidelines for informer handling may very well be a step in the right direction (South, 2001:17).

Police officers seem to benefit more from proactive policing methods than from reactive policing ones and, from amongst these methods, the informer-system appears to be the most cost-efficient (Williamson and Bagshaw, 2001:53). Thus, in spite of all the ethical concerns and operational problems, the pragmatic attitude of police officers (Reiner, 2000:101) contributes to the popularity of the informer system. The lack of research on police informers emanates from police officers' reluctance to disclose information that could instigate public criticism,

compromising the reputation of the police and their methods (Billingsley et al., 2001:5; Settle, 1995:3). This implies that even police officers seem to be uneasy with the informer-system. However, this method seems to be considered as unavoidable, and as such, is destined to remain in use.

The relationship between the police and people from different social classes

Sultana (1994:27) explains how Marx's and Weber's theorisations provide the main guidelines in the debate of social class. While explaining the 'different fortunes of different groups of people in a particular society', Marx concentrates on production whereas Weber focuses on consumption (Sultana, 1994:28). Marx underlines the rift between the two major classes: 'the proletariat and the bourgeoisie' and this draws Marxists' attention to the further subdivisions within each class (Sultana, 1994:31). An example of such subdivisions can be found in Miliband (1987 in Sultana, 1994:31). This author divides the upper class in the 'power elite', the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie whereas he divides the lower class in the working class and the 'underclass'.

Sultana (1994:33) explains how Marx contributes towards the consideration of social classes as more than categories of individuals with analogous social statuses. Conversely, Weber does not perceive the economic system in terms of owners and non-owners of the means of productions but as a marketplace where individuals 'sell their skills or labour power' and compete with each other to attain the best quality of life possible (Sultana, 1994:31). Therefore individuals join occupational groups that adopt various strategies to secure a continued, steady demand for their skills/services in exchange for sustained high rewards. Weber (Sultana, 1994:32) explains how, unable to organise themselves on a class basis, these groups organise themselves by means of 'status groups' (styles of life) and political parties. The Weberian point of view provides a deeper understanding of the intricacies of social inequality (Sultana, 1994:33).

Sultana (1994:33) adopts Anyon's (1980 quoted in Sultana, 1994:33) definition of social classes because, according to Sultana, it is rooted in both Marx's and Weber's approaches. Anyon (1980 quoted in Sultana, 1994:33) holds that it is the people's type of employment and the amount of money they generate from it, which strongly indicates their social class (even though they do not determine it). Anyon (1980 quoted in Sultana, 1994:33) considers social class as a chain of social interactions: how people react and correspond to society's exercise of producing goods, services and culture. People's jobs/careers provide them with the opportunity to respond to the many facets of the production procedure. Individuals are linked to the 'system of ownership, to other people (at work and society) and to the content and

process of [their] … own productive activity' (Anyon, 1980 quoted in Sultana, 1994:33). Anyon (1980 quoted in Sultana, 1994:33) claims that it is the interaction of people, with all these elements, that establishes their social class, rendering 'all three relationships' indispensable, implying that one aspect would not suffice for establishing an individual's 'relation to the process of production in society'.

Like any other country, Malta has its share of structural disparities (Sultana, 1994:33). However, when discussing social class one must keep in mind Malta's particular, colonial and neo-colonial history; its diminutive dimensions; its strategic geographic position; its undersized manufacturing industry and the 'historic stronghold of the catholic church' on the Maltese (Sultana, 1994:34). Sultana argues that the fact that Malta has had a Labour government, headed by Dom Mintoff, for sixteen years (1971-1987) is of 'historical importance'. Sultana (1994:34) adds that Mintoff's declared intention was to eliminate class disparities with explicit policies to introduce and strengthen social welfare, to remove what were considered as 'privileges' of the upper classes, to 'level incomes' and to remove 'snobbishness' as well as other means of social exclusion (Sultana, 1994:35).

In the discussion of social classes in Malta, Vassallo (1979 in Sultana, 1994:39) adopts the Weberian approach and claims that the right for education has contributed to the dissolving of class distinctions. He refutes the Marxist perspective, insisting that rather than social class, it is political partisanship that stratifies the Maltese 'whereby the political party in power ensures that the necessarily scarce resources of … Malta, are directed towards its adherents' (Sultana, 1994:39). Conversely, Vella (1989 in Sultana, 1994:41) sustains the Marxist perspective, by presenting a detailed 'social map' revealing the 'structures and mechanisms of domination and exploitation' as well as the 'conflict between classes' and the 'pressures exercised by other classes and groupings'. According to Vella (1989 in Sultana, 1994:42), over the years, the eventful history of power-struggles has chiselled at the Maltese islands, producing a 'specific class structure', which fits Miliband's (1987 in Sultana, 1994:42) model. According to Miliband (1987 cited in Sultana, 1994:42), there exist 'two major groupings': the dominant class and the subordinate class. According to him, the dominant class is comprised of the 'power elite' and the 'bourgeoisie' whereas the subordinate class includes the 'working class' and the 'underclass'. Right in the middle of these two classes (the classes in control and those being controlled) one finds the 'petty bourgeoisie'. Vella adopts this model to the Maltese situation.

The dominant class can be considered as the 'power elite' (or the 'bourgeoisie') which consists of that small number of individuals who 'control the few hundred largest industrial, financial and commercial enterprises in the private sector of the economy' (Miliband, 1987

quoted in Sultana, 1994:43). To these, Sultana (1994:43) adds the people who occupy the 'commanding positions in the state system', starting from the prime minister, his assistants, the higher ranks of the civil service, the armed forces of Malta, the Malta police force, the judiciary and those who manage public enterprises and the media of the state. Miliband (1987 quoted in Sultana, 1994:45) claims that, while there may be some schisms in this class, while members of this class may not agree on what they want, they do agree on what they do not want: that is, anything considered as a threat to their privileged position in society. Sultana (1994:45) asserts that it is 'difficult to extract the size of this particular class as a percentage of the total Maltese work force, for Census occupational groupings include a variety of other workers in their top employee category'.

The 'petty bourgeoisie', also referred to as the 'middle class' finds itself amid the dominating and the subordinate social classes. While its members share quite a dose of the conditions of the subordinate classes, their allegiance oscillates between the two main social classes, 'depending on the stage of capital accumulation at a particular point in time' (Sultana, 1994:46). Sultana explains how, in positive economic conditions, the middle class favours the dominant class whereas, when the economy takes a negative slant, the middle class is loyal to the subordinate class. Vella (1989 in Sultana, 1994:47) identifies two subclasses within the middle-class: the traditional one and the 'new petty bourgeoisie' subclass. He claims that, whereas the traditional subclass is comprised of 'small-scale production and ownership, independent craftsmen and traders, and … the small holding farmer', the new petty bourgeoisie includes 'wage-earning groups which, although produced by capitalist development itself, do not perform productive labour'. Examples of this group's members are: office workers, business machine operators, engineers, accountants, researchers, etc … (Vella, 1989 in Sultana, 1994:47). Vella holds that the number of traditional subclass members is diminishing, whereas that of the new petty bourgeoisie is growing.

The subordinate class encompasses the working class and the underclass. Miliband (1987 quoted in Sultana, 1994:47) maintains that the greatest portion of the population represents the working class, which is 'an extremely variegated, diverse class, divided on the basis of occupation, skill, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, ideology, etc'. Members of the working class depend entirely on 'the sale of their labour power' and their earnings place them in the lowest income brackets (Miliband, 1987 cited in Sultana, 1994:48). Miliband (1987 cited in Sultana, 1994:47-48) claims that, whereas in 'modern capitalist societies the industrial, manufacturing component of the working class is dwindling in numbers … this class of people [the working class] has increased, not diminished over the years'. Sultana (1994:48) states that the jobs of working class people are characterised by 'repetitive tasks, specific supervision and

formalized work rules, low wage rates, poor working conditions and instability of employment' and 'lack a career structure and opportunities for promotion'.

Runciman (1990 quoted in Walklate, 1998:104) refers to the underclass as the seventh social class and describes its members as those who depend entirely on social benefits because they are 'unable to participate in the labour market at all'. Marx and Dahrendorf consider the underclass as being entirely isolated from the class system since, being unemployed/unemployable, members of the underclass have no linkage to the means of production (Walklate, 1998:105). Miliband (1987 quoted in Sultana, 1994:48) describes the underclass as having been …

> issued from the working class and in some ways still part of it, yet also distinct from it: the more or less permanently unemployed, the members of the working class who are elderly, chronically sick or handicapped, and those unable for other reasons to find their way into the 'labour market'.

To these, Sultana (1994:48) adds under-aged workers whose clandestine employment renders them susceptible to abuse. Locally, the underclass has received little attention from researchers perhaps since, the welfare services introduced by a Labour government and their steady consolidation by the Nationalist government have 'guaranteed the basic necessities of life to all Maltese citizens' (Sultana, 1994:49).

Police attitudes and their subsequent performance are not directly linked to this sociological interpretation of social class, so some theoretical ingenuity is required to define social class on the Maltese social map. Police officers' 'down-to-earth, anti-theoretical' (Reiner, 2000:101) attitudes may lead them to sacrifice sociological considerations on the altar of more practical, experience-based reasoning. Sociologists may categorise people according to their production and/or consumption potentials, circulating the social class debate around a country's economy system. The police, however, use other criterion: the people's 'power to cause problems, and their congruency to the police value-system' (Reiner, 2000:93). Reiner (2000:93) describes how police officers distinguish between 'rough and respectable elements, those who challenge and those who accept the middle-class values of decency'. He explains how police officers fine-tune their social divisions of whom they consider problematic to seven broad categories: 'Good-class villains', 'police property', 'rubbish', 'challengers', 'disarmers', 'do-gooders' and 'politicians' (Reiner, 2000:93).

Expert criminals are referred to as 'Good-class villains' and so following and investigating them is considered as a useful job. Reiner (2000:93) describes the pursuit of 'Good-class villains' as 'the raison d'etre of the policemen's life,' adding that this category of

villains act as cunningly as the police, accepting 'the basic legitimacy of the police', befriending police officers, exchanging favours and possibly contributing to police corruption.

Lee (1981 quoted in Reiner, 2000:93) postulates that a group 'becomes police property when the dominant powers of society … leave the problems of social control of that category to the police'. The 'police property' category is composed of low-calibre, vulnerable people who are considered by the leading majority as 'problematic and distasteful' such as tramps, drunkards, the 'unemployed or casually employed residuum', deviant youths, 'ethnic minorities, gays, prostitutes and radical political organisations' (Reiner, 2000:93). The majority of people are willing to sacrifice these types of individuals to the police, oblivious to the way in which 'police property' may be treated by police officers. Reiner (2000:93) claims that the main purpose of the police 'has always been to control' and isolate such factions assisted by several 'permissive and discretionary laws'.

Clear-cut class distinctions facilitate the job of the police officer but problems emerge when these distinctions become blurred and the police mistake 'respectable' members of society for 'police property' (Reiner, 2000:93). Reiner (2000:93) explains how these occurrences are increasing with the increased popularity of 'deviant activities' amongst 'respectable middle-class'. Police officers' general lack of multicultural awareness and appreciation results in their poor understanding of ethnic minorities, which, in turn blinds them to the 'signals of respectability', leading them to incorrectly consider individuals as 'police property' (Reiner, 2000:93). Members of the 'police property' class who approach the police in the guise of victims are considered as 'rubbish' by them (Reiner, 2000:94). Reiner (2000:94) claims that these people are considered by the police as 'unworthy of attention' and are blamed for their victimisation. The police also tend to consider 'messy' and difficult calls, such as cases of domestic violence, 'rubbish' (Reiner, 2000:94).

Holdaway (1983 cited in Reiner, 2000:94) describes 'challengers' as 'those whose job routinely allows them to penetrate the secrecy of police culture, and gives them power and information with which they might challenge police control of their "property"'. These include doctors, barristers, reporters, social workers and criminologists (Reiner, 2000:94). A Scarman initiative guaranteed the access of lay visitors to police stations to facilitate these 'challengers' but the effectiveness of this development remains doubtful (Reiner, 2000:94). '"Disarmers" are members of groups who can weaken or neutralise police work' (Holdaway, 1983 quoted in Reiner, 2000:94). These belong to sections of the public who are perceived as vulnerable and, in a confrontation with the equipped and skilled police officer would appear to the naïve and untrained eye, as victims of power, thus attracting particular sympathy. Women, children and the elderly are examples of 'disarmers'. 'Do-gooders' are committed individuals who campaign

against the police and police-work (Reiner, 1978 in Reiner, 2000:95). Reiner (2000:95) cites the 'National Council for the Prevention of Policemen Doing Their Duty (the National Council for Civil Liberties, now renamed Liberty)'. Police officers consider 'police monitoring groups' as the infiltration point of these 'do-gooders' (Reiner, 2000:95). Finally, police officers view politicians with suspicion. Although they are 'remote and unrealistic ivory-tower idealists, corrupt self-seekers, secret subversives, or simply too weak to resist villainy', police officers are resigned to the fact that 'politicians have the power to make law' (Reiner, 1978 cited in Reiner, 2000:95). Members of the judiciary are considered to be tailored from the same material (Reiner, 2000:95). In face of all the adversity aimed at the police 'from all angles', police officers form a 'solidary group' (Reiner, 2000:95).

Therefore, to the police officer, the social structure is characterised with differences between the 'powerless groups at the bottom of the social hierarchy', which generate the 'rubbish' as well as the 'police property' and the 'respectable strata' (Reiner, 2000:95). Although these classes may oppose each other, they both encompass groups of people that threaten the police in various ways (Reiner, 2000:95). Reiner (2000:95:92) explains how 'Police culture both reflects the wider power structure and reproduces it through its operations' implying that, although 'Many policemen subscribe to an ideal of egalitarianism … At the same time they are acutely aware of the status distinctions which do exist'. Thus, one notes a certain affinity when comparing the police perception of the social structure to that of Marxist sociologists': the police officers' 'powerless groups at the bottom of the social hierarchy' (Reiner, 2000:95) are Marx's 'proletariat' (Sultana, 1994:31) and Miliband's (1987 in Sultana, 1994:31) working class and 'underclass'. The police perspective considers 'rubbish' and 'police property' as products of this echelon. Clearly, politicians and the judiciary viewed so negatively by police officers (Reiner, 2000:95) form part of Miliband's (1987 in Sultana, 1994:31) 'power elite'. Therefore, Reiner's (2000: 92-95) considerations of the police-perceived social structure may suggest the following model: two major blocks, the upper one, representing the respectable strata (the power elite/bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie), which includes politicians as well as the judiciary; and the lower one, representing powerless groups (the working class and the underclass), which include police property and rubbish. However, the intricacies of the social map oblige this model to have other overlapping attachments. The police perspective might suggest that, protruding from the upper block is an extension of virtually untouchables – politicians and the judiciary. Categories that lie below politicians and the judiciary are divided into law-abiders and offenders. These, in turn, are subdivided into other echelons: professional criminals (on the offenders' side), police property and rubbish (on the offenders' side) as well as challengers (on the law-abiders' side). The other two categories: disarmers and do-gooders (and, to a certain extent even challengers) may very well be a subset

of these two sides since their members can be both law-abiders and/or offenders. Echoes of Marx's power struggle also reverberate in the police perspective of the social structure: the respectable strata (the upper block) versus the powerless groups (the lower block) and sections from both blocks versus the police. Thus, although 'crucial divisions for the police do not readily fit a sociologist's categories of class or status' (Reiner, 2000:93), the derogatory use of the terms 'police property' and 'rubbish' when referring to members of the powerless groups (in other words, the working-class and the underclass) may indicate that membership in these classes renders people disadvantaged. Unlike their upper-class peers, the stereotyping of working-class people could very well cause them to fall prey to police targeting and labelling.

Miller (1958 in Vold and Bernard, 1986:214) insists that lower class people share a different, distinct culture from that of the upper classes. Miller (1958 in Vold and Bernard, 1986:214) explains that:

> the middle class has "values" such as achievement, the lower class has "focal concerns" that include trouble (getting into and staying out of trouble are dominant concerns of lower-class people); toughness (masculinity, endurance, strength, etc., are all highly valued); smartness (skill at outsmarting the other guy; "street sense" rather than high IQ); excitement (the constant search for thrills, as opposed to just "hanging around"), fate (the view that most things that happen to people are beyond their control, and nothing can be done about them); and autonomy (resentment of authority and rules).

To the extent Miller is right, working-class people must be in constant contact with the police. Being guided by fate, toughness and smartness in the continuous search for trouble, excitement and autonomy renders working-class people candidates for offender-status and legitimises them as police targets. In addition, Quinney (1975 quoted in Adler, Mueller and Laufer, 1995:194) claims that 'the state is organized to serve the interests of the dominant economic class … criminal law is an instrument the state and the ruling class use to maintain and perpetuate the social and economic order'. If he is right, then laws are made by the power elite/respectable strata to control the working class and the underclass/powerless groups (the strata that generates police property and rubbish), and are enforced by the police.

Beccaria (1775 in Caso, 1983:1) perceives laws as:

> the conditions, under which men, naturally independent, united themselves in society. Weary of living in a continual state of war, and enjoying a liberty which became of little value, from the uncertainty of its duration, they sacrificed one part of it, to enjoy the rest in peace and security. The sum of all these portions of the liberty of each individual constituted the sovereignty of a nation; and was deposited in the hands of the sovereign, as the lawful administrator.

Therefore, according to Beccaria, laws 'should be used to maintain the social contract' and 'all people should be treated equally' (Adler et al., 1995:57-58). Benyon (1986a:15) maintains that a key issue in the discussion of police legitimacy is that the 'law is a neutral set of rules to which all are subject'. To prove this point, Benyon (1986a:15) quotes France (1894): 'The law in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread'. Ironically, this same quotation can be used to sustain the argument that the law favours the upper classes since, one would expect few rich people to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets and to steal bread. This fact can be observed even during the early years (late 19th century) of British policing, when police officers' 'relationship with the rich was slight and deferential' whereas the 'experience in the working-class districts on which the police focused was somewhat different' (Rawlings, 2002:154). Not only does this reveal the differential treatment of working-class people by the police, but also it indicates that the police actually targeted working-class people. This practice, and the resulting 'hostility amongst much of the working class has continued to the present time' (Storch, 1976 and Brogden, 1982 cited in Benyon, 1986a:5-6).

In 1830, as a reaction to working-class hatred of the police, the 'police were recruited from the working class' (Benyon, 1986a:9). However, although this move might have been motivated by the desire to improve the relationship between the police and the working-class, it 'has been often commented that the British policing tradition has been based on recruiting the working class to control the working class … perhaps this is one reason why white-collar, middle class crime has been afforded such a low priority' (Benyon, 1986a:9). Maybe even the apparent similarities between police culture (Reiner, 2000: 87-101) and working-class culture (Miller, 1958 in Vold and Bernard, 1986:214) contribute to the familiarity of police officers to the working-class mentality:

Police Culture	**Working-class Culture**
Mission-action-cynicism-pessimism	Trouble - excitement
Suspicion	Smartness
Isolation/solidarity	Toughness
Police conservatism	Fate
Machismo	Autonomy
Racial prejudice	
Pragmatism	

Perhaps, the very affinity between the working-class mentality and the police officers' mentality adds another burden to the police: like Judas, they are considered by the working-class as the 'Enemy Within' (Waddington, 1999:80). The relationship of the police with 'high-

status groups is equally difficult' since, not only do they fail to respect the police but, they expect the police to respect them (Waddington, 1999:154). Police officers seem to despise and resent the power elite (the politicians and the judiciary), yet, they treat this stratum dutifully and with caution (Reiner, 2000:95). Hence, not only do police officers seem to be engaged in the class war (Waddington, 1999:79) but, as a uniformed constable reported to Reiner (2000:95), they are 'getting it from all angles'.

The relationship between the police and other criminal justice partners: the judiciary and correctional personnel

According to Reiner (2000:95) politicians, lawyers and judges are considered negatively by police officers – as 'remote and unrealistic ivory-tower idealists, corrupt self-seekers, secret subversives, or simply too weak to resist villainy'. The antipathy is complex. They seem to consider the judiciary in the same way as the ancient pagans considered their gods: despising them, yet venerating, respecting and fearing them. This type of anxiety-laden relationship that exists between the police and judges/magistrates can be detected even in informal conversations about the judiciary. An observation of the cautious and revered behaviour of police officers, when they are in the presence of members of the judiciary, would also reveal the hypocritical relationship that exists between the police and the judiciary. Police officers' respectful behaviour seems to be in contradiction with their true sentiments towards the judiciary: while police officers might appear to keep members of the judiciary in high esteem, in reality, it would appear that police officers consider them unworthy of respect and adulation.

The cause of this police antipathy of the judiciary may be rooted in the very role of judges/magistrates who, 'anxious to weed out weak cases' and to 'minimise the risk of any further miscarriages of justice', 'are unlikely to admit anything which is not consistent with an ethical approach to the investigation' (Williamson, 1996:32). Police officers invest considerable time and effort in collecting evidence and interrogating suspects, so, understandably, the police do not approve the rejection of these proofs of guilt (Skolnick, 1994:182). Individual police officers may interpret these judicial decisions as an expression of the judiciary's disdain of police-work and of disrespect towards the police. Police officers do not seem to comprehend the judiciary's concern of human rights and the suspect/s' right for a fair hearing bearing 'in mind that they are the criminals' (Chan, 1997:177). Even when the police evidence is accepted, there may be instances when police officers feel aggravated by the judiciary. In a system such as the Maltese, police officers are directly involved in the prosecution of suspects (Van der Wolf, 2000:607-611). Thus, police officers find themselves having to act as lawyers, when in fact, they have never been trained to act as such. Consequently, it is not rare for them to commit mistakes in court and have to face the ridicule of

the judge or magistrate. This results in police officers' frustration and their resentment of the judiciary.

Another cause of officer frustration is the sentencing part of judicial/magisterial hearings. 'Police pessimism' compels police officers to 'develop a hard skin of bitterness, seeing all social trends in apocalyptic terms, with the police as a beleaguered minority about to be overrun by the forces of barbarism' (Reiner, 2000:90). Thus, one might understand why police officers seem to have little faith in alternatives to imprisonment (such as: probation orders, suspended sentences and parole). One may also comprehend why police officers tend to regard the judge/magistrate as an accomplice of the 'forces of barbarism' (Reiner, 2000:90) when these sentences are meted out.

However, police officers' exasperation reaches a maximum when suspects are either acquitted or when they receive, what officers consider, a ridiculously small penalty. These judicial decisions may even be considered as an attempt to ridicule their work and the police force. As a result, their antipathy towards the judiciary becomes outright hostility. In addition, it may be that 'police conservatism' (Reiner, 2000:95) renders them staunchly resistant to 'progressive criminal justice' measures such as 'rehabilitation' (McShane and Krause, 1993:10). Again, their pessimism (Reiner, 2000:90) might drain their faith in humankind and, as a result, they might hold that: once a criminal, always a criminal. Thus, one might expect police officers to advocate long, harsh prison sentences coupled with the adoption of the practice of 'deterministic sentencing' (McShane and Krause, 1993:13). McShane and Krause (1993:13) explain that deterministic sentencing implies that 'a person receives and serves a full set sentence … no more, no less' and 'there is no parole or early release for good behavior'. This may also explain police officers' tendency to advocate capital punishment. However, police officers' apparent preference for deterministic sentencing may not only emanate from their lack of faith in offenders but also, from 'a lack of faith in the ability of corrections professionals' (McShane and Krause, 1993:13).

Corrections' professionals include probation, parole and corrections officers. Some people also refer to probation and parole officers as 'correctional officers' since 'part of their responsibilities include the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders' however, this term is commonly used exclusively for 'prison … staff and their supervisors who manage inmates' (Champion, 1996:390). Champion (1996:390) explains how 'probation and parole officers supervise and manage probationers and parolees in a variety of offender aftercare programs'. Black (1990 cited in Champion, 1996:32) describes probation as 'the release of convicted offenders into the community under a conditional suspended sentence, avoiding imprisonment, showing good behaviour, under the supervision of a probation officer'. Conversely, 'parole is a

conditional early release from incarceration, usually from a prison or penitentiary, by a parole board' (Champion, 1996:33). Thus, probation officers deal with relatively low-risk offenders, whereas parole officers deal with ex-inmates (Champion, 1996:391). Champion (1996:393) argues that the rise in re-offending rates has rendered the public sceptical, eroding the confidence in corrections and sustaining the public's belief that: 'corrections doesn't correct'.

Understandably 'police pessimism', cynicism and suspicion (Reiner, 2000:90-91) corrodes police officers' faith in offenders' ability to rehabilitate. Moreover, their obsession with machismo (Reiner, 2000:97-98) and toughness (Nash, 1999:199) might induce police officers to favour harsh sentences and to view probation and parole as soft alternatives – an expression of the judiciary's lack of appreciation for the painstaking efforts of police officers. This bitterness finds its roots in the different priorities of police officers and corrections' professionals. For example, public protection ranks very high on police officers' priority list, whereas care for offenders is the priority of probation officers (Nash, 1999:5). Clearly, these major differences between the role of police officers and that of corrections' professionals, lead to 'a substantial culture clash' (Nash, 1999:5) and, consequently, 'Relations between probation officers and police are apt to be difficult' (Skolnick, 1994:148).

The relationship between the police and offenders

From Adler, Mueller and Laufer's (1995:8) definition of crime, one could deduce that an offender is an individual who engages in 'any conduct that violates a criminal law and is subject to punishment'. Similarly, from Sutherland's (1974 cited in Vold and Bernard, 1986:12) description of crime, one could consider offenders as people who behave in a way which is 'harmful to society'. From Schwendingers' (1970 cited in Vold and Bernard, 1986:12) perspective, an offender is a person who commits 'violations of basic human rights'.

However, for a person to officially acquire offender status, that person must have been caught infringing the law and brought to the attention of law enforcement authorities. McNeill (1994:104) argues that 'many crimes go unrecorded, either because they are undiscovered, or because they are not reported to the police'. In fact, crime surveys indicate the existence of a 'dark number' of offences, implying that the recorded crimes are just the tip of the iceberg (McNeill, 1994:104). Police officers may be aware of this fact and, consequently, this awareness could lead them to see potential offenders everywhere. This is the 'constant suspicion' of police officers mentioned by Reiner (2000:91). McNeill and Townley (1986 in McNeill, 1994:105) explain how:

> At every stage, the police … are making decisions about what action to take, based on their definition of the situation. Decisions are made by reference to a combination of common-sense assumptions, experience, and professional

> expertise concerning crime and criminals, public opinion, expectations of fellow-officers and superiors, the chance of securing a conviction, and other factors.

This suggests that police-work is saturated with 'police stereotyping' for which police officers are constantly criticised since experts claim that 'stereotypes of likely offenders become self-fulfilling prophecies' (Reiner, 2000:91). A stereotype is an 'overgeneralized, often false, belief about a group of people that lets one assume that every member of the group possesses a particular trait' (Atkinson et al., 1983:640). For example, police officers may assume that all youths, especially those belonging to a particular youth culture such as the rave culture, tend to be offenders; consequently, this group of youths is targeted by the police and, some day or another, a member of this group is indeed caught breaching the law, thereby continuing the presumption. Reiner (2000:91) points to the propensity of these stereotypes to actually materialise. Thus, individuals who are aware that they are being stereotyped as law offenders may, in fact, start living up to this image, becoming criminals in the process. Ainsworth (2000:67) claims that the 'desire to identify, label and stereotype those who we fear … may be an understandable if disconcerting human trait'. Perhaps police stereotyping is even more understandable when one considers police officers' strong 'sense of mission', which compels them to believe that it is their duty to preserve 'a valued way of life' and to protect 'the weak against the predatory' and to serve law-abiding citizens (Reiner, 2000:89). In fact, police officers consider themselves as the 'thin blue line', the 'good guys' who, in the words of a constable, do not 'give a damn if … [they] … oppress law-breakers, because they're oppressors in their own right' (Reiner, 2000:89). Much police malpractice has been justified on the grounds of their 'noble cause' and the need to 'protect and serve' non-offenders at all costs (Reiner, 2000:89; Waddington, 1999:112-114).

Thus, offenders' human rights may assume secondary importance to the zealous police officer. In fact, Wright (2002:86) claims that sometimes the tactics used by the police renders policing a reflection of 'the very criminal activity that it seeks to confront'. From this perspective, instead of being themselves the protective 'thin blue line' (Reiner, 2000:89), it could appear that a paper-thin line separates police officers from offenders.

This chapter has described the attitude of the police towards: youths, victims of crime, victims of domestic violence, informers, members of different social classes, other criminal justice partners and law offenders. It also showed how these attitudes are fuelled by police culture. Therefore, an awareness of the relationship between the police and the Maltese society may pave the way for a better understanding of their culture. This, in turn, could lead to reforms in police training, strategies and policies – possibly improving policing in Malta.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter provides 'enough detail so that anyone can independently repeat the study' (Dooley, 1995:55) on police culture in Malta. To facilitate the descriptions in this chapter, the methodology process will be reviewed in the first person. Opening a window on the 'social world' (McNeill, 1990:119) of Maltese police officers was not an easy task. It would have proved problematic had I been a total stranger to the Malta police force. Consequently, a description of my role becomes necessary.

I have been involved in the training of Maltese police officers since 1995. Consequently, I have had the opportunity to regularly sit on academic and police recruit selection boards, shoulder to shoulder with high-ranking, veteran police officers and gain familiarity with their attitudes. Likewise, lecturing (especially discussing with) police officers (different ranks) and mingling with them during coffee breaks has helped me learn their general approach to law, order and policing. This prompted a more formal, professional interest in police business and how it is orchestrated, including police thinking and its relation to police activities. It all started in 1998, when I submitted a Masters dissertation on "Police Women in Malta". I delved into the sexist attitude of police officers, however, while researching this issue, I came across the police officers' general attitudes towards crime, criminal justice and policing. In other words, I was exposed to police culture. This has inspired me to write a PhD thesis that would explore elements of police culture, including: the family/on-the-job life of police officers; their relationship with colleagues, superiors, informants, the judiciary, the correctional system and the Maltese general public (including victims and offenders); police officers' self-perceptions and their attitudes towards sexual deviance, racism, politics, social class and academia. Thus, I embarked on a study aimed at identifying the strands that form the fabric of police culture in Malta which, alone does not determine the behaviour of police officers (Chan, 1997:69 and Waddington, 1999:106) since police officers have other work-related restrictions (having to obey superiors, limited material and human resources, limited expertise and knowledge). I was concerned to identify cultural parameters that could be used (by others) for the development of professional policing in Malta.

Rapport and access

Over the years, I have managed to establish and nurture a very good rapport with the Malta police force. I am regularly invited to police force activities such as pass-out parades, Police Day festivities and Christmas drinks. The population of my ex-students within the police force has grown to the extent that it has rendered walking into the police general headquarters quite a pleasurable experience for me. There was a time when I was stopped and viewed with

suspicion by the police officers on duty at the gates but, nowadays, I am very cordially greeted and allowed in. When visiting the general headquarters, as a rule, it is for a meeting with the upper hierarchy of the police force, usually the commissioner. However, on the way to his office, the temptation is to visit the assistant commissioners and superintendents in the adjoining offices. Naturally, time is always scarce, so, any brief, informal interaction happens in the corridor with subjects varying from family life and hobbies to policing. It is ironical how this civilian-police relationship evolved from mutual distrust to friendship. At first, it developed slowly, but one incident accelerated the process: I collapsed while sitting on a recruit selection board, at the police general headquarters. I woke up to find myself being carefully tended to by police officers and carried down on a stretcher to the awaiting ambulance. The ambulance was escorted to the hospital and a particular high-ranked police officer and his assistant did not leave the hospital before my husband arrived. Luckily, it was nothing serious, however, this frightening episode has generously contributed to the breaking of the remaining ice with the upper police ranks (which are all stationed at the general headquarters). In addition, the courses offered at the Institute of Forensic Studies (University of Malta), which I direct, as well as the Police Academy, where I lecture and am a member of the administrative board (the Police Academy Board), continues to bring police officers closer to me. Besides attending my lectures, discussion sessions and tutorials, officers also regularly visit the Institute's office for friendly conversations and a cup of coffee even after completing their courses. At university, the police have become so synonymous with the Institute of Forensic Studies that it is frequently referred to as the "police station on campus"!

Holdaway's (1983 cited in Jupp, 1995:59-62) research on police culture illustrates that the most problematic stage is gaining access. Unofficial, informal access to the Malta police force was the result of a combination of personal effort and luck but gaining official permission and access could have proven more difficult. Before commencing this research, I had to get formal permission (Appendix B) from the Maltese police commissioner (McNeill, 1994:75). This could have been problematic if I did not have the confidence of the police commissioner. However, my involvement in the recruitment and training of the Maltese police force rendered acquiring his permission less difficult. After the commissioner granted his permission, the situation was complicated by his premature resignation. My anxiety level soared as I anticipated a long, drawn out struggle to gain the access I had secured under the previous police commissioner. However, luckily, I must have built a good reputation since it did not take as long as I had thought to win the confidence of the new police commissioner. Although knowledge of research techniques is indispensable to scholars, social skills are important too. This study would have never materialised without the positive rapport that, even now, continues to be nurtured between me and members of the Malta police force. My familiarity with the

Malta police force, my daily and lengthy encounters with police officers has helped me extensively in the gathering of information. Although, I did not (and do not) accompany police officers on patrol, I meet them on a daily basis in training programmes, the canteen, and official/unofficial activities. Hence, although I do not feel comfortable in claiming that I have conducted an ethnographic study, clearly my involvement within the Malta police force has enabled me to gain familiarity with the attitudes and the behaviour of Maltese police officers. This has enhanced my knowledge of Maltese police culture and has helped me to provide a context to the responses of the Maltese police officers that participated in my study. Thus, I made use of the techniques of ethnography in establishing the boundaries of the research, establishing the broad areas of interest and in gathering information.

Developing a research instrument

Once I had obtained the police commissioner's official permission to conduct the study, there were decisions to be made about what research instrument/s to use? Was I to embark on a qualitative or on a quantitative study? Schwartz and Jacobs (1979 quoted in Jupp, 1989:28) sum up the difference between these two methods:

> Quantitative … assign numbers to qualitative observations. In this sense they produce data by counting and 'measuring' things. The things measured can be individual persons, groups, whole societies, speech acts, and so on. Qualitative … report observations in the natural language at large. They seldom make counts or assign numbers to these observations.

Jupp (1989:28) explains how 'qualitative data are used to capture the social meanings, definitions and constructions which underpin actions'. The techniques adopted by qualitative researchers vary, frequently they 'have no fixed protocol' and comprise 'forms of observation … detailed interviews … and the analysis of various documentary sources' (Jupp, 1989:28). Ethnography is one such qualitative technique. Jupp, Davies and Francis (2000:25) claim that drawing 'attention to social meanings and to deriving conclusions grounded in these meanings are two of the features of the qualitative-ethnographic tradition' and that this method is particularly used in the study of subcultures.

The very word 'ethnography' (or ethnomethodology) indicates that by using this method, the researcher intends to describe a cultural group. This technique enables the researcher to describe a 'social group from the group's point of view' (Dooley, 1995:263). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995 quoted in Seale, 1998:217) describe ethnography as:

> … a particular method or set of methods which in its most characteristic form … involves the ethnographer participating overtly or covertly in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said,

> asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of research.

Ethnography depends in part on a technique known as participant observation. This method actively engages researchers within researched groups, transforming them into the main research tools. Ethnography was devised and adopted by anthropologists. When confronted with the challenge of studying alien, non-western societies possessing a predominantly 'oral culture', anthropologists were motivated to 'take an attitude of cultural relativism, whereby the values and institutions of any given society were seen to have an internal logic of their own' (Seale, 1998:218). Anthropologists thus believe that society and culture can solely be analysed via an internal study, which could only be effected by enabling the researcher to get absorbed within the researched group (Seale, 1998:218). '… In short, gentlemen, go get the seats of your pants dirty in real research' (Park, quoted in McNeill 1994:69).

I did, in fact infiltrate the Malta police force, but not as a police officer. Although I did not (and could not) get involved in actual police work, I still immersed myself in the social world of Maltese police officers by getting involved in the training and administrative processes within the Malta police force as a consultant within it. Silverman (1997:30) explains that 'how the police do their paperwork and assemble their files may tell us more about their activities than the occasional "shoot out"'. Thus, I gained insight into Maltese police culture. I adopted a particular style of research, which is referred to as 'symbolic interactionism' (Dooley, 1995:263). Following Meltzer, Petras, & Reynolds (1975 quoted in Dooley, 1995:263) this type of research presumes that:

> (1) human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them; (2) these meanings are a product of social interaction in human society; and (3) these meanings are modified and handled through an interpretive process that is used by each person in dealing with the things he/she encounters.

From this standpoint, reality is what the actor believes it to be and the emphasis is on the subject's perception of the social world, sometimes referred to as 'phenomenology' (Dooley, 1995:263). 'Phenomenology is a philosophical method of enquiry, involving the systematic investigation of consciousness, brought to the study of the social world by Alfred Schutz' (Seale, 1998:30). Schutz believes that the way in which an individual acts is determined by two major suppositions: that everyone will act in the same way if faced by the same situation and that although each individual has a different life story and experience, society dictates certain assumptions. For example, although some people have unloving parents, they will still associate warmth and protection with the idea of parenthood because that is how society defines parents (Seale, 1998:31). Schutz describes these postulations as mere 'idealizations'… and generally untrue, adding that, unlike the natural world, the social world is intrinsically

meaningful' (Seale, 1998:31). In other words, it only makes sense to the individual (the police officer) who interacts within that particular social world (of the police force). The significant distinction between these two worlds is that an individual is 'an active, conscious being, aware of what is going on in a social situation, and capable of making choices about how to act. Natural phenomena have no meaning for those involved in them' (McNeill, 1994:119). This implies that, in the interpretation of a social event, researchers are expected to consider the opinions of the persons involved. Failure to do this could imply that the researchers are treating the subjects as inanimate objects. Thus, if one is to attempt comprehending social actions, one has to try considering them from the standpoint of the subjects researched. In order to do this, 'one must engage in an extended period of observation' (Silverman, 1997:31). In this case, I have been collaborating with the Malta police force for the past seven years. Jupp (1995:59) opines that 'direct observation … the methodological commitments of ethnography to naturalism, empathy and to capturing everyday theorizing are most suited to an analysis of police culture'. Therefore, I have made direct observation one of the pillars of the study. This technique could not have been adopted without the friendly relationship, which I have managed to establish with the Malta police force over the years.

Indeed, participant observation has been the key to a better understanding of police culture. This can be seen very clearly 'in Holdaway's (1983) 'Inside the British Police' (Jupp, 1995:58). Via participant observation, the researcher collects data by participating in the subjects' life-worlds (social worlds), not in what Silverman (1997:30) describes as the sporadic 'shoot out' but their day-to-day routine work. This method induces the researcher to either take on a central role within the group or on its peripheries, as in this case. Thus, the researcher is enabled to monitor, consider and interpret the behaviour of the group under observation. It is in this way that participant observers submerge in the 'field' (Jupp, 1995:58). This method makes it hard to distinguish the actual source of information from the researcher him/herself. It makes it equally difficult to draw the line between actually gathering information and taking an active part within the group (Jupp, 1995:58). Furthermore, the participant observer highlights naturalism, which implies observing groups in their natural environments without interfering in their activities. In fact, I did not interfere in their policing activities but I was involved in their training and administration procedures. Participant observers stress that the communication between members of the group should be studied faithfully, giving special attention to the social significance that the relations have to the researcher. Researchers using the participant observation method delve deep into the social significance of the subjects' interactions. Participant observers endeavour to interpret the subjects' behaviour within the context of their daily experiences, as experienced by the researcher him/herself.

Participant observation research develops via a 'discovery-based approach' and flourishes into a fine-tuning and/or a possible reconsideration of research notions, depending on what is established as the researcher proceeds with the fieldwork (Jupp, 1995:58). This procedure is referred to as 'progressive focusing' and necessitates 'analytic induction' (Jupp, 1995:58). Analytic induction entails the methodical and intentional scrutiny of information which seems to refute the researcher's theory/ies. This process bridges the gap between theory and empirical data. Participant observation entails a continuous exchange 'between theory and data' (Jupp, 1995:59). However, for this advantage to be reaped, the procedure should be on-going instead of assessing the hypothesis only once. Such a method requires no stringent practices to be adhered to while gathering information yet, after assessing their work, several participant observers have provided prospective researchers with unofficial instructions which equip them with the necessary tools to overcome foreseeable difficulties.

Ethnography has significant merits. It 'opens out the possibility of an understanding of reality which no other method can realize' (Seale, 1998:232). McNeill (1994:83) claims that its major advantage is that subjects may be observed in their 'natural setting' and that it enables researchers to conduct a 'study of social process' instead of being restricted to a mere 'snapshot or series of snapshots'. Utmost importance is given to the subjects' interpretation of the situation. This type of research is rendered scientific by the attention taken to avoid committing mistakes, to extensively cover the area researched, and to assess and reassess the findings.

However, the qualitative nature of ethnography as well as its dependency on participant observation, presents problems to the researcher (Seale, 1998:232). As Holdaway (1983 quoted in Jupp, 1995:60) admits it is quite difficult for the researcher to remain detached and neutral whilst conducting a participant observation (McNeill, 1994:83). In Holdaway's case, it was especially difficult since his research was covert and especially since he was a serving police officer. In fact, Holdaway (1983 quoted in Jupp, 1995:60) confesses that he:

> 'occasionally retreated from conversations and incidents … which I found distasteful … At times … I had to deal with an officer whose behaviour exceeded the bounds of what I considered reasonable conduct. These situations could easily get in the way of research and increased the pressure …'

Similarly, Jupp et al. (2000: 242) point towards Waddington, a prominent author in policing, implying that, being 'an ex-police officer' has indeed facilitated Waddington's access to 'the normally hidden world' of policing and guaranteed the police force's 'fullest co-operation'. Imposed access, however, needs to be set against the possibility that 'questions may be raised as to the detachment and objectivity of a researcher who becomes very closely involved, and possibly on the side of, the research participants.'

In the case of this research, the fact that I was never officially a member of the Malta police force may have helped me remain as detached as possible. However, this is not to say that my public relations exercise (in an effort to secure a research-friendly environment within the Malta police force) and my natural friendly disposition did not render it very hard to remain removed and impartial. McNeill (1994:83) lists several disadvantages linked with ethnography. He described it as being 'laborious', 'time-consuming', 'expensive' and 'unreliable' (McNeill, 1994:83). He claims that it cannot be empirically tested, whilst doubting the ability of the researcher to remain detached and unbiased. McNeill (1994:83) also questions whether the presence of the researcher within the group might alter their mode of behaviour. He concluded his criticism of ethnography by stating that it 'necessarily involves a narrow view of the group … studied, since the researcher cannot … study the wider context within which the research setting is located' (McNeill, 1994:83-84).

Thus, as Jupp et al. (2000:26) explain, although ethnographic techniques 'can stand alone in their own right' it could be wise to utilise them 'alongside more formal quantitative research' methods. Quantitative research is based on the hypothesis that what is being researched can be described and demarcated clearly (Jupp, 1989:26). In addition, besides carefully identifying and defining what is to be studied (in this case, police culture) quantitative researchers focus on and list the particular elements, which compose the object/s of the particular study (in this case, the elements of police culture). Moreover, quantitative research presents findings in numerical form. Jupp (1989:26) explains how the prominence given to measurement in this type of research, is intimately connected with a 'strong investment in statistical analysis and particularly the use of "statistics of association" which provide an indication of the extent to which variables co-vary'. Correlation coefficient is an example of these statistics of association (Jupp, 1989:26). The value of the correlation coefficient, which can have any value between -1 and +1, reveals the extent to which two particular variables are related. If two variables are perfectly related (i.e. as one variable increases, the other increases proportionately), their correlation coefficient will be +1. When two variables are related inversely to each other (i.e. as one variable increases, the other decreases proportionately), the score will be -1. A score of 0 means that there is no relationship between the variables (i.e. any changes in one variable do not affect the other). The closer the score is to the extreme values of -1 and +1, the more related are the variables. I adopted this type of measurement in my study of police culture in Malta.

The attitudes of Maltese police officers (the answers given to the questions) were measured according to variables such as the police officers' age, rank and gender, enabling me to identify patterns of Maltese police culture. I also conducted multivariate analysis to test the

'strength of association of several variables at one and the same time' (Jupp, 1989:27). An example of this is the measurement of the sexist attitude of different age brackets and of the different ranks of Maltese police officers. Therefore, I compared and contrasted the results within and between the different variables namely: gender, age, experience within the police force, level of entry in the police force (as recruit or as officer cadet) and rank. In an effort to yield clearer results, I adopted Manning's (1993 cited in Chan, 1997:66) model and subdivided the rank variable as follows: lower participants (consisting of police constables and sergeants), middle-management (that is, inspectors) and those in command (comprising superintendents, the assistant commissioners, the deputy commissioner and the commissioner of police).

Thus, whilst making use of my observations of Maltese police officers in an attempt to present as life-like a picture as possible, I based my study on a quantitative survey research, using a questionnaire (see Appendix A) drafted specifically on elements of police culture derived from the theoretical work and empirical studies reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. Harris (1998:50) describes this as 'research in which people are asked questions and their answers are analysed.' This research technique is especially used by political parties and marketing experts. Harris (1998:50) explains how survey research can be of two kinds: interview research (asking questions orally, either in person or by telephone) or questionnaire research (presenting respondents with a set of written questions and expecting them to give a written response). I conducted questionnaire research.

Interview research has several advantages over questionnaire research (Harris, 1998:50). It enables the researcher to establish rapport with the interviewees. This leads to a flow of precious verbal and non-verbal information from the respondents. In addition, it secures the response of partially illiterate or completely illiterate respondents, since the researcher has the opportunity to clarify questions. Furthermore, when conducting interviews, researchers can detect lies and bluffs. All these advantages linked to the interview technique could have outweighed the use of questionnaires had it not been for the necessary sizeable sample. A hundred interviews may have been manageable, but any number above that makes interviewing close to impossible (Seale 1998:128). It would have been extremely difficult to organise appointments with the 603 respondents, given their very busy and irregular work schedule. The only viable option was to allow respondents to complete a questionnaire at their convenience. However, more importantly, had I chosen to interview all the respondents, I may have involuntarily evoked a certain response, especially since I am very much involved in the training and administrative procedures of police officers. This is known as 'interviewer bias' (Seale 1998:128). Allowing the respondents to answer the questionnaire in privacy enabled them to reply, unperturbed.

Questionnaires may be more suited when researching issues involving a limited amount of questions (Seale 1998:128), however, every question included in the sizeable questionnaire points at a different facet of Maltese police culture. This rendered each question indispensable. I chose to use postal questionnaires so as not to risk skewing the results at the hand of interviewer bias. This technique enabled the respondents to remain anonymous (Harris 1998:50), thus reducing the risk of bias and securing sincere answers. Besides, as Dooley (1995:103) explains, conducting an interview with an individual with Type A personality (described by Dooley (1995:102) as appearing 'more aggressive, ambitious, and competitive; have a greater chronic sense of time urgency; and have' an elevated 'risk of coronary heart disease') necessitates specialised training. In addition, questionnaires allow greater questioning uniformity (devoid of interviewer interference) fostering opportunities for longitudinal studies (Dooley, 1995:103). The extensive questionnaire is comprised of 102 questions and is 14 pages long (Appendix A). The questions had to be thought out in a way as to allow me to acquire insight into the attitudes of police officers towards particular issues without asking direct questions. Although I battled with the prospect of reducing the size of the questionnaire, the far-reaching spectrum of issues rendered this task impossible. The designing of the questionnaire took an agonising 18 months. During all this time, I came up with 38 versions of the questionnaires. The great amount of time and effort that has been invested in it and number of times it travelled back and forth from the tutor has earned it the affectionate nickname of QFH meaning questionnaire from hell! The toil of redrafting the QFH was shared with my academic colleagues, friends from within and outside the police force, and family members. Thus, this nickname was also affectionately used by all these collaborators as well as by the respondents.

Ideally, the questionnaire would have contained open-ended questions, leaving it 'to the respondents as to how they word their answers' (McNeill, 1994:26), but not trespassing on the goodwill of respondents and their time required the questions to have 'limited … possible responses' (McNeill, 1994:26). In an effort to make the questionnaire at least manageable to both the respondent and the data in-putter, it was decided that the questions be presented in a format that would enable the respondents to mostly simply tick their choice of answer and volunteer additional information (that is, answer the rare: "Other [please specify]") very sporadically. Therefore, open-ended questions were kept to a minimum having only the final question requiring a full, open-ended answer. This provided a substantial amount of interesting and significant data that is reviewed in a section of its own in the discussion of findings. Therefore, qualitative findings follow quantitative findings. The detail by which respondents answered the final question suggests that, while they may have been fed-up with the questionnaire, they were eager to pour their hearts out. McNeill (1994:26) explains that the

benefit of closed questions is that 'results can be presented in the form of statistics and tables'. However, before this benefit could be reaped, I had to pre-code questions to enable me to input data directly into an adequately programmed computer (McNeill, 1994:26). The statistical package used in this research was the Statistical Programme for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (Healey, Boli, Babbie and Halley, 1999:1-25).

The first drafts of the questionnaire appeared very daunting and incredibly voluminous. I was advised to improve its presentation by replacing almost all the dotted lines with squares (answer boxes) as well as by splitting long lists of options and placing one column next to another. Another alteration that needed to be done also had to do with the presentation of options. Initially, these tended to be disorganized, reflecting a lack of planning. Consequently, they were reviewed and, whenever possible, the five-point model was introduced (as for example: a great deal, sometimes, not very much, not at all, don't know; strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, don't know; always, sometimes, rarely, never, don't know). The first drafts asked the respondents to fill in their personal details on the front sheet of the questionnaire. Several collaborators advised me that this could intimidate certain respondents, who, perhaps because they are police officers might be extra suspicious and might assume that they are being asked their personal details so that the researcher may retrace their identity. Therefore, I transferred this section to the very end of the questionnaire. In addition, in an effort to reduce the respondents' fear of being retraced, instead of specifying their personal age, respondents were asked to tick their age-bracket.

It was also brought to my attention that I unintentionally tended to include questions, which automatically led to certain conclusions revealing that I held certain assumptions that might not have been properly founded. Certain answer options comprised two statements, which might have not been automatically linked. Whereas the respondents might have agreed with half of the answer, they might have disagreed with the other half. Question 19, option number seven is an example: 'Some women volunteer sexual favours to obtain career favours. Thus, policemen have learned to expect this sexual attention. This behaviour is tolerated'. Hence, modifications had to be made throughout. Some questions made perfect sense to me, however, after having the questions read by friends and relatives, it transpired that the wording was misleading and thus, had to be changed. After being read aloud by my tutor, a few others sounded even ridiculous. For example, one particular question offered the option: 'Executions teach a lesson even to others' (Question 93). Whereas referral was being made to the deterrent effect, it sounded as if the researcher implied that executions taught a useful, utilisable, lesson to the executed. Question 44 is another example of a question which was misleading. It read: 'How crime-prone are the following: elders, middle-aged, youths and children'. My attention

was drawn to the fact that this question sounded as if I was asking on their propensity to commit crime, when in fact, I wanted to enquire on their tendency to be victimised by criminals. Consequently, this question had to be reworded. In other questions, the options were mismatched. For example, Question 23 read: 'Some people think that gays/lesbians should not be allowed to join the police force. To what extent do you agree?' The options were: 'always, sometimes, rarely, never' and 'don't know' when they should have been: 'strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree' and 'don't know'.

Clearly, the greatest challenge was to produce a clear, readable, easy-to-answer and stimulating questionnaire which was also as brief as possible. Consequently, certain questions were reconsidered, their importance for this particular study was reassessed and some questions were even discarded. Although the questionnaire may be judged as being too lengthy, all the remaining questions were deemed necessary. Yet, even the remaining questions were improved. Although the areas being researched could not be reduced, most of the questions were re-worded and re-structured in a way as to clarify meaning as well as to limit space and facilitate answering. For example, it was pointed out to me that I tended to depend too much on pronouns. Thus, I had to re-read the questionnaire and replace most of them with the actual category of people. For example, it was unclear as to whom 'they' referred to in Question 45, option one and two when I was, in fact, referring to youths. All my collaborators were instrumental in this phase since, there came a time when the repetitive reading of the questionnaire rendered it impossible for me to identify misleading phrases.

Seale (1998:129) explains how the 'aims of a survey should determine the questions' in a questionnaire. I attempted to identify the main elements of police culture in Malta. Consequently, I tried to ask questions whose answers would reveal the dominant trends and attitudes within the Maltese police force. Jupp (1995:27) explains that quantitative research, such as this, considers 'aspects of … criminal justice as objective phenomena. They are treated as being measurable …' Police culture is an abstract concept, which requires operationalising (McNeil, 1990:24). Consequently, the researcher operationalised police culture in Malta primarily through Reiner's (1992:109-137) delineation of police culture: 'a sense of mission, suspicion, isolation/solidarity, conservatism, machoism, pragmatism and racial prejudice'. However, since the nature of police culture can also be exposed by exploring the quality of the relationship between the police and society, I also analysed the relationship between police officers and their superiors, youths, the elderly, victims of crime, victims of domestic violence, members of different social classes, informers, offenders, the judiciary and correctional personnel. In addition, I also explored their degree of authoritarianism and their opinions on penal sanctions.

The 36th version of the questionnaire presented meticulously chosen and worded questions that provided insight into elements of police culture in Malta. These included: a sense of mission (Questions 1-3), suspicion (Questions 4-7), isolation/solidarity (Questions 8-10), conservatism (Questions 11-12 and 23-26), machoism (Questions 13-22), pragmatism (Questions 28-35) and racial prejudice (Question 27). The questionnaire also dealt with the relationship between the police and: their superiors (Questions 42-43), youths (Questions 44-45), the elderly (Questions 46-50), victims of crime (Questions 71-83), victims of domestic violence (Questions 51-58), members of different social classes (Questions 59-61), informers (Questions 62-66), offenders (Questions 67-70), the judiciary (Questions 84-87) and correctional personnel (Questions 88-91). Their degree of authoritarianism and their opinions on penal sanctions were dealt with in Questions 36-41 and Questions 92-95, respectively. At the end respondents were asked to volunteer their suggestions for change and to justify their proposals.

The research instrument produced mainly quantitative data (described by Dooley, 1995:99 as involving 'standardized procedures for representing constructs in numerical form'). Consequently, the questions posed had to 'closely parallel the variables that will later be used in statistical analysis' (Seale, 1998:129). Dooley (1995:318) describes a variable as a 'characteristic [such as gender or rank within the Malta police force] that can have different values'. Seale (1998:129) explains that 'people may vary according' to gender or educational background. Therefore, the respondents' answers provide both data (relevant information) and variables (such as gender, educational background and social status). Quantitative research requires an analysis of statistics, especially 'statistics of association' (Jupp, 1995:26). These indicate the degree to which 'variables co-vary' (Jupp, 1995:26). The correlation coefficient is a statistic of association since it 'measures the strength of relationship between two specified variables' (Jupp, 1995:26) such as gender and rank within the Malta police force. After data in-putting, I compared and contrasted several other variables. These included: the attitudes of graduate police officers as opposed to non-graduates; the approach of police officers who joined the course at recruit level as opposed to those of police officers who joined the police force at inspector level as well as the mindset of different age groups within the police force.

Designing the questionnaire cost me considerable time and energy. However, after a year and a half of drafting and redrafting, when I thought that the questionnaire could not possibly be improved, I still had to come up with two other versions. Seale (1998:131) advises researchers to conduct a trial run before launching the questionnaire. Academics refer to this exercise as piloting. Seale (1998:131) explains how 'piloting of a question can … reveal that it is not answerable, or that its meaning is ambiguous.' Thus, following his advice, I piloted the

36th version of the questionnaire by presenting it to ten police officers from various ranks. The answers and comments received again indicated that some questions were unclear while others encouraged respondents to answer in a certain way (McNeill, 1994:26). For example, somebody accused me of having presented a questionnaire, which clearly had 'anti-male' overtones. This comment prompted me to reread and revise any question, which might have been seen in this light. It was almost incredible how, after I had carefully reread the questionnaire so many times, mistakes were still evident. The wrong answer options were given in two particular questions. Other questions had to be reworded for the sake of maximum clarity. I had to acknowledge with disbelief that the questionnaire needed further refining. In fact, the 36th version of the questionnaire was revised and piloted once more, with another ten police officers (mixed ranks). The nature of the replies and comments showed that the questionnaire had improved, yet incredibly, it still needed a few minor adjustments. I was puzzled to learn that I was still being accused of sounding biased in favour of females, be they police officers, perpetrators or victims. Only after making further amendments to this apparent fault was the 38th version of the questionnaire finally launched. However, even after this painstaking exercise, data analysis revealed that some questions (Questions 5, 6, 19, 78, 79, 80, 81 and 88) proved superfluous, and were thus disregarded. The responses to Questions 5 and 6 are implied from the answers to Questions 4 and 7; the response to Question 19 is exactly the same as that to Question 18 (the respondents clearly did not differentiate between what some people think and what they think); the responses to Questions 78 and 79 are implied by the responses to Question 77; Questions 80 and 81 yielded unnecessary data which could not be utilised profitably in the discussion of police culture in Malta and the data sought by Question 88 is provided generously by answers to Questions 89 and 91. Even at the end the QFH was living up to its reputation.

Open and closed research

I also had to decide whether I was going to keep my research a secret from the police, or whether I was going to inform them that I was conducting a study of police culture in Malta. In other words, was I going to be 'overt' about my role or was I to 'act a part, conduct "covert" research, and never let on what' (McNeill, 1994:72) is really occurring? This question has been raising ethical concerns since the inception of anthropology. Dooley (1995:267) admits that 'Some research cannot proceed if the observed know of the study and have to give informed consent'. However, he also emphasises that researchers must take into consideration the risks to be faced by the subjects and his/her ability to protect their anonymity. If the subjects are not aware of the research in progress, they might behave in a way not permissible by the law. This poses dangers, since, although the researcher may be staunchly against disclosing any confidential information to the court, he/she may be forced to via a subpoena (Dooley,

1995:268). Hence, with this in mind and the fact that I do not at all master the skill of deception, it was decided that the role of 'cockney writer' (McNeill, 1994:76) be adopted. This made me a genuine, empathetic outsider, which notwithstanding my involvement within the group, kept my distance and tried my utmost to maintain an open mind. Adopting such a role also relieved me from the stress that would have otherwise stemmed from the unavoidable ethical questions (Jupp, 1995:60). Covert participant observation raises significant ethical questions. However, this does not mean that overt participant observation is entirely devoid of ethical concerns (Seale, 1998:232). Ethnography requires researchers to integrate within the researched group, befriend its members and use them as information sources. This inevitably 'raises issues of manipulation, exploitation and secrecy' which are accentuated in covert researches but which are also strongly evident in overt studies (Seale, 1998:232).

Following Polsky's (1967 quoted in McNeill, 1994:77) advice, during the initial stages of my research I kept my eyes and ears open but sealed my lips. This allowed me to gain insight into matters that I would otherwise, have been unable to directly question the subjects about, in my questionnaire (Whyte, 1955 quoted in McNeill, 1994:77). In his research on British police, Holdaway may have justified his covert research (McNeill, 1994:73) however, I still feel strongly against the idea of violating the officers' right to privacy. Besides, although I agree that the public also has the right to have decent police officers, it is up to the authorities to assess and improve the Malta police force. Independent, high-quality research is a means to that end.

In accordance with McNeill (1994:76) it was imperative that the subjects of the research saw no connection between the police authorities and the research. In fact, in a letter I wrote, it was clearly explained that the research was being conducted by an outsider and that the respondents' anonymity was guaranteed. Originally, I did not see the necessity of an introductory letter by the police commissioner. However, I observed that some police officers are notoriously anti-academia and/or innately suspicious as well as fearful of getting involved in something that might not have been authorised by the police commissioner. This might surely have resulted in a low response rate, which either would have ruined or weakened the study. Thus, after consulting other researchers and friends within the police force, I reluctantly decided to ask the police commissioner to write a brief note, assuring the respondents that he had authorised this research and encouraging them to respond. In fact, after studying the questionnaire, the police commissioner kindly wrote a letter minute in this regard. Yet, it must be stressed that, although the police commissioner read the questionnaire (and probably answered one himself), he did not interfere in any way. The police authorities most certainly did not set 'the scene and limit the enquiry to specific areas' (Dalton, 1959 quoted in McNeill,

1994:76). One should also point out the fact that although he encouraged the respondents to collaborate, it was clear that non-respondents could not and would not be traced.

The sample

Before launching the questionnaire survey, I faced other brain-wrecking problems, namely: how big was the sample going to be? How was I going to select respondents? Fortunately, there was no question regarding who the members of the sample should be: I was interested in the culture of Maltese police officers hence, the population to be surveyed was certainly that of the Malta police force. This implied that every police officer constituted a potential interviewee (McNeill, 1994:35). Ideally, I would have sent a questionnaire to every police officer in the Maltese archipelago. This is known as a census study. However, I agreed with Dooley (1995:124) that such a study would have been 'impractical since only the national government has the resources … and the legal mandate to require that everyone cooperate'. Yet, the idea of conducting a census was not completely discarded.

I decided to divide the police population into two categories: lower ranks (Category 1) and upper ranks (Category 2). The lower ranks comprise constables, sergeants and sergeant majors. The upper ranks comprise inspectors, superintendents, assistant commissioners, the deputy commissioner and the commissioner. Category 1 has a population of 1,647. However, Category 2 has a population of 111 (Table 4.1). Whereas a census would be impractical with Category 1, it is possible to involve all 111 officers from the upper ranks. Thus, I sent a questionnaire to every high-ranking police officer (from inspector level to the commissioner of police). The census among these officers would give a more accurate picture of the culture of high-ranking police officers. It would prevent the otherwise possible exclusion of the poorly represented females and officers with tertiary education this category (Harris 1998:9). However, when analysing all the questionnaires, one must take into consideration that, whereas all the high-ranking officers were involved in the research, only a sample of the lower-ranking officers was included. Failure to do this may result in a distorted final picture of police culture in Malta.

Table 4.1 The Higher Ranks (Category 2)

Higher Ranks	Females	Males	Number of police officers
Inspector	15	67	82
Superintendent	0	22	22
Assistant Commissioner	0	5	5
Deputy Commissioner	0	1	1
Commissioner of Police	0	1	1
Total	15	96	111

With the lower ranks (Category 1), I applied Bowley's (Bowley and Burnett-Hurst, 1915 cited in Seale, 1998:135) 'sampling theory' which allowed me to make a random selection of interviewees from this population. McNeill (1994:35) explains that in the same way as one tests the water temperature before diving, assuming that the temperature in that particular area is approximately the same everywhere in the pool, researchers 'want to generalize from their sample to all potential elements' (Dooley, 1995:133). Thus, I selected a sample of police officers in such a way as to represent the entire population of constables, sergeants and sergeant majors within the Malta police force. Once having defined the population, the next step was to compile a list of 'sampling elements' (Seale, 1998:136) or potential interviewees. Seale (1998:136) refers to this list as a 'sampling frame'. I adopted the Malta police force's list of employees as a sampling frame and came up with Table 4.2:

Table 4.2 Distribution of lower ranks according to gender

Lower Ranks	Females	Males	Number of police officers
Constables	176	1,146	1,322
Sergeants	27	296	323
Sergeant Majors	0	2	2
TOTALS	203	1,444	1,647

I removed the upper ranks (since all the 111 officers from the upper ranks were going to be involved) from the sampling frame. This left me with the population of constables, sergeants and sergeant majors.

The next question to be answered was: what sample size would secure the most reliable results? Dooley (1995:160) explains that 'the number of subjects in a study can help decide whether the test statistic reaches significance.' Consequently, I had to apply the t-test. Harris (1998:294) defines this as 'a statistical significance test used to test hypotheses about one or two means when the population standard deviation is unknown'. The size of the value of t indicates whether the results obtained from the sample would reflect the entire population or whether they result by chance. Thus, the t-test enables one to ascertain whether the sample size yields reliable, statistical results (Harris, 1998:296) but it can only be applied after the completed questionnaires have been received by the researcher. Ironically, after straining my brain to the limit to find a mathematical formula that would automatically provide me with an acceptable sample size, I learned that I could only determine whether the sample size was reliable enough in retrospect, after distributing the questionnaire to a perceived acceptable number of respondents. In addition, even after administering the t-test, no size of t 'no matter how large, can make us absolutely certain' (Dooley, 1995:154). One must keep in mind that only a sample of the population is being considered. Therefore, one can only speak of 'probability or risk' and

attempt limiting it (Dooley, 1995:155). Dooley (1995:155) explains how inferential statistics (i.e. when one applies conclusions from small-sized samples to large populations) assist researchers in the choice between two opposing hypotheses. On the one hand, one may observe differences induced by chance or by a sampling error (the 'null hypothesis', also written as H_0). On the other hand, the difference is real. One can never rule out the possibility of mistakenly rejecting the null hypothesis (known as the Type 1 error). Likewise, one may never be certain of not having mistakenly accepted the null hypothesis (known as the Type 2 error). However, a researcher may make provisions for these errors before embarking on a study. In fact, researchers 'set the risk of making a Type 1 error, called alpha (α)' (Dooley 1995:155). I wanted to limit the Type 1 (wrongly rejected H_0) as much as possible so, I chose an alpha level of 0.005. Nevertheless, statistics can only limit Type 1 error. An inferential statistic 'must have a known probability distribution' (Dooley 1995:155). Since possible statistical values vary with the 'sample size and the alpha' (Dooley 1995:155), they are usually presented in the form of a table. Dooley (1995:155) explains that these statistics, referred to as 'critical values', dictate the level that the observed inferential statistic 'must exceed in order to reach significance at the chosen alpha'. Consequently, 'to look up the critical values of a statistic' the researcher needs to select an alpha level (of 0.005 in this case) and know the 'degrees of freedom' (Dooley 1995:156). Degrees of freedom are the 'number of scores in a distribution that are free to take on any value' (Harris, 1998:298). They 'depend on the number of subjects or data points, such as cells or contingency tables, used to compute the inferential statistic' (Dooley 1995:156).

However, I was also concerned about the possibility of a Type 2 error (wrongly accepting H_0). Consequently, I attempted to control this risk by attending to the likelihood of wrongly accepting H_0 (also referred to as 'beta') and the probability of detecting a true effect (also referred to as the 'power' of the research) (Dooley, 1995:158). Therefore, if conclusions from the study are to be reliable, the power of the study must be as elevated as possible. According to Dooley (1995:159), 'the researcher's best option to raise the study's power involves increasing sample size'. Thus, with the law of large numbers (Dooley, 1995:137) in mind, I opted for the following figures: a sample of 490 from the population of lower ranked police officers (constables, sergeants and sergeant majors) and a census study of all the 111 high ranked officers (inspectors, superintendents, assistant commissioners, the deputy commissioner and the commissioner) – 603 police officers in all. I am aware that a smaller sample size could have sufficed, but I decided to 'oversample' (Dooley, 1995:135) to minimise Type 1 and Type 2 errors as well as to ensure the inclusion of minorities within the Malta police force, such as females and officers with tertiary education.

When dealing with the sampling frame (constables, sergeants and sergeant majors) in Category 1, I applied random (or probability) sampling. This involved choosing a sample at random (lottery-style) from the population of lower ranked police officers (Dooley, 1995:134). Harris (1998:250) defines random sampling as a 'procedure by which scores (or elements or individuals) are selected from a population in such a way that each sample of size N is equally likely to be chosen'. She further explains how, through random sampling, every member of the population has an 'equal chance' of being chosen for the sample (Harris, 1998:250).

I adopted the following procedure: Seale (1998:136) advises that the 'elements should be numbered', so I started by numbering the entire population of the lower ranks (police constables, sergeants and sergeant majors) starting from 0001 and ending with 1,633. The selection procedure involved the use of a ten pence coin, ten ping-pong balls and a sack made of cloth. Flipping the ten pence coin determined the first digit. If the coin landed with the queen facing upwards, the interviewee's number would start with a thousand (since the last number was 1,633 there could not be numbers starting with two thousand or more). Alternatively, if the coin landed with the lion facing upwards, the interviewee's number would start with a hundred (the lion side of the coin equalled a zero). Then, I took ten ping-pong balls and wrote a number from 0 to 9 on each ball. Subsequently, these balls were placed in a sack (made of cloth) and shuffled. After flipping the coin, I still had to determine the remaining three digits – the units, the tens and the hundreds. Thus each and every interviewee selection involved flipping the ten pence coin, extracting three ping-pong balls, writing down the four-digit or three-digit number and matching it with the corresponding interviewee number. Thus, a queen-side-up coin meant the interviewee number started with a thousand. Extracting ping-pong balls three, five and one meant that the interviewee number continued with three, five and one. Hence, the first interviewee number had to be 1,351. Naturally, once extracted, each ping-pong ball was immediately placed back into the sack. Whenever I ended with a number exceeding 1,633 it was discarded. Clearly, this was a very time-consuming exercise, however the procedure was very straightforward, enabling me to minimise errors and proceed in the comfort of certainty.

This lengthy process provided me with a list of 603 names and postings (their placement within the Malta police force) of interviewees. The next job was writing a letter (Appendix D) to them, explaining that this was an authorised survey being conducted by an outside academic and assuring them a guaranteed anonymity. This made it clear that it would be impossible for anyone to know who had responded to the questionnaire or not. The commissioner of police had kindly prepared a letter minute (Appendix E) confirming his authorisation and encouraging interviewees to collaborate and respect the deadline.

All this material (the 603 copies of the two letters and the questionnaire) had to be adequately folded and inserted into an envelope. I had to purchase 1,206 envelopes. I manually addressed 603 envelopes to the interviewees' placement within the police force. Then, providentially, I was stopped just before commencing to manually address the remaining 603 envelopes to the Malta police force's human resources office. This work was done by a personal computer and a printer, with the enthusiastic assistance of my seven-year-old son. Clearly, the job of addressing the envelopes would have been facilitated had I thought of purchasing adhesive labels and setting my computer to do the job. Besides saving me considerable time and preventing a massive attack of boredom, this would have had the added bonus of drastically facilitating any future repetition of the process. At the time, this seemed highly improbable but the harsh consequences of this missed opportunity hit home very soon. In a month, to be precise, when the tutor suggested a chasing-up strategy! This procedure resulted into the creation of five mini hills: questionnaires (still referred to as QFHs), researcher's letter, police commissioner's letter minute, envelopes addressed to the human resource office within the Malta police force and envelopes addressed to individual interviewees. The next step was to insert all the items (one of each of the initial four mini hills) into the interviewees' envelopes. Clearly, this was a highly tedious and time-consuming exercise, which involved all immediate members (husband, son and father) of my family. The effort paid off, and the outcome of a weekend of work was five, carefully packed boxes of envelopes ready for distribution. These were taken to the police human resource office within the general headquarters. The dedicated personnel of this office kindly offered to distribute the questionnaires and to accept the completed ones. All this happened in the second week of December 2001.

The next looming problem-clouds were built from my lack of experience with my research tool: SPSS. Consequently, 2001's Christmas holidays were rendered hard working holidays since, during the festive period, I attended an SPSS introductory course (Appendix C) to acquire skills in data analysis using SPSS. This course covered the basics of SPSS (importing data files, SPSS toolbars, data editor and output windows, SPSS help, variables and saving), basic statistics (missing values, getting basic statistics from SPSS, templates, recoding, sorting and searching and selecting cases) as well as variables and charts (computing new variables, creating standard charts, creating interactive charts and exploring output to word processor).

Data collection

While I followed the above course, the interviewees were returning their completed questionnaires to the human resources office at the police general headquarters. By the end of

December 2001, slightly more than 50 per cent were recovered. There might have been various causes for this disappointing response rate, including: the daunting size of the questionnaire; anonymity made it safe for them not to respond; the lack of direct pressure might have enabled some respondents to procrastinate and forget all about it.

Initially, I felt discouraged by this response rate, however, McNeill (1994:40) claims that this 'is the major drawback of the postal method' and that response rates of such surveys range between 30 and 40 per cent. Evidently, research participants prefer personal, in depth interviews to completing 'forms' (Seale, 1998:138) especially when one considers that this questionnaire was 14 pages long and comprised 102 questions. In fact, I believe that if it were not for the friendly rapport developed over the years and if it were not for the police commissioner's letter minute, the response rate would have been much lower. The mixed reactions of the respondents surely pointed in this direction. Although, there were some who thanked me for my initiative, claiming that the questionnaire was stimulating, many others jokingly (it is hoped!) confessed murderous intentions! They (rightly) complained that the questionnaire was much too long and that they only complied because of their confidence in me.

Although the response rate was acceptable, I believe that one should invest every effort in securing the highest possible response (Seale, 1998:138). Consequently, following the advice of my tutor, I engaged in a post-deadline questionnaire-chasing strategy. I wrote a letter of appreciation to all the participants of this research (since I could not know who sent a completed questionnaire and who did not), thanking conforming interviewees and urging the others to return their completed questionnaire within a stipulated time. The 603 copies of this letter were folded and inserted into envelopes, which had to be addressed once more. Had I used the computer/printer to address the first lot of envelopes, I would have been able to merely repeat the automatic procedure. However, my failure to do so in the first instance, lead me to writing the entire 603 addresses again. In addition, I wrote a letter to the superintendent in charge of internal affairs who, in turn, issued a notice urging the remaining interviewees to respond. All this effort resulted in the return of an additional four questionnaires. I was disappointed as I expected to recover more questionnaires, but at least, I had made every possible effort. To my amusement, police suspicion lead one of these late respondents to assume that he had received the letter of appreciation because it was known that he failed to return his completed questionnaire. Consequently, he finally complied and told me so. Evidently, many others relied on the fact that non-conformers could not be retraced and not being very pro-academia, refrained from complying. The fact that only four questionnaires were returned after this chasing-up exercise could suggest that all those interested had replied immediately while all those wholly disinterested would not be bothered at all and these two groupings may have very

different opinions on police culture: most of the respondents could possibly have been liberal minded; but, conversely the ones who responded might have been the ones with traditional attitudes, having been motivated by their wish to be heard. There is no mechanism for making a firm adjudication on these possibilities.

Statistical significance

The statistics used in this research are statistics of association. As explained earlier, these statistics 'provide an indication of the extent to which variables co-vary' (Jupp, 1989:26). Nevertheless, one must keep in mind that variables may seem to co-vary, but any apparent association may result purely by chance. If unaware, the inexperienced researcher may readily accept a result 'simply caused by chance' (Seale, 1998:172). Seale (1998:172) explains how the researcher might base his/her assumptions on a sample size that might not be representative of the entire population under scrutiny. Thus, scholars had to devise a way of estimating the probability that the results acquired from the sample actually reflect those that would have been derived from the whole population. Seale (1998:172) explicates that this 'involves statistical inference' and that 'one of the most commonly used for contingency tables is known as the chi-square test.'

Chi-square is 'a test of the independence of the relationship between nominal or categorical variables' (Hagan, 1997:350). It examines whether or not there is a relationship between the variables, whether the variables are co-dependent and whether the observed association could have happened by chance. Hagan (1997:350) stresses that chi-square 'does not measure the degree of association' but the 'significance of a relationship if one exists.' A chi-square test of independence 'can be viewed both as an indication of association and as an indication of difference, depending on how the question is worded' (Harris, 1998:456). The value of the chi-square, at times is presented as ρ-value, ρ representing probability (Seale, 1998:172). It may also be represented as χ^2 (Harris, 1998:456) as was adopted in this research. Sometimes it is also multiplied by 100 and presented as a percentage. If, for example, the χ^2 value of the question, of whether respondents support capital punishment or not, is 0.02, the researcher could claim that 'in fewer than 2 out of 100 possible samples that could have been selected at random …' would the result have originated 'by chance' (Seale, 1998:172). Therefore, the result did not occur by coincidence and, had the researcher been able to conduct the study with the entire population of Maltese police officers, the result would reflect that acquired with the sample of Maltese police officers. Consequently, the researcher can accept the hypothesis that the variables are related. Seale (1989:172) explains that the researcher may express this 'as its negative', rejecting 'what is known as the null hypothesis that the two variables are unrelated.'

One frequently finds probability values in quantitative research, usually near tables. For example, if one finds $p<0.02$ under a table, it means that the probability of the relationship between variables occurring by chance is less than 2 in 100 (Seale, 1989:172). Seale (1989:172) claims that results having 'p-value of less than 5 in 100' ($p<0.05$) are generally accepted as 'significant'.

Dooley (1995:160) explains that the sample size determines whether 'the test statistic reaches significance'. Seale (1989:172) stresses this point by adding that the 'value of chi-square is affected by sample size.' This becomes increasingly clear when one bears in mind the law of large numbers (Dooley, 1995:137). Seale (1989:172) states that 'a low p-value … is more likely with large samples.' In other words, the greater the sample size, the more significant the results. I opted for a sample size of 603 out of a population of 1,754 Maltese police officers. However, I ended up with a sample size of 333 Maltese police officers (since the remainder chose not to return their completed questionnaire). Seale (1989:172) points out that, in addition, the 'principles underlying chi-square require that the expected values in at least 20 per cent of the cells in a contingency table are more than 5'.

Presentation of tables

With the exception of frequency tables, the significance of the chi-square value is given below each table presented in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. In this study, any chi-square (χ^2) value of 0.05 or less is accepted as significant. Consequently, one could assume that the result attained has a 95 per cent probability of not occurring by chance. This implies that, if this were a census study, this sort of difference would have emerged. Therefore, one can accept the hypothesis that the variables are related or that the null hypothesis can be rejected. The degrees of freedom (df) values are presented next to the chi-square value.

Table 4.3 Preference of policing styles (1st choice) by rank

		Rank			
Police Roles		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	Total
Watchman style	Number	77	26	6	109
	Column %	30.4%	43.3%	35.3%	33.0%
Legalistic style	Number	5	5		10
	Column %	2.0%	8.3%		3.0%
Service style	Number	171	29	11	211
	Column %	67.6%	48.3%	64.7%	63.9%
Total	Number	253	60	17	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.022$ df = 4

This quantitative research therefore requires the comparison of 'dependent variables' whose 'values or levels depend on the causal variable (s)' and 'independent variables' which are 'not caused by other variables' (Dooley, 1995:62). For example, in the title of Table 4.3, the 'Preference of Policing Styles' is the dependent variable whereas the 'rank' is the independent variable.

This comparison involves the use of cross-tabulation tables (such as Table 4.3). These types of tables show the frequency of one variable in relation to another. However, in the absence of statistical significant differences between variables, frequency tables (such as Table 4.4) were used. Simple frequency tables present 'possible or actual score, along with the number of times that score appeared' whereas grouped frequency tables present 'ranges of scores … rather than individual scores' (Harris, 1998:74-75).

Table 4.4 Perception of the police force

How do officers consider the police force		Total
As a place of work	Number	118
	Column %	36.2%
Like a family	Number	191
	Column %	58.6%
Like a club	Number	14
	Column %	4.3%
Other	Number	3
	Column %	.9%
Total	Number	326
	Column %	100.0%

To reveal precisely what is being presented, each table is titled: dependent variable by independent variable. For example, in Table 4.3 regarding policing styles by rank, the cells of the tables present the number of respondents and the column percentage representation of this number. The 'subheads … [act] as a guide to the information in the columns and rows'… 'table columns run vertically while rows run horizontally' (Hagan, 1997:325). In Table 4.3 the rows identify the different policing styles whereas the column subheads refer to the different police rank levels. The title of each table consists of a short description and a reference to the question asked in the questionnaire. The format of this reference is (Q<number>).

This research produced considerable data. Neither the time-limit nor the word-limit allowed all this data to be fully discussed. Consequently, I chose to discuss: tables that presented statistically significant differences between variables; frequency tables in the absence of statistically significant differences between variables; and the few tables which, the very absence of statistically significant differences between variables such as gender, age and rank,

proved that respondents agreed, no matter their gender, age or rank. For instance, Table 6.36, Table 6.40 and Table 6.41 indicate that both genders tend to think alike.

Conclusion

The methodology of this study had to fit the framework of the deadline and accessible resources. Literature on police culture (Reiner, 2000:101) suggests that police officers may not be very receptive to academic research so, their motivation to fill in the voluminous postal questionnaire had to stem from sentiments apart from interest in academia. Consequently, considerable extra work was invested in this project. In fact, I took every opportunity to mingle amongst police officers: formal and informal social activities, lecturing duties or participation on police boards. Besides enabling me to develop the indispensable, confidence-building familiarity with the Malta police force, this allowed me to open a window on the life world of Maltese police officers and to observe their culture. This strategy helped in questionnaire design and in encouraging respondents to participate.

The following chapters present the research findings and their interpretation: Chapter 5 on the components of police culture; Chapter 6 on conservatism and police culture; Chapter 7 on the police and the public and Chapter 8 on transforming police culture.

Chapter 5: Components of Police Culture

Introduction

Chapter 2 presented the main notions of police culture. Chan (1997:12) believes that police culture surfaces from the risky nature of police work and the aura of uncertainty that surrounds it. Manning (1977 cited in Chan, 1997:12) postulates that the fabric of this culture is held together by the strands of the police officers' own, unofficial suppositions and the tolerance of their methods. This explains the predisposition of police culture to overshadow the police force's official rules and take the lead. Although the idea of police culture has met resistance (Waddington, 1999:106; Eagleton, 2000:37; Warren and James, 2000:34), evidently, it has also been extensively accepted (Heidensohn, 1995:78). The review of various theorisations highlighted Reiner's (1992 and 2000) work as that which most reverberates with what was noted ethnographically in the observation of Maltese police officers. In Reiner's (2000:106) own words, Maltese police culture appears to be 'neither monolithic nor unchanging' but the result of the 'wider social transformation' that occurred in Malta since 1987. Reiner (2000:87-101) holds that police culture is made up of the subsequent components: a strong sense of mission, action, cynicism, pessimism, suspicion, isolation, solidarity with colleagues, pragmatism, racism, chauvinism and conservatism. However, racism, chauvinism and

conservatism will be discussed lengthily in Chapter 6, which is dedicated to police officers' conservative nature. Each element of police culture is also viewed from a Maltese perspective via a discussion of the findings.

Chapter 5 explores the culture of Maltese police officers, basing it on Reiner's (2000:87-101) model of police culture, but also drawing from other prominent authors such as: Horne (1980), Benyon and Bourn (1986), Carrier (1988), Lunnenborg (1989), Clarke (1992), McCormick and Visano (1992), Gomez-Preston and Trescott (1995), Price and Sokoloff (1995), Walklate (1995), Fyfe, Greene, Peak and Glensor (1996), Martin and Jurik (1996), Muraskin and Roberts (1996), Chan (1997), Walsh, Wilson and McLaren (1997), Hollin (1998), Waddington (1999), Eagleton (2000) and Perlmutter (2000). This chapter presents an analysis of the findings of this research of police culture in Malta, comparing and contrasting it with Reiner's and other authors' theorising in this field. The author uses Reiner's (2000:87-101) headings for Chapters 5 and 6. At the end of the questionnaire, the respondents were invited to write what, according to them, was the single most needed reform in the Malta police force. Being an open question, a qualitative approach was adopted in the analysis of their responses. The data obtained from this open question is discussed at the end of each section.

A strong sense of mission

Reiner (2000:89) holds that police officers' powerful sense of mission is at the heart of police culture. It is the source that nourishes their culture and animates them in their work. However, he insists that this mission is defined by police officers and what civilians may think falls within their responsibilities may not necessarily be considered as such by police officers. Reiner (1992:184) draws attention to the media influence on police officers' perception of their mission. In support of this, Perlmutter (2000:121) claims that besides other myths, films propagate the false ideas that: '(a) cops can dispense justice and keep the peace at will, even breaking the law – with few consequences – to do so; (b) cops can bring closure to criminality; they always "get their man" and solve the crime; (c) cops resolve cases quickly; and (d) cops' work lives consist of much action and violence.' This contrasts sharply with real police work, which Reiner (2000:90) describes as 'often boring, messy, petty, trivial and venal.' However, Perlmutter (2000:122) explains that 'we live in a media stream' and that, being aware of it and its dangers, does not prevent one from being dragged along by it. Thus, 'it is clear that cops are as immersed in a mass-mediated culture as the rest of us' (Perlmutter, 2000:121) and they seek to live up to the public's expectations (Perlmutter, 2000:121). Moreover, new recruits seek to satisfy their 'hedonistic love of action' (Reiner, 2000:90). They see themselves as they see police officers on film: 'in heroic poses and action-packed behaviors', doing little, if any, paper work, enjoying 'greater respect from the public' and efficiently solving cases (Perlmutter,

2000:121). However, their contact with reality makes them aware that 'society closes its doors, without pity, on 2 classes of men, those who attack it and those who guard it' (Hugo quoted in Perlmutter, 2000:ii). Thus, they become 'more cynical and distant' from the public which, they swore to serve and protect (Fyfe et al., 1997:160). In addition, that which they perceive as the judiciary's incompetence nourishes a culture of 'contempt for the criminal justice system, disdain for the law and rejection of its application to police, disregard for the truth, and abuse of authority' – allowing police malpractice to go on undisturbed (Chan, 1997:46).

Reiner (2000:3) claims that policing 'implies the set of activities aimed at preserving the security of a particular social order, or social order in general'. McLaughlin and Muncie (2001:55) provide an extensive inventory of these activities: supervising licensed premises, school visits, victim support, missing persons, domestic violence, registration of firearms, enforcement of legislation, monitoring public opinion, social nuisance problems, lost and found property, road safety advice, crime reduction, supervision of dangerous dogs, street contacts, crime investigation, visible foot patrols, crime prevention advice, covering sports, social and political events, investigation of accidents, public enquiry service, inter-agency work, aliens registration, VIP (very important persons) protection and 999 calls. Reiner (2000:3) maintains that policing 'may be carried out by a diverse array of people and techniques'. Wilson (1968 cited in Cox, 1996:64) categorizes these techniques, as the: 'watchman style', 'legalistic style' and 'service style' of policing (Table 5.1). According to Wilson (1968 cited in Cox, 1996:64) a 'watchman style' police force tends to maintain order rather than enforce the law, 'legalistic style' police officers 'are under pressure to "produce" arrests and tickets and are expected to simply "do their jobs" as defined by the administration', and a 'service style' police force is 'consumer oriented' and strives to meet 'community needs'. Moreover, 'service style' oriented police officers 'take seriously all requests for service, and often find alternatives to arrest and other formal sanctions' (Wilson, 1968 cited in Cox, 1996:64). Since respondents were not expected to be familiar with these policing styles, each of these styles was operationalized (McNeill, 1994:23) by asking respondents to tick from a list of police priorities. Responses that favoured controlling citizens were grouped under the 'watchman style'; those that favoured detecting crime, combating crime and arresting offenders fell under the 'legalistic style' while guiding citizens, protecting citizens, offering a shoulder for victims and preventing crime were categorised under the 'service style'. Therefore, the most selected (as first choice) policing priority indicates the preferred policing style in Malta.

Table 5.1 Preference of policing styles (1st choice) by rank (Q1)

Police Roles		Rank: Lower Participants	Rank: Middle Management	Rank: Command	Total
Watchman style	Number	77	26	6	109
	Column %	30.4%	43.3%	35.3%	33.0%
Legalistic style	Number	5	5		10
	Column %	2.0%	8.3%		3.0%
Service style	Number	171	29	11	211
	Column %	67.6%	48.3%	64.7%	63.9%
Total	Number	253	60	17	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.022$ df = 4

Although police forces may have traits of all three policing styles, 'tendencies to emphasize one style over the other two are often easily discernable' (Cox, 1996:64). This can be observed clearly in Table 5.1 where the 'service style' emerges overwhelmingly. Almost two-thirds (63.9%) of respondents selected a 'service style' of policing, a third (33.0%) preferred the 'watchman style' and there rest (3.0%) chose 'legalistic style' policing.

This implies that the typical Maltese police officer acts professionally and courteously, finds alternatives to arrest and other formal sanctions and takes all requests for service seriously (Cox, 1996:65). Wilson (1968 cited in Cox, 1996:65) explains that in 'service style' policing, authority 'is less centralized and community relations and public education are viewed as important aspects of policing. College education is valued, salaries are reasonably good, and specialized expertise is encouraged.' He may very well be describing the Maltese police force.

Table 5.1 shows that lower participants and those in command share policing priorities in similar proportions, while those in middle-management differ. About two-thirds (67.6%) of lower participants and those in command (64.7%) are inclined towards the 'service style', while approximately a third (30.4%) of the lower participants and of those in command (35.3%) prefer the 'watchman style', with a near negligible preference for a 'legalistic style' of policing. On the other hand, almost half (48.3%) of the Maltese police inspectors prefer the 'service style' of policing, a little less (43.3%) favour the 'watchman style', about one in twelve (8.3%) are inclined towards the 'legalistic style'.

Table 5.2 Preference of policing styles (1st choice) by gender (Q1)

Police Roles		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Watchman style	Number	91	17	108
	Column %	32.3%	37.0%	32.9%
Legalistic style	Number	6	4	10
	Column %	2.1%	8.7%	3.0%
Service style	Number	185	25	210
	Column %	65.6%	54.3%	64.0%
Total	Number	282	46	328
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.036$ $df = 2$

Clarke's (1992:6) description of male and female values leads one to expect policewomen to be more inclined towards service style policing than policemen, but Table 5.2 indicates that male officers seem to be more inclined towards service policing than policewomen, although this style is preferred by both genders. About two-thirds (65.6%) of the male respondents prefer "service style" policing when compared to just more than half (54.3%) of the female respondents.

Table 5.3 presents the options used to operationalize (McNeill, 1994:23) Wilson's (1968 cited in Cox, 1996:64) three policing styles ('watchman style', 'legalistic style' and 'service style'), with additional data on gender differences. When one observes the frequencies in Table 5.3, with which each element of the three policing styles were chosen, Maltese police officers seem more inclined towards crime prevention (i.e. 'service style' policing) than towards any other police priority. Perhaps contrary to expectations, Table 5.3 shows that the majority of Maltese police officers view crime prevention as their primary function. A little less than one-half of all respondents (47.0%) chose crime prevention as the main role of police officers, followed by less than a fifth of officers endorsing combating crime (19.1%) or protecting citizens (14.8%), while detecting crime was given priority by about a tenth (10.3%) of police officers.

Table 5.3 Police priorities by gender (respondents' first choice) (Q1)

Police Roles (1st choice)		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Detecting Crime	Number	30	4	34
	Column %	10.6%	8.5%	10.3%
Combating Crime	Number	52	11	63
	Column %	18.4%	23.4%	19.1%
Preventing Crime	Number	133	22	155
	Column %	47.0%	46.8%	47.0%
Controlling Citizens	Number	9	2	11
	Column %	3.2%	4.3%	3.3%
Guiding Citizens	Number	3	1	4
	Column %	1.1%	2.1%	1.2%
Protecting Citizens	Number	47	2	49
	Column %	16.6%	4.3%	14.8%
Offering a shoulder for victims	Number	2		2
	Column %	.7%		.6%
Arresting offenders	Number	6	4	10
	Column %	2.1%	8.5%	3.0%
Office work	Number	1	1	2
	Column %	.4%	2.1%	.6%
Total	Number	283	47	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.113$ df = 8

Thus, it seems that Maltese police officers support Robert Peel's (1829 quoted in Peak and Glensor, 1996:4) belief that the 'basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder' and contradict Martin and Jurik's (1996:64) claim that police officers consider fighting crime as 'real police-work'. Table 5.3 shows that almost half (47.0%) of the respondents chose crime prevention as the main role of police officers, with minimal gender difference – 47.0 per cent of male officers and 46.8 per cent of female officers offer this as a priority. Combating crime was the second most common preference by about a fifth of the respondents (18.4% of the male and 23.4% of the female participants). There are no statistically significant differences by gender. This ratio of one in five officers endorsing what might be viewed as a more masculine approach to their role reflects Reiner's (1992:112) concept of the 'thin blue line'.

The third most common police role chosen by male and female police officers showed differences. About one in twelve (8.5%) of female respondents ticked crime detection and the same amount (8.5%) marked arresting offenders, whilst the third most common role chosen by male respondents was citizen protection (16.6%). Citizen protection is clearly one of the perceived three main roles of Maltese police officers since it was placed second or third in all selections. This reflects Reiner's (1992:112) view that police officers consider themselves as 'the thin blue line', dynamically protecting society.

A strong sense of mission: qualitative findings

Police officers are convinced that policing has a 'worthwhile purpose' (Reiner, 2000:87), which is possibly why respondents (52.0%) believe that they should be relieved from chores that take most of their time such as escort duties, fixed point duties, office work and court duties. They claim that instead they should concentrate on other duties such as: beat duties, public relations and the investigation of crimes. Respondents (48.0%) suggested that the local inquisitorial prosecuting system, whereby the police act as prosecutors, should be changed and minor police stations should be closed (at least at night) to enhance the major police stations. In this way, police officers would have more time to respond to crime and to be with the public. They explained that the police force sacrificed foot patrols just to keep police stations open when more direct contact with the community could yield better results.

In fact, they (61.0%) emphasised the need for improved public relations, attainable once the Malta police force acquires a better image and thus appears deserving of the public's trust. Respondents (58.0%) recommended an increase in foot and car patrols. Over one-half of the officers (52.0%) thought that if the size of the Malta police force increases, there would be more police officers on the beat and this, in turn, would make the citizens feel safer and more appreciative of the Malta police force. The need for the strengthening of community policing was evidently felt. Participants (55.0%) held that this policing style enhances public relations and renders the police more efficient and effective. Some (31.0%) also mentioned the promotion of neighbourhood watch schemes and the introduction of pro-active, holistic policing that would attack the roots of deviancy, reducing crime, crime victims and public expenditure, including the need for a proactive police force that would organise and promote community crime prevention programmes. Respondents (28.0%) also pointed out the need for improved police officers' perception of what was policing – from police force to police service. For example, victims of crime (even of petty crime) should receive better assistance from the police. In fact, the 'core justification of policing is a victim-centre perspective' (Reiner, 2000:89).

However, there were also conflicting recommendations. Although the emphasis was placed on community-oriented policing, some respondents (42.0%) still claim that the police should be given more power if the public is to respect them and if policing is to be more effective. This echoes Machiavelli's (1515: Ch XVII) opinion that although it is desirable to be both loved and feared, achieving both is problematic. Faced by a choice, it is better to be feared than loved. In addition, they (45.0%) suggested that small police stations should be closed to reduce public expenditure and to exercise greater control over district police officers (who may abuse the system if left alone and unsupervised in small, remote police stations).

Selye (1987 in Toch, 2002) stated that policing is even more stressful than air traffic control. For this reason, respondents (30.0%) claim that police officers need to learn how to cope with stress and that they should be provided with counselling services. However, they also suggested ways in which their stress levels could be reduced: clearer job descriptions (30.0%), clearer demarcations of responsibilities (25.0%), greater accountability of superiors (48.0%), and better working conditions (72.0%). They explained that they would suffer less stress if they had reasonable working hours (65.0%) and if they could be given their detail of duty earlier (80.0%). This would enable them to have a better family life, which could, in turn, contribute to a better job performance (Toch, 2002:61).

Toch (2002:11) explains how daily frustrations result in stress and these daily frustrations are caused by, what the respondents described as, decadent working conditions. Whereas some (23.0%) complained that the police do not have enough power to deal with criminals, others pointed their fingers directly at their poor working conditions which included: deprived working environments (in some cases, these were described by respondents as worse than pig sties, with a total disregard of safety and security) (81.0%); lack of adequate human and material resources (71.0%); an unreasonable shift system (85.0%); as well as the fact that wages (those of office personnel are less than the wages of district police – respondents believed that every officer should be given the same amount of allowances to avoid discrimination between office workers and patrol duty officers) and pensions that are not high enough (inducing them to engage in overtime and part-time jobs) (62.0%). In addition, a few (10.0%) suggested that the pro-rata pension obtainable after 25 years of service within the Malta police force should be made obtainable after 15 or 20 years, so that police officers who cannot deal with occupational stress can opt out of the police force when they are still young enough to find alternative employment. The participants (51.0%) also recommended the provision of free life and medical insurance for police officers, since the lack of these benefits, and the probable need of medical care, represent an additional stressor. Some respondents (32.0%) suggested that means should be found to elevate the morale of police officers, which they claimed, is very low.

Lynch (1992 quoted in Peak, 1995) claims that police managers 'listen, talk, write, confer, think, decide – about men, money, materials, methods, facilities – in order to plan, organize, direct, coordinate, and control their research service, production, public relations, employee relations, and all other activities so that they may more effectively serve the citizens to whom they are responsible.' Therefore, one expects Maltese police officers in management positions to be trained in management. However, this may not be the case since some respondents (48.0%) stressed the need for management training. In fact, many participants (78.0%) emphasised the need for better management practices within the Malta police force. A

majority (60.0%) suggested that human resources should be distributed according to the actual needs of each department and according to the actual needs of the communities they serve. Respondents (65.0%) also pointed out that, the district police especially should be very well manned and equipped.

The Malta police management style was also brought under scrutiny. Peak (1995:110) mentions four management styles:

> (1) the "telling" style - a high-task, low-people orientation where the leader is characterized by one-way communication, telling followers what, when, where, and how to do various tasks; (2) the "selling" style places high emphasis on both task accomplishment and people relationships, using two-way communication and emotional support to get workers to "buy into" decisions that have to be made; (3) the "participating" style emphasizes relationships and has low task orientation; it involves two-way communication and encourages shared decision making; and (4) the "delegating" style has low task and people orientations, basically letting people "run their own show."

Respondents (63.0%) maintained that a new mode of police management was required: one involving transparency, consultation, more involvement of subordinates, devolution of duties and decision-making (a respondent even stated that '95.0% of the very basic decisions are taken by the senior staff from Assistant Commissioner upwards'). Consequently, one could conclude that the Malta police force prefers the 'telling' style of management whereas its members prefer the 'participating' style (Peak, 1995:110) of management. In fact, some respondents (28.0%) advocated the introduction of standard operating procedures for the whole spectrum of police work to avoid having an unbalanced police response to similar problems within the various districts/sections. To facilitate this process, several respondents (58.0%) suggested the re-introduction of sergeant majors (this rank was previously being phased out) that would help improve police administration.

Respondents (52.0%) also stressed the need of an increased police officers' accountability. The same concern that, in the UK triggered the setting up of the Willink Commission in the 1950s (Benyon, 1986a:13). Brogden et al. (1988 in Chan, 1997:183) explains that being answerable involves 'institutional arrangements made to ensure that police do the job required of them'. However, Chan (1997:182) points out that: 'Ironically, being more accountable meant being more open and accessible to outside scrutiny' and this is not compatible with police officers' 'marked internal solidarity', 'social isolation' (Reiner, 2000:91), 'siege mentality' and 'code of silence' (Reiner, 1992:111-29). Nevertheless, the lack of police accountability leads to the lack of the public's respect and support which then leads to an ineffective police force (Benyon, 1986a:7-17). Perhaps it is for this reason that the research participants emphasised the importance of greater police accountability as well as clearer job

and responsibility demarcations. A third of them (33.0%) also suggested that all members of the police force should be assessed on a periodical basis and if certain standards are not maintained, those under scrutiny should be replaced by more motivated recruits.

Skolnick (1994:11) explains that the very organisational structure of the police force generates 'a martial conception of order', based on 'martial principles' such as 'a strong sense of obedience' which implies an ever-present element of discipline and love of order. Most respondents (75.0%) appealed for a drastic increase in discipline and adherence to police circulars. Their love of order might have activated their desire for 'the legitimacy of the police [which] depends upon the extent to which they are judged as behaving properly' (Benyon, 1986a:15). Patten (1999 in Neyroud and Beckley, 2001:4) states that 'policing means protecting human rights'. This could be the reason why some respondents (20.0%) suggested that particular members of the higher ranks, who were allegedly involved in the 1980s human rights violations in Malta, should be removed from office. Others (45.0%) added that superiors should be exemplary police officers, untainted by involvement with criminals, although the informer system makes this quite difficult (Billingsley et al., 2001:12). These respondents recommended that high ranked police officers should be carefully monitored.

Ethical rectitude is the pivot upon which effective policing revolves (Neyroud and Beckley, 2001:138). Possibly that is why a majority of respondents (51.0%) insisted that there should be better screening of police applicants (recruits and officer cadets). Their plea could imply that a number of recruits/officer cadets enter the police force for 'the thrills of the chase, the fight, the capture, the 'machismo syndrome'' (Reiner, 2000:89). Many respondents (72.0%) also stressed that these recruits/officer cadets should be self-disciplined, rendering constant supervision unnecessary. They (21.0%) emphasised the need of regular performance assessment that involved a set of rewards and sanctions. Since a strong moral fibre is the back-bone of an effective police force (Neyroud and Beckley, 2001:138) most respondents (63.0%) claim that there should be better screening of police applicants at entry level. They (61.0%) also maintain that more training is needed. Cox (1996:129) states that 'content should be relevant to the needs …' and according to respondents, the needs are: constant updating about new laws, acquirement of skills that would help them execute police duties and preparation on human rights (which include their own).

Suspicion

Siegal (1986 quoted in Hollin, 1989:131) claims that the 'typical police personality' includes a propensity to exercise suspicion on a routine basis. McLaughlin and Muncie (2001:75) explain that due to 'the ever-present possibility of being abused, threatened, provoked

and physically attacked, officers become hypersensitive' and thus 'suspicious of … outsiders'. Skolnick (1994:47) goes as far as to point out that the 'police are indeed specifically trained to be suspicious'. Cox (1996:167) justifies this by the 'unpredictable nature of danger in policing' and admits that police recruits are 'encouraged to treat other citizens encountered as "symbolic assailants". Furthermore, Rubinstein (1973 cited in Cox, 1996:167) reveals that police officers are taught that 'they work in an "alien" environment in which everyone knows who they are while they lack such information about most of the people with whom they interact'. Thus, it becomes clear that suspicion does play an important part in the lives of police officers, yet the question of whether naturally suspicious people are attracted to policing or whether police recruits are socialized by police culture and rendered suspicious, has been the cause of some controversy (Hollin, 1989:131).

Table 5.4 shows that most Maltese police officers believe that policing transforms ordinary people into suspicious people. They agree with Brown and Willis (1985 cited in Hollin, 1989:131) who claim that 'personality and values are formed as a consequence of the prevailing values in the police culture.' Just over half (50.8%) of the respondents thought that policing changed ordinary people into suspicious ones. In contrast, about 1 in 8 of respondents (13.1%) think that the police force attracts suspicious people, whereas about a third of respondents (36.1%) thought that being a police officer did not influence their suspiciousness.

Table 5.4 Nature of police suspicion by level of entry (Q7)

		Level of entry		
The police force		At recruit level	As a graduate - at officer cadet level	Total
Attracts suspicious people	Number	41	1	42
	Column %	13.8%	4.2%	13.1%
Transforms employees into suspicious people	Number	141	22	163
	Column %	47.5%	91.7%	50.8%
Does not effect one's level of suspicion	Number	115	1	116
	Column %	38.7%	4.2%	36.1%
Total	Number	297	24	321
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.001$ df = 2

Table 5.4 shows that almost half of those who entered the police force at recruit level and the majority of those who entered as officer cadets (graduates) agree that the police force transforms employees into suspicious persons. Those who entered as recruits seem to be more inclined to believe that the police force does not affect one's level of suspicion. Almost all (91.7%) of the respondents who entered at officer cadet level claim that the police force transforms individuals into suspicious beings. Almost half (47.5%) of those who entered as

recruits held the same opinion, while almost two-fifth (38.7%) thought that the police force does not affect one's level of suspicion.

There is an on-going debate about whether the police force attracts already suspicious people or if police officers become suspicious once they join. Colman and Gorman (1982 cited in Hollin, 1989:131) advocate the "predispositional model" in which the personality traits or social attitudes exist prior to joining the police; indeed, it is these particular personal qualities which make police work attractive to such individuals.' These authors are contradicted by Brown and Willis (1985 cited in Hollin, 1989:131) who argue for the '"socialization model" in which personality and values are formed as a consequence of the prevailing values in the police culture.' The findings presented above (in Table 5.4) indicate that most Maltese police officers support the Brown and Willis (1985 cited in Hollin, 1989:131) theory.

Table 5.5 indicates that the majority of Maltese police officers consider themselves as having suspicious minds. As expected, Table 5.5 shows that about eight in ten respondents (80.6%) claim to be suspicious in contrast with about one in ten (10.9%) who claim that they are not suspicious people. This opinion echoes across the ranks, supported by more than three-quarters (77.1%) of the lower participants, and about nine-tenths of the other ranks (93.3% from middle-management and 88.2% from command).

Table 5.5 Extent of police suspicion by rank (Q4)

Suspicion of police officers		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
Suspicious	Number	195	56	15	266
	Column %	77.1%	93.3%	88.2%	80.6%
Not suspicious	Number	32	2	2	36
	Column %	12.6%	3.3%	11.8%	10.9%
Don't know	Number	26	2		28
	Column %	10.3%	3.3%		8.5%
Total	Number	253	60	17	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.045$ df = 4

Suspicion: qualitative findings

Policing breeds 'an attitude of constant suspicion' within police officers and trains them to identify 'clues to offences' (Reiner, 2000:91). Police suspicion 'cannot be readily switched off' (Reiner, 2000:91) and it remains activated even within the police force, directed towards possible signs of police corruption, political interference, lack of accountability and internal discrimination. Reiner (2000:62) claims that police corruption eroded police legitimacy in the UK. Maltese police officers may be aware of the negative effects of police corruption since

they suggested ways of reducing it. For example, 30.0 per cent of those in command suggested that any officer below superintendent should rotate his/her duties at least every five years. Similarly, 52.0 per cent of the respondents below superintendent level recommended that the police commissioner should change every five years to reduce corruption. In addition, 30.0 per cent of the lower ranks claim that there were many corrupted and immoral characters within the higher ranks. All this could indicate that all segments of the Malta police force suspect each other. This indicates perhaps a surprisingly high level of top-down and bottom-up suspicion of other officers.

'Policing may be inescapably political, but it need not be politicized' (Reiner, 2000:9). In Malta, however, it frequently is. Politics play a central role in Malta and consequently politicians have influence in various institutions, such as the police force. Therefore, suspicious police officers could sense the intervention of politicians in internal matters such as recruitment, placement and transfers, even promotions. This could be that which motivated 41.0 per cent of them to suggest that: available human resources should be deployed where most needed and that recruitment, placement and transfers should be according to the police officers' (or applicant's) qualifications and abilities.

Police officers' accountability is crucial if a police force is to gain the public's respect (Benyon, 1986a:13). This belief, coupled with police suspicion, could have prompted some respondents (15.0%) to suggest the introduction of a board that would check whether all police officers are performing their duties well. Some respondents (20.0%) complained that particular police officers rarely got fixed points, police escorts, night watch and work during the weekends. One could deduce that the respondents suspected detail officers (those in charge of issueing duty rosters) of discriminating against certain police officers for different reasons. Consequently, respondents suggested that detail officers should be closely supervised.

Isolation and solidarity

Reiner (2000:91) draws attention to the evident 'internal solidarity' and the 'social isolation' of the police. For example, Banton (1964 quoted in Reiner, 2000:91) refers to the police force as 'a race apart' and Alex (1976 quoted in Reiner, 2000:91) describes police officers as 'a beleaguered minority'. In addition, Reiner (2000:91) remarks that several police officers find it hard to mingle with civilians in their lives outside the police force. He blames this on the very nature of police work: 'shift-work, erratic hours' and on the police officers' 'difficulties in switching off from the tension engendered by the job', the repercussions associated with the 'discipline code', the antagonism and the apprehension of the public (Reiner, 2000:91). Reiner refers to this social isolation as the cost imposed on British police

officers by Peel, Rowan and Mayne in their successful efforts to promote police officers as 'symbols of impersonal authority' (Reiner, 2000:92). Reiner (2000:92) continues by stressing that internal 'solidarity is a product not only of isolation, but also of the need to be able to rely on colleagues in a tight spot, and a protective armour from public knowledge of infractions'. However, Reiner (2000:92) also emphasises that internal conflicts are rife in a hierarchical institution such as the police force, in which the distinction between ranks is very carefully noted and demarcated.

Table 5.6 indicates that most Maltese police officers considered the police force as a family, echoing Reiner's perception of police culture. In fact, Table 5.6 shows that more than half of the respondents (58.6%) endorsed a familial concept of the police force, rather than a formal, detached one. In contrast, a third of the respondents (36.2%) saw the police force simply as a place of work – perhaps after reaching Kirschman's (1997:41) disillusionment phase or being overwhelmed by Reiner's (2000:90) 'police pessimism'.

Table 5.6 Perception of the police force (Q8)

How do officers consider the police force		Total
As a place of work	Number	118
	Column %	36.2%
Like a family	Number	191
	Column %	58.6%
Like a club	Number	14
	Column %	4.3%
Other	Number	3
	Column %	.9%
Total	Number	326
	Column %	100.0%

Reflecting Shearing's (1992:351) description of law enforcers, Table 5.6 shows that Maltese police officers consider themselves as a highly cohesive group. It could be that, like their foreign counterparts, Maltese police officers spend more time at work than at home with their families (Kirschman, 1997:7). Thus, Maltese police officers may be filling the void left by their family members with their colleagues. This same tendency has been noted in criminal gang members (Adler, Mueller and Laufer, 1995:136) who band together for mutual support in face of opposition from rival gangs and the police. In support of this, Kirschman (1997:93) emphasises police officers' 'need to belong and be accepted'. Table 5.6 supports this view.

Although, most Maltese police officers consider the police force as a family, a marked one-third (36.2%) of respondents see it simply as a place of work. This is certainly note-worthy. It is probably the consequence of what Reiner (2000:90) termed 'police cynicism'. Kirschman

(1997:22-21) explains that cynicism 'results from prolonged exposure to the worst in people's behaviour' and that cynics expect 'nothing good from people'. Kirschman (1997:35-51) gives a detailed account of the psychological phases in an officer's life. She describes how the enthusiastic, new police officer is transformed from a dynamic, optimistic and content officer to a cynical, pessimistic and disillusioned one. These may very well comprise the 36.2 per cent mentioned in Table 5.6 that did not regard the police force as a family but merely as a place of work.

Table 5.7 indicates that the majority of both male and female police officers consider the police force like a family (there are no statistically significant differences in the responses). More than one-half (59.0%) of the respondents considered the police force as a family. A closer look at this table shows that the majority of male (58.1%) and female (63.8%) respondents perceived the police force as a family. A higher percentage of male respondents (36.8%) than that of females (29.8%) considered the police force as a place of work. Burn (1996:79) implies that a woman's domestic responsibilities might bar her from allotting the additional effort required in police work. Consequently, 'a stereotype persists that men are inherently more committed to work than women and that women's attitudes to work are generally less positive than are men's' (Kremer, 1998:143).

Table 5.7 Perception of the police force by gender (Q8)

How do officers consider the police		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
As a place of work	Number	102	14	116
	Column %	36.8%	29.8%	35.8%
Like a family	Number	161	30	191
	Column %	58.1%	63.8%	59.0%
Like a club	Number	11	3	14
	Column %	4.0%	6.4%	4.3%
Other	Number	3		3
	Column %	1.1%		.9%
Total	Number	277	47	324
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.555$ df = 3

Following the same pattern, in Malta more male than female police officers tend to view the police force simply as a place of work, hence the level of cynicism and dissatisfaction seems to be lower in female police officers than in their male colleagues. However, this does not necessarily imply that Maltese policewomen meet their aspirations and are thus content at work. Kremer (1998:143) explains that 'for many women, expectations are lower and satisfaction rates are consequently higher as these expectations are more easily met'. In addition, the list of female values, as presented by Clarke (1992:6) include interdependence, co-

operation, receptivity and acceptance. These values help in the preservation of a positive work atmosphere, which renders the work place more than simply a source of income.

Table 5.8 shows that the vast majority of Maltese police officers stand up for and support each other. In fact, an overwhelming 80.4 per cent of the respondents believed this. It also shows that most Maltese police officers believe that officers would report a colleague to their superiors – an opinion expressed by almost three quarters (73.9%) of the respondents. About three-fifths (61.6%) would only report a colleague in very serious offences. A little over half (56.1%) of the respondents would never criticise the police force in public, while just over two-thirds believe (68.4%) that the police force protects its members from the public.

Table 5.8 Extent of the solidarity between Maltese police officers (Q10)

		True Statement	False statement	Total
Officers stand up for and support each other	Number	259	63	322
	Row %	80.4%	19.6%	100.0%
Officers never report a colleague to their superiors	Number	81	229	310
	Row %	26.1%	73.9%	100.0%
Officers only report a colleague in very serious matters	Number	194	121	315
	Row %	61.6%	38.4%	100.0%
Officers never criticise the force in public	Number	175	137	312
	Row %	56.1%	43.9%	100.0%
The police force protects its members from the public	Number	97	210	307
	Row %	31.6%	68.4%	100.0%

Several criminologists, such as Reiner (2000:91), Waddington (1999:99-101), Chan (1997:44) and Skolnick (1994:50-53), comment on the high level of solidarity between police officers. Skolnick (1994:50) describes this level of solidarity as 'unusually high' and justifies it by the remoteness of police officers from 'the conventional world' (Skolnick, 1994:51) and their continuous exposure to danger (Skolnick, 1994:53). Chan (1997:80) even mentions a police code that binds police officers to practice solidarity amongst each other. In fact, Skolnick and Fyfe (1993, quoted in Chan, 1997:80) claim that this code 'decrees that cops protect other cops, no matter what, and that cops of higher rank back up working street cops – no matter what'. Waddington (1999:99) describes this solidarity as the product of the 'Us/Them' syndrome ("Us" being the police and "Them" being the rest of the population). He explains that the 'orientation to "Us" is one of intense peer solidarity and loyalty that is expressed in practice through the eagerness with which officers support colleagues'. Reiner (2000:91-95) also mentions these factors, but he also stresses that one should not forget the internal struggles that are not always overridden by the desire to show a united front in the face of difficulties. To illustrate his point, he mentions the friction that exists between 'street cops' and 'management

cops' (Reiner, 2000:92). The same type of hostility described by Benyon (1986a:22) at the advent of police specialisation and professionalisation.

From a police ethics point of view, it is reassuring that almost three quarters (73.9%) of the respondents (in Table 5.8) believed that police officers would report a colleague to their superiors. However, the marked one-quarter (26.1%) of the respondents who claim that officers would never report a colleague to police authorities is far from reassuring. It points to the possibility of police officers wilfully and deliberately ignoring infractions of their fellow officers, to protect their colleagues 'no matter what' and thus, adhere to 'the code' (Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993, quoted in Chan, 1997:80). Thus, as Chan (1997:44) explains, this 'code of secrecy and solidarity among officers, an integral part of this culture [police culture] ensures that deviant practices are either covered up or successfully rationalised.' Adherence to this code might, in fact, have contributed to the deterioration of the image of Maltese police officers during the 1980s.

Thus, equally worrying is the indication that most Maltese police officers would report malpractice only in what they considered as very serious matters (a sizeable 61.6 per cent of the respondents admitted this). Again, this could be a cause for concern for the Maltese public since the criterion which differentiates serious matters from trivial matters may be different for each and every police officer. That which seems serious for one police officer may seem trivial for another. One understands that, as in on-the-street cases, even amongst themselves, police officers make use of their discretion, seeking 'to balance the conflicting principles of order and of legality' (Skolnick, 1994:69) perhaps also basing their judgement on their relationship with possibly deviant colleagues. Thus, what Waddington (1999:32) describes as the 'great tide of invisible crime' might also exist within the Malta police force because of police officers' reluctance to report the malpractice of their colleagues.

Although it seems that there are more Maltese police officers that would never criticize the police force in public, their number seems to be only a little bit above that of those who would. In fact, a marked 43.9 per cent of the respondents claim that officers would criticize the police force in public. The 56.1 per cent of the respondents who would never criticise the police force in public could illustrate the "Us/Them" syndrome explained by Waddington (1999:99) or the 'we/they' approach described by Shearing (1992:351). The rift between the police (the "Us/we") and the rest of the public (the "Them/they") occurs when the latter is perceived by the former as undeserving of certain knowledge about the police force or else, even if deserving, unable to understand. Reiner (2000:92) also commented on this rift, however, he also emphasised the differences between 'types … of "us"', hinting at the 'conflicts inside the police organization'. Kirschman (1997:43) described police chiefs as 'among the most isolated and

vilified employees in a police organization'. This description echoes a Maltese police inspector's comment: 'Police inspectors [in Malta] are exploited – squeezed to the limit and discarded.' Perhaps, this impression, commonly voiced by Maltese police officers, inspectors in particular, has pushed police officers to the limit, a point where little inhibits them from criticising the police force in front of the public.

These disappointed officers may be represented by the 44.1 per cent of the respondents who would criticise the police force in public (Table 5.9). Statistically significant differences in opinion were recorded when the responses of respondents with different educational backgrounds were compared (Table 5.9). Unlike those with primary, secondary and/or post secondary schooling, police officers with tertiary education are more likely to criticise the police force in public. In fact, although half or more of the other respondents would never criticise the police force in public (up to primary level of education, 50.0%, up to secondary schooling, 60.6%, up to post-secondary education, 58.6%), about two-thirds (65.1%) of respondents with up to tertiary education claim that this was not so.

Table 5.9 Extent of police force criticism in front of the public by educational background (Q10.4)

Officers never criticise the force in public		Educational background				Total
		Up to primary school	Up to secondary school	Up to post secondary school	Up to tertiary level	
True Statement	Number	7	94	58	15	174
	Column %	50.0%	60.6%	58.6%	34.9%	55.9%
False statement	Number	7	61	41	28	137
	Column %	50.0%	39.4%	41.4%	65.1%	44.1%
Total	Number	14	155	99	43	311
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.020$ df = 2

This data supports the observation that respondents from middle-management (no officer with tertiary education is found below the rank of inspector) appeared to accept the idea of police officers criticising the Malta police force in public. It could also indicate that these inspectors/middle-management are those most weary of and dissatisfied with their situation at work.

From Table 5.10 one could also infer that most Maltese police officers do not feel that the police force protects its members from the public. In fact only just under a third (31.6%) felt that the Malta police force protects its members from the public. Perhaps, the 68.4 per cent of the respondents who did not feel protected from the public, are convinced that, not only do the police authorities not understand or appreciate their work, but that the 'media are ten times more

interested in the occasional police scandal than the thousands of everyday acts of courage and persistence' (Kirschman, 1997:41).

Table 5.10 Extent of police protection of its members from the public by length of service (Q10.5)

The police force protects its members from the public		Length of Service			Total
		0 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16+ years	
True Statement	Number	23	25	49	97
	Column %	24.5%	28.4%	39.2%	31.6%
False statement	Number	71	63	76	210
	Column %	75.5%	71.6%	60.8%	68.4%
Total	Number	94	88	125	307
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.047$ df = 2

Table 5.10 contributes further to the picture by showing that there is a statistically significant difference by police experience between those that believe that the police force protects its members from the public and those that do not. This data shows that the vast majority of Maltese police officers are convinced that the police force does not protect its members from the public. So much so that over three quarters (75.5%) of those with 0-10 years of policing experience, a marked 71.6 per cent of the respondents with 11-15 years of experience and most (60.8%) of those with more than 16 years of policing experience all agree that the police force does not shield police officers from the public. However, at all three experience levels, the greatest percentage of police officers convinced that the police force protects its members from the public, belong to the 16 plus years of experience bracket. Since the Maltese police authorities belong to the 16 plus years category, the findings could support Kirschman's (1997:43) belief that police authorities are 'among the most isolated'. Thus, any Maltese police officers in the 16 plus years category may believe that police officers are frequently protected from the public.

When it comes specifically to the respect of values within the Malta police force, Table 5.11 indicates that although solidarity scores high on the respondents' list of most respected values (first choices), co-operation ranks first (by some margin) and toughness is at the tail-end of the priority list. Table 5.11 shows that the three most respected values within the Malta police force, in order of priority, seem to be: co-operation (46.4% of respondents), loyalty (26.0% of the respondents) and solidarity (8.7% of the respondents).

Table 5.11 The values respected within the police force by gender (1st choice) (Q20)

Values respected within the police force (1st choice)		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Co-operation (helping each other)	Number	134	16	150
	Column %	48.2%	35.6%	46.4%
Personal relationship (not romantic one)	Number	13	2	15
	Column %	4.7%	4.4%	4.6%
Empathy (how much one understands others)	Number	8	5	13
	Column %	2.9%	11.1%	4.0%
Loyalty	Number	78	6	84
	Column %	28.1%	13.3%	26.0%
Solidarity	Number	21	7	28
	Column %	7.6%	15.6%	8.7%
Autonomy	Number	3		3
	Column %	1.1%		.9%
Competition	Number	13	3	16
	Column %	4.7%	6.7%	5.0%
Harshness	Number		1	1
	Column %		2.2%	.3%
Toughness	Number	8	5	13
	Column %	2.9%	11.1%	4.0%
Total	Number	278	45	323
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.002$ $df = 8$

Although not mentioned directly in Skolnick's (1966 cited in Chan, 1997:43) description of the police officer's 'working personality', these findings indicate that co-operation is the most respected value within the Malta police force. However, in fairness, the roots of co-operation may very well run into the second and third most appreciated values: loyalty and solidarity. In fact, these three values may constitute the 'strong code of solidarity' (Chan, 1997:43) (Reiner, 2000:91) so endemic in police forces around the world. However, in the same way as co-operation appears to rank first on the Malta police force's list of most respected values, co-operation ranks second on Clarke's (1992:6) list of female values. Thus, although other 'female values' (Clarke, 1992:6), such as compassion, had to be pushed aside to make way for 'male values', such as physical strength, it seems that co-operation has been preserved in excellent condition. The weight of the data points to just two important variables, co-operation and loyalty; and they may be strongly interrelated.

Apart from this strong code of solidarity, this research (Table 5.11) indicates that the Malta police force also considers the following values: personal relationships (4.6%), empathy (4.0%), toughness (4.0%), competition (5.0%), autonomy (0.9%) and harshness (0.3%). Toughness and harshness, which are generally associated with males (Clarke, 1992:6), were relegated to the tail end. The numerical disadvantage of female respondents makes it

impossible for their views to determine the prevailing trends within the Malta police force. Overall, when confronted with this unexpectedly positive portrait of the Malta police force one might be inclined to believe that, 'policing is much softer an occupation than the cop culture allows' (Hunt, 1984 cited in Heindensohn, 1995:83), although Reiner (1992:124) suggests that this may be the result of the 'macho image' that is so ingrained in police culture.

An analysis by gender of these responses (Table 5.11) indicates that Maltese policemen and policewomen share the same values in almost the same order of priority. Co-operation, solidarity and loyalty occupy the first places in both their lists while toughness, competition, autonomy and harshness have been relegated to the tail end of the priority list for male and female officers. The only difference between the value priority lists of both genders seems to be in the order of preference. About half (48.2%) of male respondents chose co-operation, 15.6 per cent chose loyalty, and 7.6 per cent chose solidarity. About a third (35.6%) of female respondents also chose co-operation as the most important value, but this was followed by solidarity (15.6%) and then by loyalty (13.3%). Contrary to what was predicted, harshness appears to be the least valued (0.3% of the respondents' first choices). Also unexpectedly, toughness was relegated to the end of the list. In fact, it was the first choice of only 4.0 per cent of the respondents. Surprisingly, more female responses (11.1%) than male responses (2.9%) supported this value.

Lunnenborg's (1989:186) theory of 'complementariness' suggests that, due to the different socialisation, one gender acquires different qualities and embraces different values than the other gender. The same theory goes on to explain, that the qualities and values of both genders are instrumental to policing. Thus, what is needed is for police forces to acknowledge the 'complementariness' of genders and their adaptability to policing (Lunnenborg, 1989:186). The Maltese, traditional, Roman Catholic upbringing socializes both sexes differently, causing both sexes to acquire different qualities, skills and inclinations. Thus, one would expect Maltese policemen and policewomen to embrace different values, providing a suitable arena for Lunnunenborg's (1989:186) theory of 'complementariness'. However, the above data indicates that Maltese policemen and policewomen share the same values in almost the same priority. Therefore, this study may indicate that, if Maltese policemen were to remove, what appears to be, their mask of 'police machismo' (Reiner, 2000:97), mostly what remains is an officer with the same value baggage as that of any policewomen.

Isolation and solidarity: qualitative findings

Reiner (2000:91) stressed the 'marked internal solidarity' and 'social isolation' of the police force. Reiner (2000:92) claims that the ''them' and 'us' outlook … makes clear

distinctions between types of 'them''. Included in his list of types of them are the two categories emphasised by the respondents: politicians and those who commit grievous crimes against society. 'Politicians are regarded suspiciously' and are detached from their reality (Reiner, 2000:95) consequently, police officers resent political interference. The Malta police force falls under the responsibility of the government of Malta and consequently, it is argued, the police force ends up pleasing whichever political party happens to be in government. Most respondents (71.0%) claim that there is too much political interference and suggested placing the Malta police force out of reach of politicians by rendering it the responsibility of the President of Malta. In addition, a few (35.0%) suggested that when persons commit grievous crimes against society, and especially against police officers, they should be divested of all human rights because their heinous crimes transform them into animals.

Police officers practice internal solidarity not only because they need to depend on each other's help when caught in dire straights, but also to shield themselves from public knowledge of police malpractice (Reiner, 2000:92) and from constant danger (Skolnick, 1994:53). Evidently, Maltese police officers acknowledge the importance of internal solidarity because a number of respondents (38.0%) pointed out that more group cohesion within the Malta police force is needed.

The Malta police force is not seemingly short of internal conflicts. There appears to be what Reiner (2000:92) described as a 'fundamental division between 'street cops' and 'management cops'. Maltese district police officers could be considered as the street cops and police officers that work at the headquarters (in Malta there is only one) performing administrative work or working within the specialised squads (that are housed within the headquarters) could be considered as the management cops. Evidently, there is a rift between these two categories since most respondents (53.0%) appealed for the equal treatment of all Maltese police officers. They (51.0%) suggested that every police officer should experience work as a uniformed, district police officer. The respondents explained that such an experience would finally erase the stigma attached to district police officers and remove the snobbery of the Maltese management cops. Maltese district police officers seem to be discriminated against even when it came to the provision of resources. In fact, respondents (42.0%) claim that specialized squads are being reinforced at the expense of the police districts. Some research participants (35.0%) also accused the authorities of neglecting and marginalizing district police officers. Conversely, other respondents (27.0%) claim that police officers working at the headquarters (performing clerical duties) are not paid as much as district police officers and those in specialized squads who have the opportunity to work overtime and receive allowances. Internal divisions have also led the different police sections to organise their own, separate

Christmas party. Respondents (36.0%) claim that this should stop since it is pushing the sections even further apart.

The Malta police force is not only divided into the above two categories. Police officers are further segregated according to their ranks in 'an explicit hierarchy, with an associated chain of command' (Skolnick, 1994:11). There are clear barriers that separate one rank from the other. High ranked police officers 'are more likely to lean toward the arbitrary invocation of authority' (Skolnick, 1994:11) than are they to consult with their subordinates. Moreover, their 'conservative conventionality' (Skolnick, 1994:60) prevents police officers from surpassing the rank barriers. This seems to be felt by Maltese police officers since most respondents appealed for better relations between the ranks (53.0%), better treatment of the lower ranks (50.0%), more support from the upper ranks (55.0%), as well as more consultation and collaboration between the ranks (51.0%).

These internal divisions could have contributed to the weakening of the interdepartmental connections within the Malta police force since most respondents (61.0%) pointed out the need to remedy the defective internal communication system, which frequently leads to misinterpretation and confusion within the Malta police force. Some respondents (20.0%) claim that this confusion is further fuelled by the interference of corrupt police officers that hinder instead of assisting loyal police officers.

Baldwin and Kinsey (1982 in McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001:82) explain that; 'in a democracy, there is an inherent tension between providing the police with the necessary powers to bring offenders to justice and insuring that they use these laws impartially, responsibly and in a manner that is not an unwarranted infringement on civil liberties and human rights'. However, some respondents (35.0%) recommended that persons who commit grave crimes against police officers should lose these rights. This signals the existence of an internal solidarity between police officers. This sentiment possibly prompted respondents (45.0%) to suggest the setting up of a police union that would enable them to fight for their rights and prevent the higher ranks from abusing the lower ranks.

Pragmatism

'…it is important to stress … the very pragmatic, concrete, down-to-earth, anti-theoretical perspective which is typical of the rank and file …' (Reiner, 2000:101). Crank (1997 cited in Reiner, 2000:101) refers to this as 'conceptual conservatism'. Maltese police officers seem to be no exception (Table 5.12 up to Table 5.18). Anti-theoretical and anti-academia sentiments have been chosen as 'indicators' (McNeill, 1990:25) of the pragmatism of Maltese police officers.

Table 5.12 shows that Maltese police officers, especially the lower participants and those in command, are more concerned with practice than theory and could therefore be considered as being the most pragmatic of all three rank brackets. Almost two-thirds (63.5%) of all respondents claim that the best balance in a course would be more practice than theory; and almost half of these (31.0%) wanted much more practice than theory. In contrast, whereas only 26.8 per cent advocated the same amount of theory and practice, a mere 9.6 per cent favoured theory over practice.

Table 5.12 The best balance between theory and practice in police training by rank (Q28)

What is the best balance between theory and practice in police training		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
Much more theory than practice	Number	15	3		18
	Column %	5.9%	5.0%		5.4%
More theory than practice	Number	9	5		14
	Column %	3.5%	8.3%		4.2%
Same amount of theory and practice	Number	57	26	6	89
	Column %	22.4%	43.3%	35.3%	26.8%
More practice than theory	Number	84	14	10	108
	Column %	32.9%	23.3%	58.8%	32.5%
Much more practice than theory	Number	90	12	1	103
	Column %	35.3%	20.0%	5.9%	31.0%
Total	Number	255	60	17	332
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.003$ df = 8

A cross rank examination shows about two-thirds of lower participants (68.2%) and those in command (64.7%) support more practice than theory, while less than half (43.3%) of those in middle-management were of this opinion. Thus, one could assume that police officers from middle-management are more theoretical than the other ranks - they seem to be inclined to prefer the same amount of theory and practice in police training. Adlam (1987 cited in Reiner, 2000:101) explains how training 'innovations have moved towards less didactic techniques to try and counter this' police pragmatism.

Table 5.13 suggests that Maltese police officers with tertiary education are less pragmatic than their colleagues who did not follow university courses. About two-thirds of respondent, without tertiary education, (60.0% up to primary education, 69.2% up to secondary schooling and 68.3% with post secondary education) believed in more practice than theory. In contrast, almost a third (32.6%) of research participants with tertiary level education share this opinion, while more than half (52.2%) claim that the best balance in a course would be the same amount of theory and practice.

Table 5.13 The best balance between theory and practice in police training by educational background (Q28)

What is the best balance between theory and practice in police training		Educational background				Total
		Up to primary school	Up to secondary school	Up to post secondary school	Up to tertiary level	
Much more theory than practice	Number	1	7	7	3	18
	Column %	6.7%	4.2%	6.7%	6.5%	5.4%
More theory than practice	Number	1	4	5	4	14
	Column %	6.7%	2.4%	4.8%	8.7%	4.2%
Same amount of theory and practice	Number	4	40	21	24	89
	Column %	26.7%	24.1%	20.2%	52.2%	26.9%
More practice than theory	Number	4	58	37	9	108
	Column %	26.7%	34.9%	35.6%	19.6%	32.6%
Much more practice than theory	Number	5	57	34	6	102
	Column %	33.3%	34.3%	32.7%	13.0%	30.8%
Total	Number	15	166	104	46	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

χ^2= 0.011 df = 12

Table 5.14 confirms the anti-intellectual pragmatism of the Malta police force by pointing out that most police officers do not value academic qualifications. Of all the combinations of entry requirements, respondents selected the following as the five most important, in order of priority: a school-leaving certificate (18.7%), three O-levels being Maltese, English and Mathematics (18.1%); no academic qualifications are necessary (15.4%);

Table 5.14 Minimum entry requirements for police recruits by rank (Q29)

The minimum entry requirements for police recruits		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
No academic qualifications are necessary	Number	45	6		51
	Column %	17.6%	10.2%		15.4%
As long as one can read and write, the rest comes easy	Number	47	2	1	50
	Column %	18.4%	3.4%	5.9%	15.1%
A school-leaving certificate.	Number	54	7	1	62
	Column %	21.2%	11.9%	5.9%	18.7%
Any 3 'O' levels	Number	41	5	3	49
	Column %	16.1%	8.5%	17.6%	14.8%
3 'O' levels: Maltese, English and maths	Number	39	16	5	60
	Column %	15.3%	27.1%	29.4%	18.1%
5 'O' levels, including Maltese, English and Maths	Number	15	17	7	39
	Column %	5.9%	28.8%	41.2%	11.8%
5 'O' levels and 2 'A' levels	Number	2	6		8
	Column %	.8%	10.2%		2.4%
Others	Number	12			12
	Column %	4.7%			3.6%
Total	Number	255	59	17	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

χ^2= 0.000 df = 14

as long as one can read and write, the rest comes easy - school is not that important (15.1%); five O-levels including Maltese, English and Mathematics (11.8%).

One could interpret this as a sign that Maltese police officers do not give importance to academia and academic achievements. However, it could be worth noting that both the middle-management and those in command seem inclined towards raising academic standards. The option of five O-levels, including Maltese, English and Mathematics was most chosen by these two rank groupings (28.8% of middle-management and 41.2% of those in command). Quite a few of these two rank groupings also prefer the present entry requirements, which are three O-levels, namely Maltese, English and Maths (27.1% of middle-management and 29.4% of those in command). Those least favourably disposed to academic qualifications for entry to policing seem to derive from the lower participants – about a fifth of them (21.2%) held that a school-leaving certificate would suffice. In addition, most of the respondents who believed that all one needs is to be literate and that no academic qualifications are necessary also come from the lower participants' strata (18.4% and 17.6% respectively).

There are no statistically significant differences in the responses portrayed in Table 5.15, which demonstrates that, irrespective of rank, most Maltese police officers agree that officer cadets should be trained at university (as is the practice). In fact, 70.5 per cent of the respondents think that prospective police inspectors (officer cadets) should attend university. Although the difference between the responses of the three rank brackets is too slight to be significant, one observes that, whereas those in command always seemed to support academia as poorly as the lower participants, Table 5.15 shows that, strangely, those in command are the

Table 5.15 Extent to which police inspector, officer cadets should be trained at university by rank (Q30)

Police inspector officer cadets should be trained at university		Rank			
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	Total
Strongly agree	Number	63	19	4	86
	Column %	24.6%	31.7%	23.5%	25.8%
Agree	Number	116	23	10	149
	Column %	45.3%	38.3%	58.8%	44.7%
Disagree	Number	46	13	3	62
	Column %	18.0%	21.7%	17.6%	18.6%
Strongly Disagree	Number	15	1		16
	Column %	5.9%	1.7%		4.8%
Don't know	Number	16	4		20
	Column %	6.3%	6.7%		6.0%
Total	Number	256	60	17	333
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.607$ df = 8

ones which mostly believed that police inspectors should be trained at university (82.3%), followed by those in middle-management (70.0%).

It could be that, although they place little value on academia, those in command may be supporting university training for officer cadets because, after a decision taken by the authorities in 1997, officer cadets do now follow a course at university. They may simply be supportive of university training because, being conservative, they tend to support the status quo (Reiner, 2000:95). Alternatively, there may be a progressive but partly begrudged acceptance of a need for tertiary-level education. However, the lower participants' revulsion of academia seems to be consistent since, although the majority of them are in favour of university training for police inspectors, their approval appears to be the least vociferous (69.6%).

Table 5.16 shows that, although it seems that most Maltese police officers favour university training for officer cadets, the balance seems to tip under the weight of the presumed negative aspects of tertiary training. More than half (55.6%) of the responses highlighted the imagined negative facets (the first four statements in Table 5.16) of university training for officer cadets. This again is indicative of the Maltese police officers' pragmatic, anti-academia attitude.

Table 5.16 Reasons why officer cadets should or should not be trained at university by rank (1st choice) (Q31)

Why police inspector officer cadets should, or should not, be trained at university (1st choice)		Rank			
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	Total
At university one learns useless stuff	Number	48	5	2	55
	Column %	18.9%	8.3%	11.8%	16.6%
Police force cadets don't cope with university-level courses	Number	18	2		20
	Column %	7.1%	3.3%		6.0%
University does not value experience in police work	Number	63	7	1	71
	Column %	24.8%	11.7%	5.9%	21.5%
Most lecturers are not police officers	Number	28	9	1	38
	Column %	11.0%	15.0%	5.9%	11.5%
University environment improves the inspectors social skills	Number	35	13	4	52
	Column %	13.8%	21.7%	23.5%	15.7%
University training gives inspectors a different perspective	Number	13	12	2	27
	Column %	5.1%	20.0%	11.8%	8.2%
Develops contacts with other professions	Number	30	6	2	38
	Column %	11.8%	10.0%	11.8%	11.5%
University training gives inspectors a higher status	Number	19	6	5	30
	Column %	7.5%	10.0%	29.4%	9.1%
Total	Number	254	60	17	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.001$ df = 14

Pragmatism can be traced through the choice of responses listed in Table 5.16. The three most chosen options were: university does not value experience in police work (21.5%); at university one learns useless stuff (16.6%) and the university environment improves the prospective inspectors' social skills (15.7%). A closer examination of the above table highlights certain statistically significant differences between the responses of each rank grouping. Interestingly, the most commonly selected first choice response of lower participants was that 'university does not value experience in police work' (24.8%). This accentuates the lower participants' cynical view of university. In contrast, the most commonly selected first choice responses of the middle-management were that 'university environment improves police inspectors' social skills' (21.7%) and 'university training gives inspectors a different perspective' (20.0%). These responses show that most Maltese police inspectors (most of whom either have a university degree or have followed a university-organized course) endorse police training at university. The most commonly selected first choice response of those in command was that 'university training gives inspectors a higher status'. These findings confirm those presented in Table 5.15.

Table 5.17 reveals that Maltese police officers acknowledge the importance of university-organised in-service training for middle-management (inspectors) and for those in command (the commandant of the police academy, superintendents, assistant commissioners, the deputy commissioner and the commissioner), however do not consider these types of

Table 5.17 The importance of university-organised in-service training for the different ranks according to all respondents (Q32)

Importance of university-organised, in-service training to		Essential	Desirable but not essential	Not necessary at all	NR	Total
Constables	Number	50	122	152	9	333
	Column %	15.0%	36.6%	45.6%	2.7%	100%
Sergeants	Number	51	158	116	8	333
	Column %	15.3%	47.4%	34.8%	2.4%	100%
Sergeant majors	Number	45	144	131	13	333
	Column %	13.5%	43.2%	39.3%	3.9%	100%
Inspectors	Number	205	98	21	9	333
	Column %	61.6%	29.4%	6.3%	2.7%	100%
Superintendents	Number	197	103	26	7	333
	Column %	59.2%	30.9%	7.8%	2.1%	100%
Deputy commissioners	Number	182	104	31	16	333
	Column %	54.7%	31.2%	9.3%	4.8%	100%
Assistant commissioners	Number	190	99	35	9	333
	Column %	57.1%	29.7%	10.5%	2.7%	100%
Commandant	Number	190	100	32	11	333
	Column %	57.1%	30.0%	9.6%	3.3%	100%
Commissioner	Number	194	93	37	9	333
	Column %	58.3%	27.9%	11.1%	2.7%	100%

courses as necessary for the lower participants. Table 5.17 shows that more than half the respondents think that university-organised, in-service training is essential to all police officers from the rank of inspector and above (61.6% for inspectors, 59.2% for superintendents, 54.7% for deputy commissioners, 57.1% for assistant commissioners and the commandant and 58.3% for the commissioner). In-service training was deemed desirable, but not essential for sergeants (47.4%) and sergeant majors (43.2%), while constables are not perceived to need such training by almost half the respondents (45.6%). Therefore, in spite of the manifest anti-academia attitude of Maltese police officers, it seems that, when it comes to inspector level, and beyond, Maltese police officers are inclined to value the input of the University of Malta.

Table 5.18 indicates that most Maltese police officers acknowledge the need for regular in-service training for police officers. In fact, notwithstanding all the evident anti-academia sentiment, a staggering 92.8 per cent of the respondents believe that every police officer needs regular in-service training.

Table 5.18 Every police officer needs regular in-service training by length of service (Q33)

Every police officer needs regular in-service training		Length of Service			
		0 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16+ years	Total
Strongly agree	Number	56	40	60	156
	Column %	56.0%	40.8%	44.8%	47.0%
Agree	Number	43	51	58	152
	Column %	43.0%	52.0%	43.3%	45.8%
Disagree	Number	1	5	10	16
	Column %	1.0%	5.1%	7.5%	4.8%
Strongly Disagree	Number			4	4
	Column %			3.0%	1.2%
Don't know	Number		2	2	4
	Column %		2.0%	1.5%	1.2%
Total	Number	100	98	134	332
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.027$ df = 8

Although most Maltese police officers are in favour of regular in-service training, this approval decreases significantly with their length of service. Support for regular in-service training falls from those who served from 0-10 years (99.0%) to those with 11 to 15 years of experience (92.8%) to those with more than 16 years of experience (88.1%). As discussed earlier (Table 5.12 and Table 5.13), Maltese police officers value in-service training courses with more practice than theory. Thus, although the majority of respondents are convinced that in-service training is needed by all police officers, following Reiner (2000:101) their pragmatic attitude impels them to value the practice component more than anything.

Pragmatism: qualitative findings

Reiner (2000:101) explains how police officers tend to be very practical, 'down-to-earth, anti-theoretical' and 'practice-oriented'. These views receive support in respondents' recommendations regarding recruitment, training, promotions, transfers, the role of Maltese police officers, police uniforms and personal compensations.

A majority of respondents (52.0%) suggested that, at entry level, more importance should be given to the moral fibre of applicants and that there should be less emphasis on academic qualifications. According to them, academic qualifications do not necessarily make a good police officer. Even more respondents (62.0%) suggested that the training of police officers should be more hands-on experience and that all police officers should perform a number of years on beat duties (to gain field experience). Some respondents (18.0%) claim that officer cadets should not be trained at university. Instead, their training should take place entirely at the Police Academy. As regards course content, officers (51.0%) claim that they should be constantly taught and updated with new laws, skills to implement and execute their duties professionally and human rights (the citizens' and their own). Regarding promotions, 48.0 per cent of the respondents resented the fact that it is based on academic qualifications, insisting that it is policing experience, motivation and communicating skills that make good inspectors. Instead they recommended promotion criteria based on the quality of the officers' past policing performance, stressing their belief that inbred police inspectors give better results than graduates. Some officers (18.0%) recommended the reintroduction of promotion by length of service as opposed to by examinations. Moreover, they suggested that officers' placement and transfers should be made according to their qualifications and abilities since the disregard of the officers' skills and inclinations would mean that they have been trained in vain and that they would not be suitable for their new position.

The respondents also volunteered suggestions that could improve on-the-job police performance. Since in Malta, the police act as prosecutors, much of their time is spent at the courts, at the whim of perceived capricious judicial practices that cost them considerable time and frustration. Some respondents (30.0%) suggested the introduction of a scheme by which police officers would be called to give their evidence only once. The common sense of the respondents prompted a few (22.0%) to recommend the practice of assigning more experienced prosecutors in court. These would be able to outsmart the more experienced defence lawyers.

Equally, again at a practical level, many respondents (52.0%) claim that summer uniforms should be more practical, enabling them to be more agile when the need arises (for example, they maintained that it would be impossible to give chase on the sand with long

trousers and heavy boots). Others (39.0%) also suggested more practical uniform regulations that would secure the comfort of police officers. On the same lines, some research participants (28.0%) recommended that police officers should receive a pair of uniform shoes every year because, at present, they only get a pair once every three to five years.

Discussion

The findings above were compared and contrasted with four of Reiner's (2000:87-101) seven core characteristics of police culture: a strong sense of mission, suspicion, isolation/solidarity and pragmatism. According to Wilson (1968 cited in Cox, 1996:64) there are three policing styles: 'watchman style', 'legalistic style' and 'service style'. The research suggests that in Malta, the service style is the most popular style, implying that many Maltese police officers endeavour to meet 'community needs', 'take seriously all requests for service, and often find alternatives to arrest' (Wilson, 1968 cited in Cox, 1996:64). The findings also indicate that, when it comes to policing priorities, Maltese policemen and policewomen tend to agree. Perhaps Lunneborg (1989:113) is right in claiming that the predominant masculine culture within the police force requires policewomen to either be 'deprofessionalised' or 'defeminised'. Perhaps Maltese policewomen have been de-feminised and have started thinking in the same way as their male colleagues in their attempt to cope with their work situation. Alternatively, policing itself may be taking on a less masculine character.

When the components used to operationalize (McNeill, 1994:23) Wilson's (1968 cited in Cox, 1996:64) three policing styles ('watchman style', 'legalistic style' and 'service style') are looked into closely, one observes that Maltese police officers (irrespective of gender) seem to be inclined towards crime prevention more than towards any other police priority. This reflects the earliest tradition of British policing (Waddington, 1999:23).

Preventing crime requires police officers to sharpen their suspicion (Skolnick, 1994:47) and most respondents believed that policing transforms police officers into suspicious people. Maltese police officers 'view the world through a perceptual lens that is selectively attuned to incongruities' (Waddington, 1999:101). Moreover, Skolnick (1994:47) stresses that the 'police are indeed specifically trained to be suspicious, to perceive events or changes in the physical surroundings that indicate the occurrence or probability of disorder.' The data shows that at least half of the Maltese police officers believe that the police force transforms employees into suspicious people.

The findings indicate that the three most respected values within the Malta police force are co-operation, loyalty and solidarity. In fact, most respondents (and policewomen more than policemen) claim that they feel they belong to a family, shielding and supporting each other in

times of need (Reiner, 2000:91-92). Unsurprisingly, even Maltese police officers 'need to be able to rely on colleagues in a tight spot'. However, the findings also point out that there is a limit to this protection. Most Maltese police officers believe that officers would report a colleague to their superiors in very serious matters. Yet, this still leaves, what Reiner (2000:92) describes as 'a protective armour shielding the force … from public knowledge' of what they consider as minor violations. In fact, most respondents consider themselves members of the police family echoing Reiner's (2000:91-92) idea of the solidarity between police officers, yet still echoing a strong undercurrent of isolation. In fact, most respondents did not feel that the police force protects its members from the public. This may be the result of the post-1980s burst of pluralism in Malta. As with other open societies, it is difficult to shield police officers from journalists and other forms of external scrutiny.

Although a majority of respondents would not criticise the police force in public, a significant number would articulate criticism. Since the notorious 1980s in Malta, liberty of speech has increased drastically to international standards and pluralism has flourished. All this has created a new culture that tolerates open criticism of the establishments. Clearly, a paramilitary organisation such as the police force (Skolnick, 1994:42) requires the respect and the obedience of its members. However, this general tolerance of criticism may induce some Maltese police officers to feel obliged to expose the flaws of the police force so that they may be remedied. Yet, those most inclined to criticise the Malta police force in public seem to be police officers with tertiary education (mostly police inspectors, since there is nobody with tertiary education below the rank of inspector and since graduates are allowed into the police force at officer cadet level, there must be a concentration of graduates at inspector level). Presumably, these officers are the ones who embrace openness most readily.

Like their foreign counterparts, most Maltese police seem to be 'very pragmatic, concrete, down-to-earth, [and] anti-theoretical' (Reiner, 2000:101). When asked to indicate what should be included in the minimum entry requirements for police recruits, most respondents emphasised the importance of practice over academia. This is especially so amongst the lower participants and those in command. Those mostly repulsed by academia seem to be the lower participants. Conversely, Maltese police officers in middle-management, with tertiary education seem more theoretical than their colleagues who did not follow university courses. This category automatically includes officers who entered the police force as graduates. Notwithstanding these indications, the data suggests that most Maltese police officers still favour university training for officer cadets. Yet, the fact that respondents focused on the presumed negative aspects of tertiary training and did not associate university training with better police performance but with an improved image suggests that most Maltese police

officers view academic training pragmatically, as a necessary evil or as an inevitable development.

The weight of the data shows strong support for Reiner's (1992 and 2000) view of police culture, especially in relation to suspicion and isolation, solidarity and co-operation and pragmatism. There are also noteworthy findings in relation to police officer mission (emphasising crime prevention) and the way that training and education is given greater prominence by university-educated middle management officers. Chapter 6 turns to an explanation of police officer conservatism.

Chapter 6: Conservatism and Police Culture

Introduction

Police culture does not originate in a vacuum. It is an offshoot of the dominant culture of a particular society (Adler et al., 1995:136), so the culture of Maltese police officers reflects the Maltese dominant culture. This culture has been moulded by an eventful history. For this reason the author gave a brief account of the Maltese modern political history at the start of chapter 2, introducing the person who, it is claimed, inspired and shaped the Maltese dominant culture of the 1980s: Dominic Mintoff, who served as prime minister for 15 years. Mintoff could be considered as the personification of the Maltese working class values. He promoted the values of common sense, rationality, unity, anti-intellectualism, husbandry, ingenuity and masculinity. Clearly, these values mirror Miller's (1958 cited in Vold and Bernard, 1986:214) list of working class values: trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy. Mintoff expertly promoted these with his charisma and unique communicating skills (Boissevain, 1994:411). Thus, from a minority, the Maltese who embraced working class values increased to a majority and, although by 1981, the popularity of the Malta Labour Party started to dwindle, working class values are still going strong. Dom Mintoff may no longer be the Prime Minister of Malta however, his cultural heritage still lives on and arguably still resounds within Maltese police culture.

Besides his great persuasive ability, Mintoff will always be remembered for his character: '… firm, rarely admitting error, consulting with few … aloof, manly, harsh and looked after his own … physically tough …' (Boissevain, 1994:411). Therefore, in the same way as to the world, Stalin and Hitler, were two of the most admired extreme authoritarians (Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165), Mintoff was to Malta – a 'cult object', the working class saviour (Boissevain, 1994:409-410). However, besides being a political attitude, authoritarianism is a particular pattern of social behaviour that, in Malta, received a major boost from Dom Mintoff (chapter 2).

Hollin (1989:128) describes authoritarians as people who believe 'in the rightness of those with authority and power at the expense of individual freedom and the rights of minority and unconventional groups within society.' Characteristics of people with this personality trait are indicated by Matthews and Dreary (1999:164-165) as:

- Reverence of those in command ('authority figures').
- Antagonism towards those considered as outsiders (for example: ethnic minorities).

- Strong right-wing or fascist political inclinations (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford, 1950 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:164), not limited to right-wingers (Eysenck, 1954 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165).
- Prejudice (Billig, 1976 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:164).
- Susceptibility to financial hardship (Sales, 1973 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165).
- 'A kind of group coping mechanism in the face of a threat to the group'.
- 'The social expression of the obsessional personality' (Kline and Cooper, 1984 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165).
- A tendency to exert excessive parental discipline causing one's offspring to displace aggression from its parents to less threatening persons (Adorno et al., 1950 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165).
- A perception of the world in 'simplistic, stereotyped categories, and have little tolerance for ambiguity' (Simonton, 1990 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165).
- A tendency to stick to group standards (Hui and Triandis, 1986 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165).
- Adherence to masculine or feminine gender roles (Bem, 1981 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165).

The above characteristics can readily be replicated in police officers (Hollin, 1989:129), especially if one recalls Reiner's (2000:87-101) elements of police culture, particularly police conservatism (Reiner, 2000:95). Chapter 6 explores Maltese police officers' conservatism.

Police culture and conservatism

Reiner (1992:121) claims that the British police force is both politically and morally conservative. Indeed, politically, the British police force was clearly seen as favouring the Conservative Party, particularly during and immediately after 1979 (Benyon, 1986a:32). During the same period, Maltese police officers were being overtly loyal to the Malta Labour Party, which was then in power. Police officers are 'morally conservative' (Reiner, 2000:95) and arguably their level of conservatism seems to exceed that of civilians (Potter, 1977 cited in Hollin, 1998:127). This conservative disposition renders them inflexible, narrow-minded and inclined to stereotyping others (Cox, 1996:169). The conservative nature of Maltese police officers may, in fact, be observed through their opinions on issues such as: sexism (machismo), sexual orientation (lesbians and gay men), racism and pragmatism (the last theme was already discussed in chapter 5).

When it comes to politics, Table 6.1 indicates that the Malta police force is loyal to whichever political party happens to be governing. This may be a direct consequence of the fact that the government, not the president of the republic, is responsible for the Malta police force. In fact, over half (55.8%) claim that the police force is loyal to any political party which happens to be in government. The MLP (Malta Labour Party) and the PN (Nationalist Party),

which are the main actors on the Maltese political scene, seem to enjoy considerable popularity with marginal differences (50.4% and 50.7% respectively).

Table 6.1 The relationship between Maltese political parties and the Malta police force (Q11)

		Relation between police force and MLP	Relation between police force and PN	Relation between police force and AD	Relation between police force and party in government
Very strong link	Number	89	84	3	125
	Column %	26.7%	25.2%	.9%	37.5%
Strong link	Number	79	85	2	61
	Column %	23.7%	25.5%	.6%	18.3%
Some link	Number	72	72	45	40
	Column %	21.6%	21.6%	13.5%	12.0%
No link	Number	21	18	132	17
	Column %	6.3%	5.4%	39.6%	5.1%
Don't know	Number	51	53	117	63
	Column %	15.3%	15.9%	35.1%	18.9%
NR	Number	21	21	34	27
	Column %	6.3%	6.3%	10.2%	8.1%
Total	Number	333	333	333	333
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6.1 shows that more than half the respondents think that there are strong links between the police force and either of the two main political parties. This is confirmed in Table 6.2 which shows that 141 respondents (42.3%) think that there are strong links between the police and the two main political parties. A minority consider speaking about politics in Malta as taboo – 70 respondents (21.0%) expressed no opinion (either responded "Don't know" or did not respond at all) to both questions. Most respondents also think that there is no strong link between the police force and the local green party "Alternattiva Demokratika" (Table 6.1) which contested elections for the first time in 1992. Respondents also believe that the strongest link is always between the police force and the party in government (37.5%)

Table 6.2 Perceived strong links between Maltese political parties and the Malta police force (Q11)

Relation between police force and MLP	Relation between police force and PN						Total
	Very strong link	Strong link	Some link	No link	Don't know	NR	
Very strong link	56	17	13	2	1		89
Strong link	14	54	9	1	1		79
Some link	9	12	49	1	1		72
No link	3	2	1	14		1	21
Don't know	1				50		51
NR	1					20	21
Total	84	85	72	18	53	21	333

Reiner (1992:121) explains how the British police force is inclined towards conservatism both in the political sense as well as in general attitudes. As regards the former, the author mentioned the particularly close affiliation of the British police force with the British Conservative Party (especially during the 1979 election campaign) as well as the circumstances of that era (Benyon, 1986a:32). This brings to mind the turmoil of the 1980s when the Maltese police force was repeatedly accused of sympathizing with the Malta Labour Party (which was then in power). The actions of certain police officers cast a dark shadow over the history of the Maltese police force, but these same Maltese police officers might have been pawns in the hands of an abusive government (Borg, 2001:6). So powerful is the image of affiliation and so intense are the mental pictures of police brutality on Nationalist supporters of the 1980s (Darmanin, 1996:77-92 and Borg, 2001:1-9) that, even today, it is commonly assumed that the Malta police force favours the Malta Labour Party. This no longer seems to be the case.

A glimpse at Table 6.3 could reveal that Maltese police officers place little importance on political inclinations. In fact, a noteworthy 52.9 per cent claim that political sympathies are irrelevant and 42.3 per cent believed that police officers should never show political sympathies. On the other hand a mere 3.3 per cent held that police officers may show their political inclinations.

Table 6.3 Politics and Maltese police officers (Q12)

		Police matters and politics
Officers should never show their political sympathies	Number	141
	Column %	42.3%
Officers may show their political sympathies	Number	11
	Column %	3.3%
Political sympathies are irrelevant	Number	176
	Column %	52.9%
NR	Number	5
	Column %	1.5%
Total	Number	333
	Column %	100.0%

The spectre of the 1980s Malta police force still haunts the minds of those who experienced those days and the bad publicity is inherited, to some degree, by each new intake of recruits. However, Table 6.3 implies that the contemporary Malta police force is certainly not as obsessed with politics as it was in the 1980s and therefore, it does not deserve its negative inheritance. This is encouraging especially when one considers that politics are taken very seriously in Malta, which has been very polarised between PN and MLP supporters for at least four decades. Table 6.3 may indicate two possibilities: today's police force may be a reflection

of a more tolerant national mentality and/or the modern Malta police force has learned from the 1980s bitter experience. The weight of the data is clearly in the direction of non-political policing. This finding may help to allay residual suspicions dating from the 1980s.

Reiner (2000:96) describes the police force as 'a hierarchical, tightly disciplined organization', highlighting the importance given to the obedience of superiors and to discipline. He (Reiner, 2000:98) also explains that 'an important aspect of police conservatism is racial prejudice', echoing the observations made of authoritarian people by Billig (1976 in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:164) and Adorno et al. (1950 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:164). Reiner (2000:97) claims that sexism is inherent within the police force. This matches Bem's (1981 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165) observations of authoritarians, who are seen as individuals that adhere to masculine or feminine gender roles. Reiner (2000:91) points to the tendency of police officers to stereotype people. This reflects Simonton's (1990 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165) observation of authoritarian people. Reiner (2000:92) also mentions police officers' tendency to group cohesion. This mirrors Hui and Triandis' (1986 cited in Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165) observation of authoritarians.

However, in all fairness, although few would disagree with the belief that authoritarian leaders (such as Mintoff) do help in the shaping of cultures (such as the Maltese police culture), it would surely be unjust to stereotype all Maltese police officers as mini-Mintoffs. Waddington (1999:101) claims that there are 'widespread authoritarian conservative attitudes among police officers' but this does not make each and every police officer an authoritarian. 'While evidence of authoritarianism is equivocal, there is less doubt that the police are decidedly conservative in their views' (Waddington, 1999:101). Even Skolnick (1994:59) agrees that, rather than claiming that police officers have an 'authoritarian personality', studies indicate that it is more appropriate to refer to their personality as being 'conventional'. However, unlike civilian conventional people, police officers are familiar with the jargon, the mentality and the way of life of offenders because, unlike 'the quietly respectable liberal who comes to the defence of the deviant and criminals on principle but who has rarely met such people in practice' (Skolnick, 1994:60) police officers face offenders on a daily basis. Consequently, the often-unfounded judgement of police officers by armchair critics, gives raise to the resentment of police officers that find themselves isolated and attacked at both ends. Thus, they may hide behind the screen of authoritarian characteristics (vocal harshness, rigidity, stubbornness, great efforts to appear tough, blind adherence to commands and poor tolerance of perceived deviants) as 'a kind of group coping mechanism' in the face of this type of threat (Matthews and Dreary, 1999:165).

Vocal harshness

Skolnick (1994:43) explains that the 'police officer's role contains two principal variables, danger and authority, that should be interpreted in the light of a "constant pressure" to appear efficient.' The continual necessity to exercise authority and evoke the respect of the public contributes in further isolating the police from the rest of the community (Skolnick, 1994:43). Thus, a harsh tone of voice helps in the construction of this wall between the public and the police – which may not always be beneficial, since the 'Golden Age' of policing (the 1950s) has showed that public acceptance of the police is at its best when the public feels closest to the police. However, some police officers could argue that certain types of people would abuse this close relationship with the police. Therefore, the key could lie in establishing the optimal distance between the police and the public (Benyon, 1986a:8). Thus, police officers have learned to use their tone of voice to determine the distance they want to keep from certain types of people. In other words, skilful police officers, knowingly or unknowingly, adjust their tone of voice according to the situation and to the people they are talking to. In this manner, the police officers' tone of voice enables them to exercise the optimal amount of authority. However, Skolnick (1994:60) also explains how police officers use 'knowledge of the argot to advantage when talking to a suspect'. Thus, police officers may talk in a rough, harsh way, pretending to 'share the suspect's moral conception of the world' (Skolnick, 1994:60).

Table 6.4 Police officers should use their tone of voice to evoke the public's respect (Q36)

Police officers should use their tone of voice to command respect from the people they speak to	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	59	17.7
Agree	157	47.1
Disagree	84	25.2
Strongly Disagree	19	5.7
Don't know	13	3.9
NR	1	.3
Total	333	100.0

Table 6.4 indicates that most Maltese police officers are convinced that they should use their tone of voice to command respect from the public. In fact, the majority (64.8%) of the Maltese police officers who participated in this research strongly agreed or agreed that police officers should use their tone of voice to evoke the respect of the people they speak to. This opinion was consistent across rank, gender, age, educational background, length of service and level of entry.

Skolnick (1994:11) explains that the police 'are organized on a military model … [on] a martial concept of order.' Consequently, the 'police are more likely to lean toward the arbitrary invocation of authority' (Skolnick, 1994:11). The police force is an institution, which is

animated by the military value of unconditional obedience, to clear, unequivocal commands (Skolnick, 1994:10). Like their military colleagues, police officers frequently find themselves in what can be described as combat situations. For the sake of their safety and the safety of others, the response of police officers is expected to be 'quick and unquestioning' (Skolnick, 1994:10). Skolnick (1994:10-11) explains how the hesitation of one police officer could prove lethal to others. Therefore, implied in Skolnick's (1994:10-11) logic is the fact that police officers should feel very confident in the expertise of their superiors. They should feel confident that the orders given by their superiors are legitimate, just and strategically faultless. Police officers who falter in situations when their prompt leadership is needed and who reverse their previous commands may be judged as being weak by subordinates and thus, may not inspire the necessary confidence.

Table 6.5 shows that more than one-third of Maltese police officers (38.4%) believe that law enforcers find it hard to reconsider and reverse a decision because this would show weakness, followed by 22.0 per cent who thought that, if a police officer reverses a decision, people might question previous decisions and 20.4 per cent who claim that typical police officers do not change their minds.

Table 6.5 Reasons why some police officers find it difficult to reconsider and reverse a decision by rank (Q37)

Some police officers find it difficult to reconsider and reverse a decision		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
Because that would show weakness	Number	84	31	11	126
	Column %	33.3%	52.5%	64.7%	38.4%
People might question one's previous decisions	Number	56	13	3	72
	Column %	22.2%	22.0%	17.6%	22.0%
Typical police officers do not change their minds	Number	60	5	2	67
	Column %	23.8%	8.5%	11.8%	20.4%
Police officers should never show they are wrong	Number	52	10	1	63
	Column %	20.6%	16.9%	5.9%	19.2%
Total	Number	252	59	17	328
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.014$ df = 6

The least number of respondents (19.2%) stated that police officers should never show that they are wrong (Table 6.5). However, one must remember that the 'element of danger is so integral in an officer's work' that it renders 'order … regularity and predictability' a necessity (Skolnick, 1994:46). From a rank perspective, the majority of all three rank brackets believe that police officers find it hard to reconsider and reverse a decision because this would show weakness. Senior officers feel this most strongly, followed by middle management and then

lower participants. In fact, 64.7 per cent of those in command chose this statement, followed by 52.5 per cent of the middle-management and 33.3 per cent of the lower participants. This suggests that those in command tend to be the most conservative and the most inclined towards authoritarianism.

According to Kroes (1976 cited in Brown and Campbell, 1995:32), 'physical danger … is a specific police stressor'. Perhaps it is not a stressor solely associated with police officers (Davidson and Veno, 1980 quoted in Brown and Campbell, 1995:32), but few would argue against the fact that peril and the fear of severe harm are two major stressors (Davidson and Veno, 1980 quoted in Brown and Campbell, 1995:32). Other stressors, cited by Toch (2002: 36-61) include: dealing with the death of a child, child abuse or child neglect incidents, problems with partners, problems with supervisors, an unclear reward system, time pressures and constraints, issues of self-efficacy (doubts on self competence) as well as race and gender relations.

In view of all these stressors, one would expect police officers to readily make use of police counselling services. However, to date, the Malta police force does not even have a counselling facility within it. This was explored. Table 6.6 points out that, although with some hesitation, most Maltese police officers would use a counselling service if the Malta police force had one. In fact, almost half of the respondents (49.4%) would probably go for counselling sessions and almost one third of them (32.6%) of them would definitely use this service – a convinced affirmative of 82.0% of officers. Only 18.0 per cent are against a counselling service (12.5% probably not, 5.5% definitely not). This opinion seems to be consistent across all the variables (rank, gender, age, educational background, level of entry and length of service within the Malta police force) so a frequency table was used to present the findings.

Table 6.6 Probability of police officers using a counselling service (Q38)

Would respondents use a counselling service if the police force had one within it		Total
Definitely	Number	107
	Column %	32.6%
Probably	Number	162
	Column %	49.4%
Probably not	Number	41
	Column %	12.5%
Definitely not	Number	18
	Column %	5.5%
Total	Number	328
	Column %	100.0%

Danger and fear of harm are the very stressors that justify '"real", i.e. tough, police work' (Brown and Campbell, 1995:32). Jermier, Gaines and McIntosh (1989 cited in Brown

and Campbell, 1995:32) emphasize the importance of the danger component to the preservation of policemen's 'macho' identity. Since the 'police world is one of old-fashioned machismo' (Reiner, 2000:97-98), (in which 'police alcoholism' is a 'perennial problem' [Reiner, 2000:97-98]), one could understand the respondents who would not resort to counselling however, one would not have expected 4 in 5 respondents (82.0%) to pronounce themselves willing to use a counselling service. Although the minority of Maltese police officers, who would not seek the help of counsellors, is a cause for concern, the majority of Maltese police officers who acknowledge their need for counselling is perhaps evidence of an emerging need.

Table 6.7 reveals that many Maltese police officers find it difficult to take counselling since counsellors are not legally bound to secrecy. Maltese police officers also fear that using this service would taint their reputation. The most common reasons, chosen by respondents, against using this (hypothetical) police counselling service are (in order of priority): counsellors are not legally bound to professional secrecy (34.2%); it could ruin one's reputation (27.0%); one's personal business is nobody else's (16.6%). The fact that only 10.3 per cent believed that real men do not need counselling and that only 4.7 per cent claim that counselling is for weaklings, could be interpreted as an indication that, although they might bluff, the world of Maltese police officers may not be as replete of old-fashioned machismo as the one described by Reiner (2000:97). However, the 'hardboiled outlook' of police officers and their cynicism (Reiner, 2000:90) prevents Maltese police officers from fully endorsing a counselling service.

Table 6.7 Why some police officers find it difficult to take counselling, by rank (Q39)

Why some police officers find it difficult to take counselling		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
Real men do not need counselling	Number	22	10	1	33
	Column %	9.1%	16.9%	5.9%	10.3%
It could ruin one's reputation	Number	54	27	5	86
	Column %	22.2%	45.8%	29.4%	27.0%
Counsellors are not legally bound to professional secrecy	Number	95	9	5	109
	Column %	39.1%	15.3%	29.4%	34.2%
One's personal business is nobody else's	Number	44	5	4	53
	Column %	18.1%	8.5%	23.5%	16.6%
Real/good police officers do not need counselling service	Number	17	4	1	22
	Column %	7.0%	6.8%	5.9%	6.9%
Counselling is for weaklings	Number	10	4	1	15
	Column %	4.1%	6.8%	5.9%	4.7%
Don't know	Number	1			1
	Column %	.4%			.3%
Total	Number	243	59	17	319
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.045$ df = 12

Their 'chronic suspicion' (Kirkham, 1981 cited in Hollin, 1998:133) impels them to shy away from a potentially beneficial service.

The responses varied somewhat across the ranks. The data could indicate that Maltese police inspectors (and therefore officers with a higher level of education) are more inclined towards believing in the professionalism of counsellors and trusting them, than are their colleagues from the lower ranks and from the upper ranks. It seems that respondents from the lower participants were more preoccupied with the fact that counsellors are not legally bound to keep secrets, than were their colleagues from middle-management. Almost two-fifths (39.1%) of the lower participants claim that some police officers found it difficult to attend counselling sessions because of this. The statement: 'attending counselling sessions could ruin one's reputation' ranked second on the list of the lower participants, with 22.2 per cent of them choosing this option. Conversely, close to half (45.8%) of the respondents from middle-management appeared to be more concerned with the idea that attending counselling sessions could ruin one's reputation than they were worried about the counsellor's professionalism. In contrast, only 15.3 per cent of the respondents from middle-management voiced their concern that counsellors are not legally bound to secrecy. Respondents from those in command were equally split between the idea that counsellors are not legally bound (29.4%) and the notion that attending counselling sessions could ruin one's reputation (29.4%).

Skolnick (1994:11) describes the police as being organized 'on a military model … [on] a martial concept of order.' It is a disciplined corps in which police officers are expected to obey quickly and unconditionally (Skolnick, 1994:10). Skolnick (1994:10-11) explains how the hesitation of one police officer could cost the lives of others. Therefore, the presence of danger justifies the practice of police officers unquestionably obeying arbitrary commands.

Table 6.8 shows that the vast majority of Maltese police officers believe that provided the commands are legal, it is the police officers' duty and responsibility to obey superiors and it is the superiors' duty and responsibility to take decisions. Table 6.8 reveals that respondents chose the proposed options in the following priority: the police officers' duty and responsibility is to obey … as long as the commands are legal (94.3%); the police force is a disciplined corps and every police officer has the duty to obey his/her superior (94.3%); it is the superiors' duty and responsibility to take decisions (84.1%); the police officers' duty and responsibility is to obey … as long as the commands make sense (76.0%); superiors should never be contradicted … they should know what they are doing (58.0%); the police officers' duty and responsibility is to obey always … no matter what (23.7%).

Table 6.8 Facts about obedience in the police force (Q42)

		True Statement	False statement	Don't know	NR	Total
The police force is a disciplined corps and every police officer has the duty to obey his/her superior	Number	314	17		2	333
	Column %	94.3%	5.1%		.6%	100%
It is the superiors' duty and responsibility to take decisions	Number	280	49	1	3	333
	Column %	84.1%	14.7%	.3%	.9%	100%
Superiors should never be contradicted…they should know what they are doing	Number	193	132	5	3	333
	Column %	58.0%	39.6%	1.5%	.9%	100%
The police officers' duty and responsibility is to obey always …no matter what	Number	79	245	7	2	333
	Column %	23.7%	73.6%	2.1%	.6%	100%
The police officers' duty and responsibility is to obey…as long as the commands are legal	Number	314	14	3	2	333
	Column %	94.3%	4.2%	.9%	.6%	100%
The police officers' duty and responsibility is to obey…as long as the commands make sense	Number	253	71	5	4	333
	Column %	76.0%	21.3%	1.5%	1.2%	100%

Table 6.8 dramatically highlights the importance given by officers to obedience and the respect nurtured towards the police hierarchy by Maltese law enforcers. However, it is ethically reassuring that the majority of the respondents emphasized that they would only operate within the boundaries of legality. In fact, 73.6 per cent of respondents do not think that they should always obey, no matter what.

The data presented in Table 6.8 does not depict the contemporary Malta police force as a police force driven primarily by authoritarianism. One would expect police officers to obey their superiors in a 'hierarchical, tightly disciplined organization' (Reiner, 2000:96) such as the police force. However, contrary to the opinion that seemed to have been shared by some police officers in the Malta police force of the 1980s, most modern Maltese police officers would only obey legal commands. In addition, the tardy priority given to the option that stated that superiors should never be contradicted seems to suggest that contradicting a superior is not that unheard of within the Malta police force, to day. Since, authoritarianism dictates that subordinates obey unconditionally, it does not seem that the Malta police force is driven primarily by this sentiment.

Although, the data on facts about obedience in the Malta police force was presented in one table for the sake of clarity, one could perhaps gain more insight by observing certain facts also separately. Consequently, the tables (the components of Table 6.8) in which statistical significant differences were noticed were extracted and studied further (Table 6.9 to Table 6.15).

Table 6.9 shows that most Maltese police officers are convinced that superiors should never be contradicted since they should know what they are doing. However, it also shows that the youngest police officers (those belonging to the 18-30 years age bracket) and the oldest police officers (those belonging to the 41-60 years age bracket) are those who most agree that this should be so. On the other hand, Maltese police officers of ages between 31 and 40 seem to be much more inclined towards contradicting their superiors. In fact, 58.6 per cent of the respondents belonging to the 18-30 years age bracket and 66.7 per cent of the respondents belonging to the 41-60 years age bracket believed superiors should never be contradicted. However, the respondents of ages between 31 and 40 were almost equally split between agreeing that superiors should never be contradicted (49.1%) and disagreeing (48.2%).

Table 6.9 Superiors should never be contradicted because they should know what they are doing by age (Q42.3)

Superiors should never be contradicted… they should know what they are doing		Age			Total
		18-30 years	31-40 years	41-60 years	
True Statement	Number	51	56	86	193
	Column %	58.6%	49.1%	66.7%	58.5%
False statement	Number	34	55	43	132
	Column %	39.1%	48.2%	33.3%	40.0%
Don't know	Number	2	3		5
	Column %	2.3%	2.6%		1.5%
Total	Number	87	114	129	330
	Column %	100.0%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.040$ $\quad df = 4$

One could attempt explaining this by the fact that police elders tend to be the most conservative. However, this would not explain why even most young Maltese police officers were of the opinion that superiors should never be contradicted, so perhaps Table 6.9 could be hinting at a possible cycle of police culture transmission. In effect, the data could indicate that, fresh from police training (which, in Malta, is mostly provided by police elders) Maltese police officers start their careers believing that superiors should never be contradicted, since they should know what they are doing. By mid-career they might realize that superiors are not infallible and that fingers might still point towards subordinates when superiors blunder. Consequently, police officers in mid-career might conclude that superiors should be contradicted, after all. As police officers approach retirement age, most of them gain promotions. Their luggage of experience might make them bold and overconfident. Consequently, they might not expect and tolerate contradiction from their subordinates. This might explain why most police elders believe that superiors should never be contradicted. This idea is then transmitted to the younger police generation and the cycle starts all over again.

Table 6.10 indicates that the more experienced the Maltese police officers have, the more they believe that superiors should never be contradicted because they should know what they are doing. Just over half (50.5%) of the police officers with up to ten years of experience believe that superiors should never be contradicted. This belief increases to 58.2 per cent of those with 11 to 15 years of policing experience and to 64.7 per cent of police officers with 16 years or more of service.

Table 6.10 Superiors should never be contradicted because they should know what they are doing by length of sevice (Q42.3)

Superiors should never be contradicted…they should know what they are doing		Length of Service			Total
		0 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16+ years	
True Statement	Number	50	57	86	193
	Column %	50.5%	58.2%	64.7%	58.5%
False statement	Number	45	41	46	132
	Column %	45.5%	41.8%	34.6%	40.0%
Don't know	Number	4		1	5
	Column %	4.0%		.8%	1.5%
Total	Number	99	98	133	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.035$ df = 4

The cycle of police culture transmission, could also be used to explain these findings. Respondents with between 0 to 10 years of policing experience might be gradually drifting out of the first phase – that could be considered as the honeymoon period, during which it is believed that police superiors are never to be contradicted. Respondents with more than 11 years of policing experience might have drifted into the conservative attitude, which does not allow for police juniors to contradict police seniors.

Table 6.11 The police officer's duty and responsibility is to obey always by gender (Q42.4)

The police officer's duty and responsibility is to obey always …no matter what		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
True Statement	Number	73	5	78
	Column %	25.8%	10.9%	23.7%
False statement	Number	206	38	244
	Column %	72.8%	82.6%	74.2%
Don't know	Number	4	3	7
	Column %	1.4%	6.5%	2.1%
Total	Number	283	46	329
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.015$ df = 2

Table 6.12 The police officer's duty and responsibility is to obey always by length of service (Q42.4)

The police officer's duty and responsibility is to obey always …no matter what		Length of Service			Total
		0 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16+ years	
True Statement	Number	14	24	41	79
	Column %	14.1%	24.5%	30.6%	23.9%
False statement	Number	83	71	91	245
	Column %	83.8%	72.4%	67.9%	74.0%
Don't know	Number	2	3	2	7
	Column %	2.0%	3.1%	1.5%	2.1%
Total	Number	99	98	134	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.052$ df = 4

Table 6.13 The police officer's duty and responsibility is to obey always by level of entry (Q42.4)

The police officer's duty and responsibility is to obey always …no matter what		Level of entry		Total
		At recruit level	As a graduate - at officer cadet level	
True Statement	Number	78	1	79
	Column %	25.4%	4.2%	23.9%
False statement	Number	223	22	245
	Column %	72.6%	91.7%	74.0%
Don't know	Number	6	1	7
	Column %	2.0%	4.2%	2.1%
Total	Number	307	24	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.052$ df = 2

Table 6.14 The police officer's duty and responsibility is to obey as long as the commands make sense by rank (Q42.6)

The police officer's duty and responsibility is to obey…as long as the commands make sense		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
True Statement	Number	209	33	11	253
	Column %	82.3%	56.9%	64.7%	76.9%
False statement	Number	42	23	6	71
	Column %	16.5%	39.7%	35.3%	21.6%
Don't know	Number	3	2		5
	Column %	1.2%	3.4%		1.5%
Total	Number	254	58	17	329
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.004$ df = 4

Table 6.11 shows that only a minority of Maltese police officers (23.7%) are convinced that it is their duty to always and blindly obey their superiors and that policewomen (82.6%) oppose obeying blindly more than policemen (72.8%). Table 6.12 shows that, although the vast majority of Maltese police officers disagree with the idea that police officers should always blindly obey their seniors, police seniors are the ones who most believe that they should. Table

6.13 shows that almost all (91.7%) of those who entered the Malta police force as graduates (at officer cadet level) oppose this notion more vociferously than those who entered as recruits (72.6%). Table 6.14 indicates that most (76.9%) Maltese police officers agree that the police officer's duty and responsibility is to obey, as long as the commands make sense. However, with a marked 82.3 per cent, the lower participants are the ones who most agree with this statement. Middle-management and command seem to be less supportive of the idea that police officers should obey 'as long as the commands make sense'. It could be that police officers in middle-management and in command do not take lightly to having subordinates judge their commands. They expect their subordinates to execute their orders without hesitation. However, in the case of police officers from middle-management, it could also be that throughout their career, even at inspector level, they have had to obey orders which did not necessarily make sense to them.

Table 6.15 Extent to which respondents would expect their subordinates to obey them (Q43)

Would respondents expect their subordinates to obey them	Frequency	Percent
Always, without question	14	4.2
Always, but they may ask questions	284	85.3
Most of the time	21	6.3
Sometimes	3	.9
NR	11	3.3
Total	333	100.0

Table 6.15 confirms the liberal tendency observed earlier, revealing that although the vast majority of Maltese police officers expect their subordinates to obey their commands, they allow them to ask questions regarding these commands. In effect, Table 6.15 indicates that the great majority of respondents (85.3%) expected their subordinates to obey them always, but that the subordinates would be allowed to ask questions. This data does not depict a police force animated by authoritarianism since authoritarians would expect their subordinates to obey unquestionably. On the contrary, the data suggests that there is a strong presumption in favour of officers obeying legitimate commands but that this is tempered by good sense in being prepared to question hard-to-fathom commands. Although superficially 'questioning' could be taken as an indicator of dissent or even conflict, it is possible to see it in terms of co-operation and solidarity – a case more of making sure that a command makes good policing sense than of questioning authority for its own sake.

Schein (1984 cited Neyroud and Beckley, 2001:78) portrays culture as 'the pattern of basic assumptions that a group has developed to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration'. From the literature of della Porta and Reiter (1998:14) one can deduce

that these basic assumptions come in the form of expressions of prejudice and stereotypical beliefs. Toch (2002:183) also describes police culture as 'assiduously cultivating social distance from civilians and prizing a measure of cynical realism and a dose of presumably healthy suspiciousness.' Reiner (2000:91) further claims that police work socialises police officers into an 'attitude of constant suspicion' of 'unusual' subjects - an attitude that clearly does not foster tolerance. In fact, the very notion of tolerance contrasts with the political and moral conservatism of police officers (Reiner, 2000:95).

Table 6.16 Extent of the importance of sharing the same opinions (Q40)

Importance of people sharing respondents' political views		Very much	A little bit	Not at all	NR	Total
Political views	Number	28	63	233	9	333
	Column %	8.4%	18.9%	70.0%	2.7%	100%
Religious beliefs	Number	40	94	188	11	333
	Column %	12.0%	28.2%	56.5%	3.3%	100%
Culture	Number	82	136	105	10	333
	Column %	24.6%	40.8%	31.5%	3.0%	100%
Mentality	Number	139	111	75	8	333
	Column %	41.7%	33.3%	22.5%	2.4%	100%

Table 6.16 reveals that political tolerance within the Malta police force must have increased drastically since the 1980s when it seemed to blatantly favour the Malta Labour Party (Borg, 2001:73). In fact, Table 6.16 shows that 70.0 per cent of respondents claim that it is not at all important to them whether or not people share their political views. However, Maltese police officers seem to be less tolerant of people with different religious beliefs.

Although the majority of respondents (56.5%) declared that it was not at all important for them whether people shared their religious beliefs, this tolerance level was below that for different political beliefs. Maltese police officers' tolerance continues to drop steadily to a level where only 31.5% of the respondents claim that whether people share the same culture with them is not at all important. Maltese police officers seem to least tolerate people with a different mentality than theirs. In fact, as many as 41.7 per cent of the respondents said that it is very important that people share their same mentality. Officers appeared to place a greater premium on sharing views at a social and cultural level within policing than on sharing religious and political beliefs. The former points to social solidarity where the latter continues the general view of a-political policing already identified.

Table 6.17 confirms the tolerant nature of modern Maltese police officers. In fact, when respondents were asked to describe how they would relate to someone who does not share their opinions (political, religious, cultural inclinations and their mentality), almost half (46.5%)

of the respondents answered that they would treat these people like other persons, but avoid mentioning subjects that they disagreed about. The second most popular response (37.2%) was that respondents would treat these persons like they treat anybody else, without any reserve. This response was consistent across rank, gender, age, educational background, level of entry and length of service.

Table 6.17 The nature of the relationship between police officers of different opinions (Q41)

How respondents relate to someone who does not share their opinions	Frequency	Percent
I ignore such persons	8	2.4
I just say 'hi' and 'bye' to such persons	18	5.4
I talk to such persons, but I do not become closer to them	13	3.9
I do not trust such people	12	3.6
I treat them like any other person, but avoid such subjects	155	46.5
I treat them like any other person, without any reserve	124	37.2
NR	3	.9
Total	333	100.0

This increased level in tolerance, especially where politics are concerned, is proof that police culture is not something static and rigid (Reiner, 2000:106). In the same way as the level of police racism is a magnified reflection of society's level of racism (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1968 quoted in Reiner, 2000:98), the level of police intolerance may be a magnified reflection of society's level of intolerance. Pirotta (1994:101) explains that a 'modern … society … is one which is normally characterized by mutual respect, social, religious, and political tolerance, and the absence of political violence of any sort.' Therefore, one expects modern Maltese society to have these characteristics. Furthermore, since the 'police are the public and the public are the police' (Peel, 1829 quoted in Peak and Glensor, 1996:1) one would also expect modern Maltese police officers to be tolerant. However, if there are grounds for modest optimism about change in the right direction over time, the acid test in a male-dominated society will be police officers' attitude towards gender and policing.

Police culture and gender

Reiner (2000:95) claims that police officers are inclined to be 'morally conservative'. This idea is supported by several studies including one conducted by Potter (1977 cited in Hollin, 1998:127) which reveals that the police tend to be 'more conservative than the general norm'. This conservative attitude is believed to be the consequence of their order-maintenance role and the fact that the people they are called to police tend to be transgressive and leftists (Reiner, 2000:95). Thus, police officers may view anti-conventional people as potential

violators of the law. Their conservative attitude makes them rigid and prejudicial, leading them into stereotyping others (Cox, 1996:169). These attitudes may be traced throughout their ideas on sexism (machismo) and sexual orientation (gay men and women). Campell (1993 quoted in McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001:77) describes policing as 'the most masculinized enclave in civil society'. In the UK, this enclave had to endorse the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 and was forced to accept policewomen although it was widely held that: they did not have the necessary physical stamina needed to engage in routine police work; their presence in violent situations would put their male colleagues at risk; they would not be an economic investment because marriage and family would inevitably come before careers and commitments; and they would present a discipline problem (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001:77). Supervisors would be less strict with female officers over deployment and shifts, and would have difficulty controlling male officers because of the sexual dynamic introduced into an intimate working environment (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001:77). However, although allowed to join the police force, policewomen 'suffered considerably' in the process of getting integrated within policing (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001:77) at the hands of male officers' conservative, diehard attitudes.

With regard to sexual deviancy, McLaughlin and Muncie (2001:79) report that each time anti-gay recruiting practices were questioned, 'letters would appear in police publications claiming that gay men and lesbians should not be allowed to be police officers'. The reason for their impediment was that they negatively impinge on the capability to: maintain discipline, morale and authority on the streets; foster mutual trust and confidence; ensure the moral integrity of the system; facilitate the assignment and deployment of officers who must work in close proximity with minimal privacy; prevent blackmail and corruption; and sanction same sex body searches.

Reiner (2000:97) describes police culture as 'one of old fashioned machismo'. Heidensohn (1995:75) portrays police organisations as a 'primarily masculine domain where metaphors of hunting and warfare predominate. Categories of prestige, power and status are allocated to tough, manful acts of crime-fighting and thief-taking.' Martin and Jurik (1996:61) narrate how outsiders were kept out of police forces 'by physical requirements (women) …' They (Martin and Jurik, 1996:61) also relate how 'candidates who failed to express "correct" masculine attitudes emphasizing toughness and aggressiveness' were considered as outsiders and eliminated. According to Cole (1994:596) women are outsiders in Maltese society. This implies that they may also be outsiders in the Malta police force. The findings are far from encouraging.

Table 6.18 indicates that the majority of Maltese police officers are convinced that the police force treats policemen and policewomen equally. More than half the respondents (58.2%) answered that men and women are treated equally by the Maltese police force. The responses of the lowest and highest rank brackets point towards this conclusion (60.2% of lower participants and 82.4% of those in command), but respondents from middle-management seem conspicuously split between the opinion that the Maltese police force favours males (45.0%) and the belief that it does not favour either gender (43.3%).

Table 6.18 The treatment of policemen and policewomen by the Maltese police force by rank (Q13)

How the police force treats men and women		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
Favours males	Number	34	27	3	64
	Column %	13.5%	45.0%	17.6%	19.5%
Favours females	Number	66	7		73
	Column %	26.3%	11.7%		22.3%
Does not favour males or females	Number	151	26	14	191
	Column %	60.2%	43.3%	82.4%	58.2%
Total	Number	251	60	17	328
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.000$ df = 4

The fact that the majority of respondents believed that the police force treats policemen and policewomen equally may merely imply that they have an over-optimistic view of the level of gender equality within the Malta police force. The same table (Table 6.18) shows that while 19.5 per cent of the respondents claim that the police force favours males, 22.3 per cent of them believed that the police force favours females. Although the difference between these two percentages may not be that substantial; however, if it exists, it could be indicative of the resentment nurtured by some policemen when they realise that chivalry induces police authorities to assign certain policewomen, with what are considered as lighter duties, simply because they are females (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001:77). Of those who answered that the police force favours males, the greatest numbers of respondents belong to middle-management (45.0%). Since females are evidently a minority within this rank, it could well imply that officer cadets might have been made aware of gender discrimination during their university training (only prospective police inspectors are trained at the University of Malta - they read a one-year, full-time course leading to a Certificate in Policing).

Table 6.19 shows a clear divergence of opinion between Maltese policemen and policewomen regarding the treatment of men and women by the police force. Indeed, most Maltese policemen seem to believe that the police force does not favour males or females, whereas Maltese policewomen appear to be split between believing that the police force favours

males and that the police force does not favour any gender. Yet, apparently more Maltese policewomen than policemen are convinced that the police force favours males, whereas more Maltese policemen than policewomen are convinced that the police force favours females. Therefore, it seems that a significant proportion of both sexes feel that the Malta police force favours the other gender. In effect, a marked 59.6 per cent of the male respondents and 47.8 per cent of the female respondents believed that the police force does not favour either gender. However, a closer look would reveal that, in contrast to the mere 15.0 per cent of the male respondents, a solid 47.8 per cent of the participant policewomen were convinced that the police force does favour males. Interestingly, more than a quarter (25.4%) of the male respondents believed that the police force favours females, in contrast with the mere 4.3 per cent of the female respondents who shared this view.

Table 6.19 The treatment of policemen and policewomen by the Maltese police force by gender (Q13)

How the police force treats men and women		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Favours males	Number	42	22	64
	Column %	15.0%	47.8%	19.6%
Favours females	Number	71	2	73
	Column %	25.4%	4.3%	22.4%
Does not favour males or females	Number	167	22	189
	Column %	59.6%	47.8%	58.0%
Total	Number	280	46	326
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.000$ $df = 2$

This could again be a clear indication that chivalry, the moral and social archaic code promulgated from the knights, is taking its toll on the relationship between male and female police officers. Some policemen may be witnessing the perceived preferential treatment (considered as chivalrous or well-mannered/gentlemanly) of certain policewomen simply based on gender (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001:77). Policewomen are treated differently because they fall victims of stereotyping (Toch, 2002:91). They are considered unequal, weak and inferior to their male counterparts (Heidensohn, 1995:184-185; Reiner, 2000:98) with the effect that some policewomen are sheltered and assigned light duties. To compensate for this poor input policemen have either to work harder or to perform what are considered the hard jobs. This may lead to feelings of resentment not only towards those policewomen who are receiving the same pay and working much less than policemen, but towards all policewomen who are thus branded as inferiors (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001:77).

Table 6.20 indicates that, although the majority of Maltese police officers think that both sexes make good police officers, many police officers in Malta think that men are better

police officers. Just over half (50.5%) of respondents (almost a quarter are policewomen) claim that there is no difference between male or female police officers. However, one cannot ignore the marked 48.3 per cent of the respondents (almost all are policemen) who believe that men are better police officers. The latter would agree with Bittner (1990 quoted in Heidensohn, 1992:73) that the 'policeman and the policeman alone is equipped, entitled, and required to deal with every exigency …' Reiner's (1992:125) claim that 'it has always been tough for women police officers to gain acceptance' seems valid because less than half (44.5%) of policemen think that there is no gender difference. Conversely, 87.0 per cent of female respondents pointed to no gender difference, implying that Maltese policewomen may be more pro-gender equality than policemen and may thus conform to liberal feminism which works on 'the assumption that men and women are of equal value and deserve equal rights as individuals (Percy, 1998:30).

Table 6.20 Extent of the ability of policemen and policewomen by gender (Q14)

Male and female police officers		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Men are better police officers	Number	155	3	158
	Column %	55.2%	6.5%	48.3%
Women are better police officers	Number	1	3	4
	Column %	.4%	6.5%	1.2%
No difference between male or female officers	Number	125	40	165
	Column %	44.5%	87.0%	50.5%
Total	Number	281	46	327
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.000$ df = 2

Table 6.20 indicates that policewomen believe in gender equality more than their male colleagues. A significant 55.2 per cent of male respondents are convinced that men are better police officers compared with 6.5 per cent of female respondents, with a similar proportion (6.5%) who believe women are better police officers than men.

Table 6.21 Extent of the ability of policemen and policewomen by age (Q14)

Male and female police officers		Age			Total
		18-30 years	31-40 years	41-60 years	
Men are better police officers	Number	37	43	78	158
	Column %	43.0%	37.7%	60.5%	48.0%
Women are better police officers	Number	1	2	1	4
	Column %	1.2%	1.8%	.8%	1.2%
No difference between male or female officers	Number	48	69	50	167
	Column %	55.8%	60.5%	38.8%	50.8%
Total	Number	86	114	129	329
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.006$ df = 4

Table 6.21 shows that most Maltese police officers aged between 41 and 60 years believe that men are better police officers, with a marked 60.5 per cent of these police officers convinced that males make better police officers. This contrasts with the rather fewer (but still substantial) 55.8 per cent of those between 18 and 30 years, and the 60.5 per cent of those between 31 and 40 years who claim that there exists no difference between male and female officers. Since most decision-making power lies in the hands of the police elders, this finding could imply that such senior-level decisions may possibly be sexist.

Table 6.22 confirms this interpretation. This data shows that most Maltese police officers with more than 16 years of experience are convinced that men are better police officers.

Table 6.22 Extent of the ability of policemen and policewomen by length of service (Q14)

Male and female police officers		Length of Service			Total
		0 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16+ years	
Men are better police officers	Number	40	41	77	158
	Column %	40.8%	42.3%	57.5%	48.0%
Women are better police officers	Number	3		1	4
	Column %	3.1%		.7%	1.2%
No difference between male or female officers	Number	55	56	56	167
	Column %	56.1%	57.7%	41.8%	50.8%
Total	Number	98	97	134	329
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.015$ $\quad df = 4$

The majority (57.5%) of respondents with more than 16 years of service believe this, while most of their younger counterparts (56.1% of those with 0 to 10 years and 57.7% of those with 11 to 15 years of experience) believe in gender equality. Again, this could imply that, since those with the most policing experience are at the wheel of the Malta police force, their policies and procedures may tend to be sexist.

Table 6.23 indicates that Maltese police officers with tertiary education tend to be the least sexist. More than three-quarters (76.1%) of those with tertiary education insist that there is no difference between male and female officers, whereas just over half of the rest (primary education 53.3%, secondary education 51.2% and post-secondary schooling 52.5%) claim that men are better police officers.

This suggests that the key to minimize sexism within the Maltese police force may lie in improving the educational level of police officers, since gender issues are normally dealt with at tertiary level. This is confirmed in Table 6.24 which shows that those who entered the Malta police force at officer cadet level (as graduates) tend to be the least sexist. Three-quarters (75.0%) of the respondents who entered as officer cadets stress that there is no difference between male or female officers, in contrast with the 48.9 per cent of those who entered as recruits.

Table 6.24 Extent of the ability of policemen and policewomen by level of entry (Q14)

Male and female police officers		Level of entry: At recruit level	Level of entry: As a graduate - at officer cadet level	Total
Men are better police officers	Number	152	6	158
	Column %	49.8%	25.0%	48.0%
Women are better police officers	Number	4		4
	Column %	1.3%		1.2%
No difference between male or female officers	Number	149	18	167
	Column %	48.9%	75.0%	50.8%
Total	Number	305	24	329
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.051$ df = 2

In Chapter 5 (Table 5.11), it was observed that, out of ten values, toughness occupied sixth place on both sexes' lists of value priorities (indicating that both sexes reason in a similar

Table 6.23 Opinions on ability of policemen and policewomen by educational background (Q14)

Male and female police officers		Educational background: Up to primary school	Up to secondary school	Up to post secondary school	Up to tertiary level	Total
Men are better police officers	Number	8	85	53	11	157
	Column %	53.3%	51.2%	52.5%	23.9%	47.9%
Women are better police officers	Number	1	3			4
	Column %	6.7%	1.8%			1.2%
No difference between male or female officers	Number	6	78	48	35	167
	Column %	40.0%	47.0%	47.5%	76.1%	50.9%
Total	Number	15	166	101	46	328
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.013$ df = 6

way). One could deduce that toughness is not a major concern for Maltese police officers. However, this finding could be contradicted by the data presented by Table 6.25 which indicates that many Maltese police officers think that men make better police officers due to the perception that men are tougher than women. By far, the most selected reason (44.7%) was that men are tougher than women. Interestingly, a higher proportion of policewomen (50.0%) than policemen are convinced that male police are better because they are tough. There is a strong association between perceived effectiveness and police officer toughness. Table 6.25 also shows that about one-eighth of respondents (13.1%) think that policemen are more committed to their work than policewomen, and about one-tenth of them believe either that policemen are more respected by the public (10.9%) or assume that being less emotional, men make better police officers (10.3%). Almost one-fifth (19.6%) of female respondents claim that policemen are taken more seriously, compared to almost one-tenth (9.5%) of male respondents.

Table 6.25 Reasons why males may be better police officers by gender (1st choice) (Q15)

Why males may be better police officers (1st choice)		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Men are tougher	Number	124	23	147
	Column %	43.8%	50.0%	44.7%
Men are less emotional	Number	26	8	34
	Column %	9.2%	17.4%	10.3%
Men deal better with stress	Number	28		28
	Column %	9.9%		8.5%
Men consider policing a career work	Number	39	4	43
	Column %	13.8%	8.7%	13.1%
Policemen are taken more seriously	Number	27	9	36
	Column %	9.5%	19.6%	10.9%
Other	Number	39	2	41
	Column %	13.8%	4.3%	12.5%
Total	Number	283	46	329
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.013$ df = 5

Table 6.25 reveals that both sexes (43.8% of males and 50.0% of females) share this apparent fascination with toughness, giving another indication that policemen and policewomen tend to think alike. Clearly, this could indicate that even female police officers resort to stereotyping (over generalizing and assigning usually untrue attributes to a group of people simply because individual members of this group might have certain traits). The policemen's second most popular first choice was the statement 'policemen consider policing a career' (13.8%) followed by 'policemen are taken more seriously' (9.5%). The policewomen's most common first choices were 'policemen are taken more seriously' (19.6%) followed by 'men are less emotional than women' (17.4%).

The fact that most policemen and policewomen chose the statement 'men are tougher' to explain why males may be better police officers, is quite striking when one considers that there were ten different statements to choose from. This could very well be a symptom of the 'deep-rooted gendered assumptions' that prevail in policing (Walklate, 1995:104-105), an area, which has strongly been associated with the 'macho crime fighter' (Heidensohn, 1995:221). This is, perhaps, why policemen are taken more seriously. However, Heidensohn (1995:221) claims that not only is the macho police officer 'obsolete' but 'he may actually prove to be a liability' since 'specifically "masculine" traits are no longer particularly functional for much modern police work. They may never have really been so.' Toughness is given considerable importance by the Malta police force, possibly because it is traditionally linked with males, not because policing is necessarily solely a job for tough people (Heidensohn, 1995:83). Young (1991 cited in Heidensohn, 1995:75) describes policing as 'a primarily masculine domain' in which 'prestige, power and status are allocated to tough, manful acts'. Thus, the requisite for toughness automatically acts as a barrier for women who are assumed to be less tough than men (Hunt, 1984 cited in Heidensohn, 1995:80). In fact, a sizeable amount of respondents, women police officers included, seemed to believe that men are tougher than women and that is why they make better police officers.

Bayley (1985 quoted in Heidensohn, 1995:69) claims that 'the unique characteristic of police is that they are authorised to use physical force to regulate interpersonal relations in communities'. This idea seems to lead people to assume that toughness is the main requisite in the personality of a police officer (Clucas cited in Hollin, 1989:127) and it is also associated with manliness. Tough people are not emotional and that is why police 'officers don't show emotions' (Toch, 2002:37). However, Fischer (1998:89) explains that 'women are generally more expressive' than men and this, in turn, enables them to 'communicate their emotions relatively freely and overtly while men feel reluctant to show their vulnerability, powerlessness or concern with others.' The reason for this reluctance on the men's side is that, being emotional does not fit 'the masculine ethos of the force' (Reiner, 2000:98). Rather, it is a sign of weakness. This could be the reason why a number of respondents believe that the less emotional males might be better police officers.

Another reason why policing is traditionally linked with males lies in its very nature, including long, awkward working hours and unpredictably dangerous and stressful work. Although these conditions are commonly considered as incompatible with women, policing is equally challenging for both sexes. Table 6.26 shows that the most chosen (41.7%) adverse effect on family life was that police officers are never truly off duty, followed by awkward working hours (24.5%) and that policing is stressful (19.6%). The first of these 'never off duty' resonates with earlier findings about the role of suspicion in policing. Table 6.26 shows that both genders consider policing in almost the same light regarding the adverse effects on family life.

Kirschman (1997:iii-viii) opens the discussion on the effects of police work on family life by giving an account of a speech she delivered during an orientation session for families of new police officers. During her speech, Kirschman (1997:iii-viii) predicts how the 'job will spill over into their private lives' and how 'family members can become targets for the stress', and how there is 'no realistic way to keep work and family separate'. Kirschman (1997:iii-viii) refutes the idea that 'police marriages are destined for failure because of the job' but she warned against the family-unfriendly habits learned during police work such as 'long hours'. Kirschman (1997:iii-viii) also claims that police work provides 'a ready-made scapegoat for a troubled marriage' and that it can be used 'to excuse infidelity' however, she stresses that these problems are not 'so much a consequence of the job as it is a reflection of the people involved'.

Table 6.27 shows that more than half of the respondents (50.9%) admit that their career (as police officers) interferes with their family life a great deal, more than a third (37.2%) claim that it does sometimes, while the rest (10.3%) feel little or no interference. An analysis by

Table 6.26 The adverse effect on family life by gender (1st choice) (Q3)

Adverse effect on family life (1st choice)		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Never off duty	Number	119	19	138
	Column %	41.9%	40.4%	41.7%
Always suspicious	Number	11	3	14
	Column %	3.9%	6.4%	4.2%
Awkward working hours	Number	72	9	81
	Column %	25.4%	19.1%	24.5%
Stressful work	Number	53	12	65
	Column %	18.7%	25.5%	19.6%
Dangerous work	Number	24	3	27
	Column %	8.5%	6.4%	8.2%
Public mistrust	Number	5	1	6
	Column %	1.8%	2.1%	1.8%
Total	Number	284	47	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.794$ df = 5

gender reveals that both genders experience the same hindrance in family life, and there are no statistically significant differences in their responses.

Table 6.27 Interference with family life by gender (Q2)

Interference with family life		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
A great deal	Number	139	24	163
	Column %	50.2%	55.8%	50.9%
Sometimes	Number	103	16	119
	Column %	37.2%	37.2%	37.2%
Not very much	Number	24	3	27
	Column %	8.7%	7.0%	8.4%
Not at all	Number	6		6
	Column %	2.2%		1.9%
Don't know	Number	5		5
	Column %	1.8%		1.6%
Total	Number	277	43	320
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.741$ df = 4

The similarity of responses might imply that police work equally interferes with family life for both male and female police officers, but it does not follow that both sexes are able to deal with this pressure equally. In fact, while most policemen may enjoy the backing of their wives, many policewomen have multiple roles: law enforcers, wives and mothers (Horne, 1980:174). Many policewomen become 'Superwomen' and, besides fulfilling their work responsibilities, they might be forced to fully shoulder their responsibilities at home, with their families, friends and visitors (Clarke, 1992:56). Arguably, where women have domestic and employment stressors compared with men having just job-related pressures, the sum total of stress will inevitably be greater for women.

From the data presented in Table 6.28, it seems evident that most Maltese police officers are convinced that women, although not physically strong, have other skills and attributes. Apparently, many Maltese officers are aware that policewomen develop strong characters to enable them to cope within the police force. Several Maltese police officers also acknowledge that policewomen work harder to obtain the same recognition as their male colleagues. Table 6.28 shows that about two-fifths of respondents (41.4%) acknowledge that women have other skills, even if they are not physically strong, while almost one-fifth (19.0%) hold that women are compassionate. About one in ten think that women work harder to obtain the same recognition (9.7%) and that policewomen have to develop a strong character in order to cope with life as a police officer (9.0%). Almost one in twelve of respondents (7.8%) believe that women use sexual appeal to get what they want. Interestingly, the statements: 'women defuse dangerous situations' and 'women cope better with stress' came at the tail end.

Table 6.28 Reasons why females may be better police officers by gender (1st choice) (Q16)

Why females may be better police officers (1st choice)		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Women are compassionate	Number	53	8	61
	Column %	19.3%	17.4%	19.0%
Women defuse dangerous situations	Number	13	8	21
	Column %	4.7%	17.4%	6.5%
Women, although not strong, have other skills	Number	117	16	133
	Column %	42.5%	34.8%	41.4%
Women cope better with stress	Number	6	2	8
	Column %	2.2%	4.3%	2.5%
Women maintain smarter appearance	Number	11	2	13
	Column %	4.0%	4.3%	4.0%
Women work harder to obtain the same recognition	Number	25	6	31
	Column %	9.1%	13.0%	9.7%
Policewomen develop strong characters to cope	Number	26	3	29
	Column %	9.5%	6.5%	9.0%
Women use sexual appeal to get what they want from men	Number	24	1	25
	Column %	8.7%	2.2%	7.8%
Total	Number	275	46	321
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.049$ $df = 7$

Lunneborg (1989:120) holds that the 1970s evaluation reports clearly put in evidence the policewomen's talent to allay dangerous circumstances and evoke calm reactions from offenders. Evidently, this would come as news to most Maltese police officers since only a mere 6.5 per cent of respondents believe that women may be used to negotiate and defuse dangerous situations. In addition, Lunneborg (1989:93) emphasises that, contrary 'to popular opinion, women do possess the physical and psychological make-up to endure long working hours, lack of sleep, disruption of family life, and all the other stresses of policing … men cope far less'. Only 2.5 per cent of the respondents believe this.

From a gender perspective (Table 6.28) it is interesting to note that more Maltese policemen than policewomen seem to be convinced that women are compassionate. Many more Maltese policewomen (17.4%) seem to be convinced that women defuse dangerous situation than Maltese policemen (4.7%). Perhaps male officers are unwilling to cede competency of a traditionally macho-area to female colleagues. More Maltese policewomen (13.0% of policewomen and 9.1% of policemen) acknowledge that women work harder to obtain the same recognition as men. More Maltese policemen (9.5%) than policewomen (6.5%) believe that policewomen develop strong characters to cope and, clearly more Maltese policemen (8.7%) than policewomen (2.2%) believe that women use their sexual appeal to get what they want.

It may be noted that males and females had, as the three most commonly selected first choices, the same statements except for one. Both agree (42.5% male, 34.8% female) that

women might not be physically strong, but that they have other skills and that policewomen are compassionate (19.3% male, 17.4% female). They differ on their third most selected choice: 9.5 per cent of male respondents claim that policewomen develop a strong character to cope, while 17.4 per cent of the female respondents hold that policewomen defuse dangerous situations. Although, the difference between the responses of the genders when it came to the statement that 'women are compassionate' might not be significant, it could be interesting to note that less females than males chose this statement (9.1% female responses in contrast with 13.0% male responses). This may indicate that the female respondents have a more realistic perception of women.

When confronted with the statement that 'women are used to negotiating and defusing potentially dangerous situations', 17.4 per cent of the female responses agreed to this in contrast with the 4.7 per cent of male responses. This difference may indicate that Maltese policewomen tend to prefer the service-oriented style of policing. This apparent lack of recognition from Maltese policemen goes to prove Reiner (1992:142-3) right when, after describing the ideal police officer as a person who maintains public order without the use of physical force, he admits that 'these skills are not adequately recognised, rewarded or understood'. An additional disagreement between the sexes emerged when it came to the statement that 'women use sexual appeal to get what they want from men'. Only 2.2 per cent of the female respondents admitted this compared to 9.5 per cent of the male respondents who supposed it to be the case. These responses could lead the researcher to speculate that some policemen may resent policewomen and attribute their success to female sexual appeal.

Another observation that could be made regarding the male and female responses is that they are strikingly similar. The responses given point to an implied male and female understanding of policewomen but depict policewomen from a masculine perspective. It seems that a rather masculine concept of policewomen is shared by both male and female Maltese police officers. This could be a sign that the majority of Maltese policewomen have been 'defeminized' (Martin, 1980 cited in Lunneborg, 1989:113) and have started to think in the same way as their male colleagues in their attempt at being accepted as professional police officers. Lunneborg (1989:113) explains that policewomen are faced by two options: they have to choose to be either 'deprofessionalized or defeminized'. That is, either to stick to their methods and logic and not be accepted by the police force, or to denounce their style and reasoning and be accepted by the police force. Most Maltese policewomen seem to have chosen the latter option.

Table 6.29 presents the respondents' first choices when it came to arguing why males and females may make equally good police officers. Maltese police officers believe that anyone can be a good police officer mostly because everyone receives the same training and education; anyone can defuse dangerous situations, gender is no issue and that people, not uniforms, make good police officers. These options were chosen in similar proportions: both genders receive the same training and education (18.5%); anyone can defuse dangerous situations (18.2%); people, not uniforms, make good police officers (18.2%) and gender is no issue (17.8%).

When one examines these responses from a gender perspective, one notes that the sexes differ on their first choice preferences. Policemen think that both sexes may make equally good police officers because, in order of priority: both genders receive the same training (19.9%); gender is no issue (19.5%); people, not uniforms, make good police officers (17.2%) and that anyone could defuse dangerous situations (16.1%). In contrast, policewomen think that both sexes may make equally good police officers because, again in order of priority, since: anyone can defuse dangerous situations (29.8%); people, not uniforms, make good police officers (23.4%); they receive the same training (10.6%) and that character affects how stress is managed, not gender (10.6%). The male respondents emphasised the fact that both sexes receive the same training whereas the female respondents stressed the fact that anyone could defuse dangerous situations, perhaps echoing their frustration at the fact that they are rarely

Table 6.29 Reasons why males and females may be equally good police officers by gender (1st choice) (Q17)

Why males and females may be equally good police officers (1st choice)		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Gender is no issue	Number	52	4	56
	Column %	19.5%	8.5%	17.8%
Anyone can be compassionate	Number	34	2	36
	Column %	12.7%	4.3%	11.5%
Women are physically strong too	Number	1	3	4
	Column %	.4%	6.4%	1.3%
Anyone can defuse dangerous situations	Number	43	14	57
	Column %	16.1%	29.8%	18.2%
Men and women receive the same training and education	Number	53	5	58
	Column %	19.9%	10.6%	18.5%
Character affects how stress is managed, not gender	Number	10	5	15
	Column %	3.7%	10.6%	4.8%
People, not uniforms. make good police officers	Number	46	11	57
	Column %	17.2%	23.4%	18.2%
Anyone with the proper attitude is taken seriously	Number	28	3	31
	Column %	10.5%	6.4%	9.9%
Total	Number	267	47	314
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.001$ df = 7

trusted with volatile situations.

Unlike physical strength, compassion is an attribute frequently associated with females (Lunneborg, 1989:120). Although 11.5 per cent of the respondents claim that 'anyone can be compassionate', since more policemen (12.7% male, 4.3% female) chose this option, this could imply that the general feeling within the Malta police force is that whereas policemen are indispensable, policewomen are disposable. Evidently, so-called female attributes are not valued in a male-dominated organization (Clarke, 1992:6) such as the Malta police force. It appears that only 17.8 per cent of the respondents believe that gender is no issue, however, this does not necessarily imply that the majority of police officers reject gender equality. The respondents could be making the point that the Malta police force favours males and consequently, gender is an issue. More specifically, the elevated number of policewomen who did not choose the 'gender is no issue' option, as a first choice, in Table 6.29 may be simply implying that their gender hinders them from achieving career success and fulfilment.

MacKinnon (1995:297) explains how sexual harassment incorporates sexist remarks, degrading comments, undesired fondling, requests for sexual favours, rape and sexual blackmail. Wise and Stanley (1987 quoted in Clarke, 1992:101) consider sexual harassment as sexism in a particular setting, the work place – the Malta police force in this case. Sexual harassment leaves indelible psychological scars, which adversely affect the work performance of victims. Usually, but not exclusively, female subordinates fall victims of sexual harassment but women of any social class and status fall prey to this offensive behaviour (MacKinnon, 1995:297). Sexual victimisation has its own character. Gomez-Preston and Trescott (1995:402) explain how it is the victim who most frequently gets blamed and suffers the consequences as well as the penalty. This could explain the reluctance of the abused when it comes to making a report. In addition, those who actually report are branded as pathetic and fragile since, police culture dictates that: 'real police officers are like real men: they take the kicks and lick their own wounds' (Azzopardi Cauchi, 1989:38). Consequently, policewomen are dragged into a state of learned helplessness. According to Atkinson, Atkinson and Hilgard (1983:630) this is 'a condition of apathy … created … by subjecting an organism to unavoidable trauma. Being unable to avoid or escape an aversive situation produces a feeling of helplessness that generalizes to subsequent situations'. A study by Azzopardi Cauchi (1989:38) reveals that this may very well be the case with Maltese policewomen. In this study, several respondents implied that 'sexual harassment came with the job and those who resisted it remained in the dungeons of policing'. In fact, the very sexualization of the police force is a consequence of the macho image of the force (Reiner, 1992:124). Police culture forces policemen to accentuate

their antagonism towards sexual deviance by habitual 'sexual boasting and horseplay' to the detriment of policewomen (Reiner, 1992:124).

Table 6.30 shows that, when asked why some people think that policewomen get sexually molested by their colleagues, most Maltese police officers answered that policewomen allow this behaviour because they use their sex appeal to get what they want, and that policewomen like and expect to be sexually harassed. A general overview of the responses in fact, brings the most commonly selected first choices to light, in order of priority: 'policewomen use their sex appeal to get what they want: policemen simply take advantage' (30.9%), 'women are considered as sexual objects' (20.6%), 'some women do not stand up for their rights' (13.1%), 'women like and expect this kind of attention' (11.3%), 'women secretly crave for sex although they may not admit it' (9.7%) and 'some policewomen volunteer sexual favours for personal gain: policemen take advantage' (8.1%).

This data could be a cause for concern since it seems that some, if not all, Maltese policewomen are regarded as prostitutes and their sexual harassment is justified by and reflected in the very rape myths mentioned by Allison and Wrightsman (1993:98): 'women cannot be raped against their will', 'women ask for it', 'women secretly wish to be raped', 'most accusations of rape are faked' and 'any healthy woman can resist a rapist'. Giovannoni (1989:185) explains that the macho man mentality dictates that 'men are valued by how well' they perform sexually. He makes it clear that macho men are obsessed with sex because 'their male genitalia' symbolises power (Giovannoni, 1989:185). Thus, if the 'police world is one of old-fashioned machismo' (Reiner, 2000:97), the responses presented in the above table could be worrying but are understandable. However, if one examines these responses from a gender perspective, one notes sharp divergences of opinions between male and female respondents. In fact, they do not even share one of the three most commonly chosen options.

Table 6.30 Causes leading to the sexual harassment of policewomen by policemen by gender (1st choice) (Q18)

Why people think policewomen get sexually molested by their colleagues (1st choice)		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Women are considered as sexual objects	Number	52	14	66
	Column %	18.9%	31.1%	20.6%
Women secretly crave for sex although they may not admit	Number	29	2	31
	Column %	10.5%	4.4%	9.7%
Women use sex appeal: men take advantage	Number	93	6	99
	Column %	33.8%	13.3%	30.9%
Some women do not stand up for their rights	Number	33	9	42
	Column %	12.0%	20.0%	13.1%
Women like and expect this kind of attention	Number	30	6	36
	Column %	10.9%	13.3%	11.3%
Men like to feel powerful and find women easy targets	Number	15	4	19
	Column %	5.5%	8.9%	5.9%
Some women volunteer sex for gain - men expect it	Number	23	3	26
	Column %	8.4%	6.7%	8.1%
Policemen degrade women to chase them away from the force	Number		1	1
	Column %		2.2%	.3%
Total	Number	275	45	320
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.011$ df = 7

Table 6.30 indicates that Maltese policemen believe that policewomen use their sex appeal for personal gain and that they like and expect sexual harassment. In fact, a sizeable 33.8 per cent of male respondents claim that policewomen use sexual appeal to get what they want and policemen simply take advantage. Almost a fifth (18.9%) of the male respondents admit that women are considered as sexual objects and 12.0 per cent of them believe that some women do not stand up for their rights. However, a noticeable 10.9 per cent of the male respondents believe that women like and expect this kind of attention and 10.5 per cent of them also hold that women secretly crave for sex although they may not admit it.

These male responses imply that a number of Maltese policemen are convinced that some policewomen use their sexual appeal and sexual needs for personal gain – and policemen just take advantage. Clearly, the male respondents blame policewomen. This could be a clear example of victim blaming. In a society such as Malta's, 'where setting the limits of sexual activity is strictly the woman's responsibility', a policewoman reporting sexual abuse could be tantamount to 'passing a death sentence on herself' (Viano, 1989:10). In accordance with Gomez-Preston and Trescott (1995:402) it is evident that Maltese policewomen are being blamed for their own sexual harassment. This mechanism allows male police officers to divest themselves of responsibility for sexual harassment.

Things appear somewhat different from the female perspective. In fact, from Table 6.30 it seems that Maltese policewomen either blame themselves for their sexual victimisation or blame their image as vulnerable, sexual objects. About one-third (31.1%) of female respondents pointed to their belief that women are considered as sexual objects and a fifth (20.0%) of them believe that some women do not stand up for their rights, and are abused. However, 13.3 per cent of the females' first choices show that some Maltese policewomen agree with their male colleagues that women like and expect this kind of attention and 13.3 per cent of the female respondents' first choices suggested that policewomen use their sexual appeal to their advantage. Yet, 8.9 per cent of the female respondents' first choices pointed out that men like to feel powerful and find women easy targets.

In a study conducted by Horne (1980:127) a policewoman declared that 'you've got to make love to get a day off or a good beat ... you've definitely have got to "put out"…' The Maltese policewomen's response could be interpreted as an indication of the feeling that those who stood up for their rights remained in the doldrums of policing. This impression is backed by MacKinnon (1995:297) who emphasises that males dominate females by engaging in sexual harassment. In addition, some (2.2%) Maltese policewomen are convinced that policemen degrade policewomen to drive them away from the force. Their theory is supported by Clarke (1992:101) and Heidensohn (1995:16) who describe how sexual harassment may be used to keep women away from the police force in an attempt at preserving its male-dominance.

Table 6.31 indicates that most Maltese police officers, irrespective of gender, hold that policewomen should not be protected and kept inside police stations. In fact, more than three-quarters (80.9%) of the respondents believe that policewomen should not be protected. A sizeable 88.8 per cent of the female respondents also held this view, half (44.4%) of them being adamant. Contrary to what was expected, more than three-quarters (79.6%) of the male respondents were also against the idea that women should be kept inside and sheltered from danger; and quite a few (32.1% of male respondents) felt strongly against this notion. This could imply that, contrary to what certain policemen think, the vast majority of Maltese policewomen expect equal rights and duties. In addition, the 79.6 per cent of the male respondents who held that policewomen should not be protected and kept inside could very well be fuelled, not by a gender-equality sentiment but by resentment. Why should policewomen get the easy jobs when they get the same pay as policemen? This concern has been voiced by Horne (1980:60) who claims that favouring policewomen raises 'male resentment towards female officers.'

Table 6.31: The shelter and protection of policewomen by gender (Q21.1)

Policewomen should be protected and kept inside		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	Number	12	3	15
	Column %	4.3%	6.7%	4.6%
Agree	Number	43	2	45
	Column %	15.4%	4.4%	13.8%
Disagree	Number	133	20	153
	Column %	47.5%	44.4%	47.1%
Strongly Disagree	Number	90	20	110
	Column %	32.1%	44.4%	33.8%
Don't know	Number	2		2
	Column %	.7%		.6%
Total	Number	280	45	325
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.180$ df = 4

These findings prompted additional enquiries of a qualitative nature. Since this research implies that the vast majority of Maltese policewomen expect equal rights and duties, one would expect Maltese policewomen to be actively involved in all the sections within the Malta police force. This is not the case. For example, in Malta no policewoman is actively involved in the Special Assignment Group (SAG) or the Criminal Investigations Department (CID). Once the researcher was informed that policewomen are barred from the CID for two reasons: to protect them from the vulgar language used by policemen and to protect the policemen from their wives' accusations of infidelity. These reasons lack credibility. It is more probable that, as Martin (1980 quoted in Martin and Jurik, 1996:63) claims, '… the integration of women … threatens to compromise the work, the way of life, the social status and the self-image of the men' and, consequently, every effort is put into barring policewomen from what are considered as elite squads within the Malta police force. Thus, in Malta, women are kept away from certain police squads on the pretext that policewomen should be sheltered and protected. However, Table 6.31 shows that most Maltese police officers do not share this chivalric sentiment towards women. In fact, a marked 80.7 per cent of the respondents declared themselves against the idea that policewomen should be sheltered and protected.

Table 6.32 indicates that the conservative attitude of policemen towards policewomen (and women in general) increases with seniority in the Maltese police force. In fact, 87.9 per cent of respondents with 0 to 10 years of policing experience, 80.4 per cent of those with 11 to 15 years of experience and 75.6 per cent of those with more than 16 years of service disagreed that policewomen should be protected and kept inside.

Table 6.32 The shelter and protection of policewomen by length of service (Q21.1)

Policewomen should be protected and kept inside		Length of Service 0 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16+ years	Total
Strongly agree	Number	2	8	6	16
	Column %	2.0%	8.2%	4.6%	4.9%
Agree	Number	9	10	26	45
	Column %	9.1%	10.3%	19.8%	13.8%
Disagree	Number	47	41	65	153
	Column %	47.5%	42.3%	49.6%	46.8%
Strongly Disagree	Number	40	37	34	111
	Column %	40.4%	38.1%	26.0%	33.9%
Don't know	Number	1	1		2
	Column %	1.0%	1.0%		.6%
Total	Number	99	97	131	327
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.034$ df = 8

Although the balance seems tipped towards the notion that policewomen should not be shielded and kept indoors, police elders seem to be those most inclined towards thinking that they should. And since those with the most policing experience are principally involved in decision making, one can possibly start to understand why Maltese policewomen seem to be kept away from the CID and the SAG.

Table 6.33 points out that the majority of Maltese police officers, policewomen in particular, do not think that policewomen are best at doing clerical jobs. In fact, over half (57.7%) the respondents do not believe that female police officers are best at clerical duties. The most resounding response came from the female respondents, of whom a sizeable 73.3 per cent reject this idea. Respondents only chose the extreme options ('strongly disagree/agree') when they felt particularly strongly about an issue. Almost half the female respondents, who

Table 6.33 Policewomen are best at doing clerical jobs by gender (Q21.2)

Policewomen are best at doing clerical jobs		Gender Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	Number	42	3	45
	Column %	15.1%	6.7%	13.9%
Agree	Number	82	8	90
	Column %	29.4%	17.8%	27.8%
Disagree	Number	107	18	125
	Column %	38.4%	40.0%	38.6%
Strongly Disagree	Number	47	15	62
	Column %	16.8%	33.3%	19.1%
Don't know	Number	1	1	2
	Column %	.4%	2.2%	.6%
Total	Number	279	45	324
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.030$ df = 4

disagree that policewomen are best at doing clerical jobs, feel this strongly. Over half (55.2%) of male respondents also rejected the view that women were best at undertaking clerical tasks.

Policewomen have been 'confined to non-enforcement duties because the leaders of this male dominated occupation came to the conclusion that women lacked the size and physical strength to perform "rigorous" police work' (Dolan and Scariano, 1988 cited in Grennan and Munoz, 1996:341). Therefore, policewomen have been restricted to traditionally female roles such as telephone operators and clerks (Grennan and Munoz, 1996:341).

Table 6.34 Policewomen are best at doing clerical jobs by educational background (Q21.2)

Policewomen are best at doing clerical jobs		Educational bacground		Total
		Primary or Secondary	Post secondary or Tertiary	
Strongly agree	Number	24	21	45
	Column %	13.5%	14.3%	13.8%
Agree	Number	66	25	91
	Column %	37.1%	17.0%	28.0%
Disagree	Number	61	63	124
	Column %	34.3%	42.9%	38.2%
Strongly Disagree	Number	27	36	63
	Column %	15.2%	24.5%	19.4%
Don't know	Number		2	2
	Column %		1.4%	.6%
Total	Number	178	147	325
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.001$ df = 4

Table 6.34 indicates that sexist Maltese police officers are mostly those that have the lower educational level. Whereas slightly more than half (50.6%) of the respondents with primary or secondary schooling agree that policewomen are best at doing clerical jobs, more than two-thirds (67.4%) of respondents with post secondary or tertiary education disagreed with this idea. Therefore, it seems that the higher the level of education of police officers, the lower their level of sexism.

Table 6.35 points out that those officers with more than sixteen years of service tend to be the most sexist. More than half (51.5%) of them believe that policewomen are best at doing office work. Since those in command mostly have this level of experience, this could explain why the preferred policy seems to be that to assign clerical duties to policewomen. In contrast, more than three-fifths of the officers in the other categories (66.0% with 0-10 years, 61.5% with 11-15 years of experience) disagree with the notion that policewomen are best at doing office work.

Table 6.35 Policewomen are best at doing clerical jobs by length of service (Q21.2)

Policewomen are best at doing clerical jobs		Length of Service			Total
		0 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16+ years	
Strongly agree	Number	15	12	18	45
	Column %	15.0%	12.5%	13.8%	13.8%
Agree	Number	19	23	49	91
	Column %	19.0%	24.0%	37.7%	27.9%
Disagree	Number	39	38	48	125
	Column %	39.0%	39.6%	36.9%	38.3%
Strongly Disagree	Number	27	21	15	63
	Column %	27.0%	21.9%	11.5%	19.3%
Don't know	Number		2		2
	Column %		2.1%		.6%
Total	Number	100	96	130	326
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.006$ df = 8

Table 6.36 indicates that most Maltese police officers believe that policewomen are very good with victims. This view is offered by more than three-quarters (76.8%) of respondents. There is little difference between male and female responses. The finding could indicate that the stereotypical image of women is very much ingrained within the minds of both Maltese policemen and policewomen.

Table 6.36 Policewomen are very good with victims by gender (Q21.3)

Policewomen are very good with victims		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Strongly agree	Number	41	6	47
	Column %	14.7%	13.3%	14.6%
Agree	Number	176	25	201
	Column %	63.3%	55.6%	62.2%
Disagree	Number	41	10	51
	Column %	14.7%	22.2%	15.8%
Strongly Disagree	Number	6	2	8
	Column %	2.2%	4.4%	2.5%
Don't know	Number	14	2	16
	Column %	5.0%	4.4%	5.0%
Total	Number	278	45	323
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.625$ df = 4

Clarke (1992:6) considers receptivity, acceptance, emotional tone and intuition as female values. Lunneborg (1989:13) claims that the policemen who believe that females are not physically and emotionally strong enough for traditional police work are convinced that policewomen are only proficient when involved in cases which involve people who require care. Therefore, such policemen would agree that policewomen are good with victims, thus

generalising and assuming that gender alone endows policewomen with an inbuilt ability to deal effectively with victims. This assumption is so widespread, that even women tend to believe that their femininity automatically renders them better carers than men. It is also interesting to note that dealing with victims is external to the police organisational environment and, therefore, it is less threatening to policemen (Lunneborg, 1989:13).

Table 6.37 shows that, Maltese police officers of every rank, especially those in command, tend to believe that policewomen are very good with victims. Almost all (94.1%) the respondents in command, more than three-quarters (78.8%) of the respondents from the lower participants and 64.4 per cent of the respondents from middle-management were convinced that female officers deal skilfully with victims. This data indicates that the ones in command seem to be the most inclined to believe that femininity bestows policewomen with absolute caregiver status. Perhaps that is why Maltese policewomen are barred from certain sections like the SAG as well as the CID and relegated to care-related areas such as victim support. The data offers powerful confirmation of a strong cultural association between policewomen and victim support.

Table 6.37 Policewomen are very good with victims by rank (Q21.3)

Policewomen are very good with victims		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
Strongly agree	Number	38	8	1	47
	Column %	15.3%	13.6%	5.9%	14.5%
Agree	Number	158	30	15	203
	Column %	63.5%	50.8%	88.2%	62.5%
Disagree	Number	40	11		51
	Column %	16.1%	18.6%		15.7%
Strongly Disagree	Number	5	2	1	8
	Column %	2.0%	3.4%	5.9%	2.5%
Don't know	Number	8	8		16
	Column %	3.2%	13.6%		4.9%
Total	Number	249	59	17	325
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.016$ df = 8

Reiner (2000:90) feels certain that numerous male police officers consider their 'combat with "villains" as a ritualized game, a fun challenge, with "winning" by an arrest giving personal satisfaction rather than any sense of public service.' This is clearly a traditional and masculine view of policing – a view that is probably shared by many Maltese police officers. That is why it 'has always been tough for women police officers to gain acceptance' (Reiner, 2000:98) in police forces such as the Maltese one. Conversely, Maltese society expects women to provide care for the needy (Troisi, 1994:659) because Maltese women are stereotyped as care-givers. Thus, Maltese policewomen may be channeled away from the glamorous,

masculine areas of policing (such as the CID and the SAG) and placed in areas 'with special attention to their usefulness in assisting and protecting their own sex' (Macready, 1918 quoted in Carrier, 1988:83).

Table 6.38 indicates that although more than three-quarters (77.0%) of the respondents thought that policewomen were good with victims. Over three-quarters (78.8%) of respondents who entered at recruit level believe that policewomen are very good with victims in contrast with the 54.2 per cent of those who entered at officer cadet level (as graduates). This confirms the idea that, tertiary education contributes to a less stereotypical way of reasoning.

Table 6.38 Policewomen are very good with victims by level of entry (Q21.3)

Policewomen are very good with victims		Level of entry		
		At recruit level	As a graduate - at officer cadet level	Total
Strongly agree	Number	46	1	47
	Column %	15.3%	4.2%	14.5%
Agree	Number	191	12	203
	Column %	63.5%	50.0%	62.5%
Disagree	Number	47	4	51
	Column %	15.6%	16.7%	15.7%
Strongly Disagree	Number	5	3	8
	Column %	1.7%	12.5%	2.5%
Don't know	Number	12	4	16
	Column %	4.0%	16.7%	4.9%
Total	Number	301	24	325
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.002$ $df = 4$

The data in Table 6.39 reflects previous findings which indicate that Maltese police officers believe that policewomen have excellent interpersonal skills. Nearly three-quarters (72.0%) of respondents believe that policewomen are very good at dealing with people.

Table 6.39 Policewomen are very good at dealing with people by gender (Q21.4)

Policewomen are very good at dealing with people		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	Number	21	11	32
	Column %	7.4%	25.6%	9.8%
Agree	Number	176	26	202
	Column %	62.4%	60.5%	62.2%
Disagree	Number	53	3	56
	Column %	18.8%	7.0%	17.2%
Strongly Disagree	Number	9	1	10
	Column %	3.2%	2.3%	3.1%
Don't know	Number	23	2	25
	Column %	8.2%	4.7%	7.7%
Total	Number	282	43	325
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.004$ $df = 4$

Although this idea is strongly supported by both genders (69.8% of males and 86.1% of females), policewomen feel more strongly about this with over one-quarter (25.6%) agreeing strongly.

Again, this stereotypical image of policewomen seems to be ingrained in the minds of both genders. It seems that both for male and female officers stereotypical assumptions depict policewomen not as 'macho crime fighters' (Heidensohn, 1995:221) but as uniformed social workers (Kirschman, 1997:199). Perhaps, this is why the emphasis is placed on physical strength. If the social aspect gains greater recognition than the macho aspect, the masculine image of the police officer, would lose its place to a more service-oriented image of the police officer, clearly paving the way for more women to enter the police force (Heidensohn, 1995:221). If sex alone does not bestow policewomen with certain qualities, professional socialisation becomes more important. Lunneborg's (1989:186) theory of complementariness explains how the different socialisation of genders may lead to the development of different qualities, which are all required by the police force. To this extent respondents might be right in believing that most (but not all) policewomen could be very good at dealing with people.

Table 6.40 shows that the ability to deal with the media seems to be associated, by both genders, with policewomen. In fact, there are no statistically significant differences between responses. More than half (56.3%) of the respondents claim that policewomen are very good at dealing with the media. This may be due to policewomen's presupposed interpersonal skills.

Table 6.40 Policewomen are very good at dealing with the media by gender (Q21.5)

Policewomen are very good at dealing with the media		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Strongly agree	Number	15	6	21
	Column %	5.4%	13.3%	6.5%
Agree	Number	142	18	160
	Column %	51.4%	40.0%	49.8%
Disagree	Number	62	8	70
	Column %	22.5%	17.8%	21.8%
Strongly Disagree	Number	11	3	14
	Column %	4.0%	6.7%	4.4%
Don't know	Number	46	10	56
	Column %	16.7%	22.2%	17.4%
Total	Number	276	45	321
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.173$ df = 4

However, if one were to compare the marked 78.0 per cent of male respondents who claim that policewomen are very good with victims (Table 6.36) and the sizeable 69.8 per cent of male respondents who are convinced that policewomen are very good at dealing with people (Table 6.39) with the 56.8 per cent of male respondents who believe that policewomen are very

good at dealing with the media (Table 6.40), one would note that the respondents held the former rather more strongly. A cynical interpretation would suggest that male respondents might not have been as confident in acknowledging policewomen's ability at dealing with the media because of the prestige associated with such contacts.

Table 6.41 indicates that the vast majority of Maltese police officers, notwithstanding their gender (in effect there are no statistically significant differences between each gender's responses) claim that gender is no issue within the police force. The vast majority (87.5%) of respondents agreed that gender is no issue and that police officers should be able to perform any assigned duty. In this case, it is evident that respondents felt strongly that gender is no issue since the 'strongly agree' option was the most commonly selected. Although female respondents (95.3%) agreed with the statement rather more than their male counterparts (86.3%), gender differences were not statistically significant.

Table 6.41 The extent to which gender is no issue in the police force by gender (Q21.6)

Gender is no issue: police officers should be able to perform any assigned duty		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	Number	179	32	211
	Column %	64.6%	74.4%	65.9%
Agree	Number	60	9	69
	Column %	21.7%	20.9%	21.6%
Disagree	Number	24	1	25
	Column %	8.7%	2.3%	7.8%
Strongly Disagree	Number	9	1	10
	Column %	3.2%	2.3%	3.1%
Don't know	Number	5		5
	Column %	1.8%		1.6%
Total	Number	277	43	320
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.490$ df = 4

At face value, one would judge this as auguring well for the future of the Maltese police force. The literature and the personal observation of the Malta police force did not prepare the researcher for this finding. It was expected that, when asked whether gender is an issue in police work, respondents would have vociferously pointed to and reflected the poor sensitisation of the Malta police force to gender equality issues. In contrast, the data so far offers a reassuring picture of gender issues in the Malta police force. Admittedly, male respondents could have answered in the way they believed they were expected to. Further data are less comforting.

Hunt (1984 quoted in Martin and Jurik, 1996:63) describes policing as 'a symbolic universe permeated with gender meanings'. Martin and Jurik (1996:63) hold that the majority

of policemen persist in believing that females are unable to cope with the physical and emotional demands of policing and thus, should not be entrusted with the task of law enforcement. Reiner (1992:124) describes the world of the police force as 'one of old fashioned machismo'. This world is clearly illustrated in the following tables.

Table 6.42 shows that, although so many respondents had expressed that gender is no issue (Table 6.41), it appears that for most Maltese police officers, it certainly seems to matter when it comes to occupying high ranks of the Malta police force. In fact, Table 6.42 indicates that the acceptance of women diminishes as the ranks get higher. More than three-quarters (77.8%) of respondents accept women as police constables, while over half (58.0%) of them accept females as police sergeants. Less than half the police officers (44.7%) tolerate females as police inspectors, and female superintendents find approval by only slightly over one-fourth (26.4%) of the respondents. There was only about one-fifth approval for females occupying the remaining ranks (20.1% commandant of the police academy, 19.5% assistant commissioners, 18.0% deputy commissioner and 17.4% commissioner of police). Furthermore, the incidence of the extreme response 'not at all' while barely registered at the lowest rank level (1.2%), jumps at middle-management level (7.8%) and steadily increases until it reaches a vociferous level (47.7%) when applied to the possibility of having a female police commissioner.

Table 6.42 The extent policewomen should be promoted according to all respondents (Q22)

The extent to which women should occupy the rank of:	To a great extent	Some times	Not very much	Not at all	Don't know	NR
Police constable	77.8%	14.1%	2.1%	1.2%	2.1%	2.7%
Police sergeant	58.0%	28.8%	5.1%	3.0%	1.8%	3.3%
Police inspector	44.7%	29.7%	12.3%	7.8%	1.8%	3.6%
Superintendent	26.4%	22.8%	13.5%	26.7%	5.7%	4.8%
Assistant commissioner	19.5%	14.7%	17.1%	34.8%	9.0%	4.8%
Deputy commissioner	18.0%	9.9%	16.5%	40.8%	10.2%	4.5%
Commissioner	17.4%	9.0%	11.1%	47.7%	9.9%	4.8%
Commandant of the police academy	20.1%	13.5%	10.8%	38.7%	12.0%	4.8%

Table 6.42 clearly indicates that, women are accepted within the Malta police force, with the proviso that they know 'their place' (Clarke, 1992:134). Evidently, the Malta police force believes that their place is within the lower participants (police constables and sergeants). Perhaps, this echoes Horne's (1980:74) belief that policemen resist policewomen because they feel threatened when women demand the same occupations, duties, rights – and seniority.

Table 6.43 The extent females should occupy police ranks according to policemen (Q22)

According to policemen, to what extent should women occupy the rank of	To a great extent	Some times	Not very much	Not at all	Don't know	NR
Police constable	77.5%	14.8%	2.5%	1.4%	2.1%	1.8%
Police sergeant	56.0%	30.6%	6.0%	3.5%	2.1%	1.8%
Police inspector	42.3%	30.3%	13.7%	9.2%	2.1%	2.5%
Superintendent	24.3%	21.5%	14.4%	30.3%	6.3%	3.2%
Assistant commissioner	16.5%	14.1%	17.3%	39.1%	9.5%	3.5%
Deputy commissioner	15.8%	8.1%	16.2%	45.8%	10.9%	3.2%
Commissioner	15.5%	7.0%	10.6%	53.2%	10.2%	3.5%
Commandant of the police academy	18.3%	12.0%	10.2%	43.0%	13.0%	3.5%

Analysis by gender sheds more light on this issue. Table 6.43 indicates that policemen accept females within the police force, as long as they keep to the lower ranks. Again, support for policewomen dwindles, as the ranks get higher, reaching a wall of 'not at all' at commissioner level. Acceptance of women, by policemen, in different ranks, falls from a high 77.5 per cent for females as police constables to a low 15.5 per cent for a female police commissioner. In addition, although the incidence of the extreme response 'not at all' is hardly registered at the lower participant level (1.4% of the respondents), it escalates for women in middle-management posts (9.2% of the respondents) and steadily increases until it reaches a vociferous level (53.2% of the respondents) for a woman as commissioner.

Table 6.44 The extent females should occupy police ranks according to policewomen (Q22)

According to policewomen, to what extent should women occupy the rank of	To a great extent	Some times	Not very much	Not at all	Don't know	NR
Police constable	78.7%	10.6%			2.1%	8.5%
Police sergeant	70.2%	17.0%				12.8%
Police inspector	59.6%	25.5%	4.3%			10.6%
Superintendent	40.4%	31.9%	6.4%	4.3%	2.1%	14.9%
Assistant commissioner	38.3%	19.1%	14.9%	8.5%	6.4%	12.8%
Deputy commissioner	31.9%	21.3%	17.0%	10.6%	6.4%	12.8%
Commissioner	29.8%	21.3%	12.8%	14.9%	8.5%	12.8%
Commandant of the police academy	31.9%	23.4%	12.8%	12.8%	6.4%	12.8%

One would expect a completely different picture when presented with what policewomen think. One would assume female respondents to claim that they could occupy any rank within the Malta police force. However, Table 6.44 shows that the acceptance of women, by policewomen, also decreases as the rank increases, but this reduction in ambitions for women officers is not as sharp as that felt by policemen (Table 6.43). Acceptance of women, by policewomen, in different ranks, falls from a high 78.7 per cent for females as police constables

to a low of 29.8 per cent for a female police commissioner. Contrary to their male counterparts, the 'not at all' option was only chosen, to a low (4.3%) degree at superintendent level, gradually increasing in strength and reaching a peak of just 14.9 per cent for women officers as police commissioners. Respondents' levels of uncertainty regarding women occupying different ranks also increased with the job status, regardless of gender.

One would have expected the policemen's resistance to the idea of females occupying the upper ranks of the Malta police force. This could be considered as worrying but understandable. However, when this lack of support for females in the upper ranks comes from policewomen themselves, this gives cause for greater concern. Policewomen are in favour of female constables, but less in favour of females becoming superintendents or in occupying the ranks of commissioner, deputy commissioner and assistant commissioner. One could attempt explaining this response with the help of Horne (1980:116) who claims that ambitious policewomen face two problems: getting promoted and actually taking command. He mentions the two main hurdles: the external resistance exerted by peers and the internal resistance (the result of socialization). These two obstacles may even prevent policewomen from even applying for a promotion. Grennan and Munoz (1996:343) claim that gender is very often that which determines rank. They also maintain that, at the start of their career, policewomen trying to make it to the top ranks meet with strong male resistance. However, this does not stop once they are promoted. They still have to face the resistance of male peers and subordinates who feel threatened by the introduction of women into the traditionally male domain of policing. High-ranking policewomen are not as respected as their male counterparts. Perhaps this induced the female respondents to reply in the way they did. Therefore, this could be indicative of a collective 'learned helplessness' (Brehm and Kassin, 1993:648). In other words, Maltese policewomen could have learned that women can only be successful in the lower ranks of the Malta police force. This accounts for what Horne (1980:116) referred to as 'external resistance', but 'internal resistance' plays a determining part as well.

Martin and Jurik (1996:23) explain how socialisation 'instils different occupational aspirations and capabilities in men and women'. They continue by describing how males are helped to develop skills related to 'competence, instrumentality, and achievement' while females are channelled to 'family roles' and encouraged to develop 'nurturance, emotional expressiveness, and physical attractiveness' (Nieva and Gutek, 1981 cited in Martin and Jurik, 1996:23). Thus, women learn to be submissive, accepting men as their leaders and possibly, not even considering the possibility of occupying leadership positions themselves. This could perhaps explain how Maltese policewomen seem to be less inclined to accept women in the higher ranks.

If female police officers have to swim against the chauvinistic current within the Maltese police force, lesbians and gay men have to deal with a tsunami of opposition. Reiner (2000:97) emphasises that policemen exhibit 'contempt … for sexual deviance' and explains that this disdain of homosexuals induces them to sexually harass policewomen as proof of their heterosexuality. The very nature of police culture, imbued as it is with machismo (Reiner, 2000:97) and considered, by many policemen as the showcase of virility, seems to render it a natural enemy of the sexually deviant. Berrill (1992:32) explain how, although police officers are 'responsible for protecting lesbians and gay men from anti-gay crimes' it is not only common for police officers to remain indifferent in face of these crimes, but sometimes they are 'themselves perpetrators of anti-gay harassment and violence'.

Martin and Jurik (1996:61) relate how 'candidates who failed to express "correct" masculine attitudes emphasizing toughness and aggressiveness' were considered as outsiders and barred from police forces. According to Cole (1994: 596) sexual deviants are also considered as outsiders by Maltese society. Again, since the 'police are the public and the public are the police' (Peel, 1829 quoted in Peak and Glensor, 1996:1) the attitude of the Maltese police force towards sexual diversity is no exception. It is only accentuated by police culture, which leads police officers to deliberately manifest contempt towards sexual diversity (Reiner, 2000:97). Maltese police officers show some intolerance of sexual diversity as is evident from the following tables.

Table 6.45 indicates that members of the Maltese police force are almost equally split between those who think that sexual deviants should not be allowed to join the police force (48.8%) and those who think that they should be allowed to join the police force (46.1%). The data also indicate that Maltese policewomen are more tolerant towards sexual deviants than

Table 6.45 Acceptance of sexual diversity within the police force by gender (Q23)

Gays/lesbians should not be allowed to join the police force		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Strongly agree	Number	104	6	110
	Column %	36.7%	12.8%	33.3%
Agree	Number	40	11	51
	Column %	14.1%	23.4%	15.5%
Disagree	Number	77	13	90
	Column %	27.2%	27.7%	27.3%
Strongly Disagree	Number	47	15	62
	Column %	16.6%	31.9%	18.8%
Don't know	Number	15	2	17
	Column %	5.3%	4.3%	5.2%
Total	Number	283	47	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.007$ df = 4

their male colleagues. In fact, three-fifths (59.6%) of the female respondents, in contrast with 43.8 per cent of the male respondents, did not believe that sexual deviants should be barred from joining the police force. More than half (50.8%) of the male respondents, in contrast with the 36.2 per cent of the female respondents, claim that sexual deviants should not be allowed to join the police force.

Table 6.46 shows that, contrary to what most Maltese policemen think, the majority of policewomen believe that one's sexual orientation does not determine one's capabilities as a police officer. In contrast with the modest 43.3 per cent of male respondents, a marked 65.9 per cent of the female respondents disagreed with the statement that sexual deviants do not make good police officers. Conversely, more than half (50.3%) of the male respondents expressed their belief that gays/lesbians do not make good police officers. This clearly indicates that Maltese policewomen may tend to be less prejudiced against sexual deviants than their male colleagues.

Table 6.46 Sexual deviants do not make good police officers by gender (Q24)

Gays/lesbians do not make good police officers		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Strongly agree	Number	83	6	89
	Column %	29.2%	12.8%	26.9%
Agree	Number	60	7	67
	Column %	21.1%	14.9%	20.2%
Disagree	Number	88	19	107
	Column %	31.0%	40.4%	32.3%
Strongly Disagree	Number	35	12	47
	Column %	12.3%	25.5%	14.2%
Don't know	Number	18	3	21
	Column %	6.3%	6.4%	6.3%
Total	Number	284	47	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.029$ df = 4

Table 6.47 points out that those Maltese police officers who entered that police force as graduates, at officer cadet level, tend to be much more receptive of sexual deviants than their colleagues who entered as recruits. In fact, 66.7 per cent of those who entered as officer cadets expressed themselves against the notion that sexual deviants do not make good police officers, in contrast with the 44.9 per cent of those who entered as recruits who held this view. Conversely, almost half (48.9%) the respondents who entered the police force as recruits, declared that sexual deviants do not make good police officers. This may indicate that tertiary education may render one more tolerant of sexual diversity and/or less inclined to see it impacting negatively on police work.

Table 6.47 Sexual deviants do not make good police officers by level of entry (Q24)

Gays/lesbians do not make good police officers		Level of entry		
		At recruit level	As a graduate - at officer cadet level	Total
Strongly agree	Number	83	6	89
	Column %	26.9%	25.0%	26.7%
Agree	Number	68		68
	Column %	22.0%		20.4%
Disagree	Number	95	13	108
	Column %	30.7%	54.2%	32.4%
Strongly Disagree	Number	44	3	47
	Column %	14.2%	12.5%	14.1%
Don't know	Number	19	2	21
	Column %	6.1%	8.3%	6.3%
Total	Number	309	24	333
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.054$ df = 4

Table 6.48 shows that Maltese police officers are almost equally split between those who feel that self-declared sexual deviants should be forced to leave the police force and those who do not believe that such deviants should be forced out of the police force. However, Maltese policewomen tend to be more tolerant than Maltese policemen.

Table 6.48 Self-declared sexual deviants should be forced to leave the police force by gender (Q25)

Self-declared gays/ lesbians/ transsexuals should be forced to leave the police force		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	Number	78	5	83
	Column %	27.5%	10.6%	25.1%
Agree	Number	50	8	58
	Column %	17.6%	17.0%	17.5%
Disagree	Number	94	14	108
	Column %	33.1%	29.8%	32.6%
Strongly Disagree	Number	38	16	54
	Column %	13.4%	34.0%	16.3%
Don't know	Number	24	4	28
	Column %	8.5%	8.5%	8.5%
Total	Number	284	47	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.005$ df = 4

Table 6.48 shows that although 42.6 per cent of the respondents believe that self-declared sexual deviants should be expelled from the police force, 48.9 per cent did not share this opinion. If respondents who expressed no opinion are ignored, one notices that policemen are split fairly equally between those who think that sexual deviants should be expelled and those who want to keep them in the police force. However, only about one-third of

policewomen want to expel sexual deviants from the police force, suggesting that sexual deviants are more accepted by policewomen than by policemen.

Table 6.49, Table 6.50 and Table 6.51 further explore the range of opinion in relation to policing and sexuality. Table 6.49 illustrates the responses given by participants when they were presented with four statements. Respondents chose these statements in the following priority: sexual inclinations are irrelevant (43.3%), gays and lesbians are a blow to the credibility of the Malta police force (22.7%), gays and lesbians shame the Malta police force (19.1%) and gays and lesbians do not make good police officers (14.8%). More than half (53.3%) of police officers in middle-management think that sexual inclinations are irrelevant, but the majority of the other two echelons (58.5% of lower participants and 64.7% of those in command) think that gay and lesbian police officers are an embarrassment.

Table 6.49 Opinions on sexual deviants by rank (Q26)

Respondents' views about gays/lesbians		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
Gays/lesbians shame the Malta police force	Number	55	5	3	63
	Column %	21.7%	8.3%	17.6%	19.1%
Gays/lesbians do not make good police officers	Number	43	2	4	49
	Column %	17.0%	3.3%	23.5%	14.8%
Gays/lesbians are a blow to the credibility of the Malta police force	Number	50	21	4	75
	Column %	19.8%	35.0%	23.5%	22.7%
Sexual inclinations are irrelevant; it makes no difference	Number	105	32	6	143
	Column %	41.5%	53.3%	35.3%	43.3%
Total	Number	253	60	17	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.005$ $df = 6$

As before, those in command are the most conservative police officers, followed by the lower participants. This runs parallel with Reiner's (1991 cited in Reiner, 2000:97) findings. Reiner (2000:97) claims that British police officers' contempt towards gays and lesbians might have subsided a little, since 'some gay and lesbian police officers can now "come out", and indeed form their own representative association'. However, the situation within the Malta police force appears to be still permeated by intolerance of the sexually deviant, especially by those in command. Evidently, in Malta 'Cops are conventional people …' (Skolnick, 1966 quoted in Reiner, 2000:97).

Table 6.50 shows that graduate Maltese police officers are the most tolerant of sexual diversity. In fact, a sizeable 66.7 per cent of the respondents with tertiary education claim that sexual inclinations are irrelevant, in contrast with the mere 13.3 per cent of those with primary schooling, 42.8 per cent of those with secondary schooling and 38.5 per cent of those with post-

secondary education who also share this opinion. A marked 40.0 per cent of the respondents with primary education believe that sexual deviants are a blow to the credibility of the Malta police force, in contrast with 21.1 per cent of those with secondary level of schooling, 23.1 per cent of respondents with post-secondary education and 22.2 per cent of those with university level of education.

Table 6.50 Opinions on sexual deviants by educational background (Q26)

Respondents' views about gays/lesbians		Educational background				Total
		Up to primary school	Up to secondary school	Up to post secondary school	Up to tertiary level	
Gays/lesbians shame the Malta police force	Number	4	32	26	1	63
	Column %	26.7%	19.3%	25.0%	2.2%	19.1%
Gays/lesbians do not make good police officers	Number	3	28	14	4	49
	Column %	20.0%	16.9%	13.5%	8.9%	14.8%
Gays/lesbians are a blow to the credibility of the Malta police force	Number	6	35	24	10	75
	Column %	40.0%	21.1%	23.1%	22.2%	22.7%
Sexual inclinations are irrelevant; it makes no difference	Number	2	71	40	30	143
	Column %	13.3%	42.8%	38.5%	66.7%	43.3%
Total	Number	15	166	104	45	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.006$ df =9

Table 6.51 further points out the fact that Maltese policewomen are more tolerant and receptive to sexual deviants than are their male colleagues. This data shows that two-thirds (66.0%) of female respondents, in contrast with two-fifths (39.5%) of male respondents, stress that sexual inclinations are irrelevant when it comes to conducting police work.

Table 6.51 Opinions on sexual deviants by gender (Q26)

Respondents' views about gays/lesbians		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Gays/lesbians shame the Malta police force	Number	57	6	63
	Column %	20.3%	12.8%	19.2%
Gays/lesbians do not make good police officers	Number	46	3	49
	Column %	16.4%	6.4%	14.9%
Gays/lesbians are a blow to the credibility of the Malta police force	Number	67	7	74
	Column %	23.8%	14.9%	22.6%
Sexual inclinations are irrelevant; it makes no difference	Number	111	31	142
	Column %	39.5%	66.0%	43.3%
Total	Number	281	47	328
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.006$ df = 3

Police conservatism: qualitative findings

Chan (1997:232-234) admits that 'Change can be traumatic' consequently police officers have a 'tendency not to question the original assumptions' and to be 'conservative' (Reiner, 2000:95). This might explain why 51.0 per cent of the respondents from those in command stressed that reforms must be made cautiously, nostalgically stating that the police force was much more disciplined before the reforms were made. In fact, they (63.0%) stressed the need for a more disciplined Malta police force. Conversely, some respondents (42.0%) from the lower ranks disclosed that certain high-ranked police officers were stubborn and refused to take advice, possibly reflecting the particularly 'conventional personality' (Skolnick, 1994:59) of the Maltese police officers in command.

The other ranks may not be as conservative as those in command. In fact, some respondents (43.0%) who did not belong to the higher echelons suggested the introduction of mandatory retirement after 25 years of service and recommended that the police commissioner be changed every five years to make room for new ideas. These research participants claim that old, obsolete police regulations and bureaucratic, administrative practices needed updating. The respondents also added that obsolete equipment needed to be replaced by state-of-the-art apparatus that would enable modern computerization. In addition, they claim that staff deployment practices should be revised so that police personnel would start to be placed/transferred according to their individual skills and experience as well as the community's needs and not arbitrarily by stubborn police authorities. Overall, 65.0 per cent of the lower ranks appealed for what could be seen as a more democratic police force.

Reiner (2000:97-98) describes the police world as 'one of old-fashioned machismo' whose 'masculine ethos' is underlined by police officers' obsession with discipline and danger, chauvinism, tolerance of poor working conditions and their support of authoritarian traits. Skolnick (1994:11) explains that the hierarchical power structure of the police force leads it to develop a 'somewhat rigid conception of order.' Thus 'the old emphasis on drill and discipline' (Reiner, 2000:62), that exists even now, within the Malta police force.

Although 'it is preferable to call the police officer's a conventional [not an authoritarian] personality', strong authoritarian traits seem to live on within the Malta police force. Evidence of these traits is the respondents' (63.0%) insistence on the need for more discipline (Samelson, 1993:27). Moreover, some respondents (51.0%) claim that even before the police reforms, the police was much more disciplined and more effective. This assertion could be quite disquieting when one realises that these reforms put the emphasis on human rights, police ethics and police officers' working conditions. Stone, Lederer and Christie

(1993:4) explain that 'the authoritarian personality syndrome's essential core is that the person fawns before admired authority (representing strength) [high-ranked Maltese police officers] and loathes weakness – in … women, homosexuals, or other groups' such as youths and ethnic minorities. The military system, by which police officers operate, obliges them to obey their superiors almost unconditionally (Skolnick, 1994:52-54). It seems that the Maltese police force is heavily militarised since several respondents (78.0%) suggested the introduction of a new mode of management involving transparency, consultation, delegation, and more openness in general. They (48.0%) even recommended the setting up of a counselling service, since Maltese police officers endure considerable stress. The Malta police force lacks this service perhaps because visiting a counsellor could be interpreted as a weakness, and weakness is not compatible with the macho image of police officers (Reiner, 2000:97).

In addition the 'hedonistic, action-centred' (Reiner, 2000:89) police officers' perception of policing could make it difficult for Maltese police officers to fully accept all the strategies associated with community policing. In fact, a good number of respondents (51.0%) suggested the introduction of this policing style, implying that, as yet, it is not very much adopted. Perhaps it is the 'machismo syndrome' (Reiner, 2000:97) that induced respondents to emphasise the danger component of police work. In fact, a number of respondents claim that all Maltese police officers should: receive free life insurance (51.0%), be trained to use firearms (53.0%) and be provided by bulletproof vests (38.0%) and firearms (40.0%).

Heidensohn (1995:69) discloses that 'the unique characteristic of police is that they are authorised to use physical force to regulate interpersonal relations in communities'. This explains the emphasis on toughness and the consequent association with the male gender. Hunt (1984 quoted in Martin and Jurik, 1996:63) maintains that 'the policeman's world constitutes a symbolic universe permeated with gender meanings' and the poor working conditions faced by Maltese police officers may, in fact, be just that. The 'old-fashioned machismo' (Reiner, 2000:97) might lead some Maltese police officers to resist clean and organised work settings because traditionally, cleanliness is associated with the women's world and 'the man's world is the "real world"' (Clarke, 1992:127) in policing. Moreover, Reiner (2000:101) explains how police officers 'are concerned to get from here to tomorrow … safely and with the least fuss and paperwork, which has made them reluctant to contemplate innovation, experimentation, or research.' This might explain why certain Maltese police offices lack modern technological equipment. Police pragmatism (Reiner, 2000:101) might also be to blame for the poor state some police vehicles are in.

Yet, of all adverse working conditions, the vast majority (85.0%) of Maltese police officers mentioned their shift system. They claim that knowing their duty in advance would

enable them to manage their time better. However, police officers' 'sense of mission' (Reiner, 2000:89) might motivate the Maltese police authorities to retain this system as a declaration that 'policing is not just a job but a way of life' (Reiner, 2000:89) and that, primarily, before being anything else in life (a spouse/partner, a parent, a son or a daughter) a member of the Malta police force is a police officer.

As regards gender issues in the Malta police force, it seems that most police officers believe that the 'policeman and the policeman alone is equipped, entitled, and required to deal with every exigency' (Bittner, 1990 quoted in Heidensohn, 1992:73). In fact, some respondents even suggested that no more women should be allowed in the Malta police force (20.0%), women should not be promoted to the high ranks (45.0%) and that women should be given specialised training in self-defence (38.0%). However, the respondents who suggested improved working conditions prove that the will to change is also alive within the Malta police force.

Discussion

The data presented in this chapter depicts a police force that is coming out of the shadows cast on it during the 1980s. Chapter 6 dealt with the conservatism of Maltese police officers in two posts: police culture and conservatism and police culture and gender. The first discussed the Malta police in relation to politics, authoritarianism, vocal harshness, rigidity, the use of counselling services, obedience and tolerance. The second considered attitudes in the Malta police force in relation to machismo, sexual harassment and gay persons.

This research indicates that the Malta police force is loyal to whichever political party happens to be in government. In addition, the data points out that modern Maltese police officers place little importance on political inclinations since most respondents claim that political sympathies are irrelevant. At least at face value, it appears that politics are no longer as strong an issue as they were way back in the 1980s.

Although certain conservative and authoritarian traits evidently live on, the findings indicate that modern times might have brought awareness of the benefit of a counselling service within the police force, the importance of only obeying legal commands, the advantage of allowing subordinates to ask questions on the commands given, and the need for political tolerance. Indeed, the respondents' strong support of vocal harshness, rigidity, stubbornness, great efforts to appear tough, blind adherence to commands and poor tolerance of perceived deviants may all be strategies to develop a 'hard skin' (Reiner, 2000:90) that helps them to cope with their daily policing problems, including political pressures, public's constant demands, apparent/perceived disrespect of the judiciary and threats from criminals. The data also indicates

that most Maltese police officers believe that they should use their tone of voice to command respect from the public.

The data shows that, although with some hesitation, the majority of the Maltese police officers would use a counselling service. However, it seems that the cynicism (Reiner, 2000:90) and 'chronic suspicion' (Kirkham, 1981 cited in Hollin, 1998:133) of Maltese police officers would stop many of them from readily using a police counselling service.

Obedience lies at the very core of policing (Skolnick, 1994:10-11). In fact, this research suggests that the vast majority of Maltese police officers believe that provided the commands are legal, it is the police officers' duty and responsibility to obey superiors whereas, it is the superiors' duty and responsibility to take decisions. In addition, the data shows that most Maltese police officers are convinced that superiors should never be contradicted, since they should know what they are doing. More positively, this research also reveals that, the majority of Maltese police officers allow their subordinates to ask questions regarding their commands.

Reiner (2000:91) explains that the fact that police officers are trained to be suspicious of 'unusual' subjects does not cultivate tolerance. In fact, the very idea of tolerance clashes with the political and moral conservatism of police officers (Reiner, 2000:95). This data shows that political tolerance within the Malta police force must have increased considerably since the 1980s when it seemed to unashamedly favour the Malta Labour Party (Borg, 2001:73). Most respondents claim that it is not at all important to them whether or not people share their political views. However, Maltese police officers seem to be less tolerant of people with different religious beliefs. When it came to asking how the respondents related with someone who does not share their opinions, the answers seemed to confirm the tolerant nature of modern Maltese police officers. In fact, a considerable number of respondents answered that they would treat these people like other persons, but avoid mentioning subjects that they disagreed about. The second most popular reply was that respondents would treat these persons like they treat anybody else, without any reserve.

Although Reiner (2000:97) described the police world as 'one of old-fashioned machismo', the findings indicate that the majority of Maltese police officers are convinced that the police force treats policemen and policewomen equally. Yet whereas more female respondents are convinced that the police force favours males, more male respondents are convinced that the police force favours females. This may be interpreted as a sign of the resentment nourished by both genders towards each other.

Both genders seem to have been affected by the introduction of women in the Malta police force. Horne (1980:74) might be right when he claims that policemen oppose the introduction of policewomen because they feel threatened when females execute the same duties as policemen and demand equal rights. As a reaction, policemen may stereotype policewomen and assign them gender-defined roles (Kanter, 1977 cited in Martin, 1995:385). Thus, Maltese females may be allowed to join the police force, provided that they know their place and that they 'silently go about their menial tasks; as personal assistants, secretaries, typists, cleaners …' (Clarke, 1992:134). However, entrusting Maltese policewomen only with certain duties may, as Horne (1980:60) observed, evoke negative feelings between male and female police officers. Maltese policemen may resent the fact that policewomen are assigned, what are considered as, light duties on the basis of their gender. To fuel their antagonism, some policewomen may have even grown accustomed to being treated differently and may even have developed or improved their manipulative nature. Thus, Maltese policemen become convinced that the Malta police force favours females and consequently, they start resenting their female colleagues. However, Maltese policewomen may not necessarily be content with the state of affairs either. Ambitious policewomen may resent being treated differently than their male colleagues and assigned different duties on the basis of their gender. As a result, these Maltese policewomen start believing that the Malta police force favours males. All this may imply that discrimination breeds discontent within the Malta police force.

Bittner (1990 quoted in Heindensohn, 1992:73) claims that the 'policeman and the policeman alone is equipped, entitled, and required to deal with every exigency'. Although the majority of Maltese police officers think that both genders make good police officers, many police officers in Malta agree with Bittner (1990 quoted in Heindensohn, 1992:73). They think that men are better police officers. When one examines the data from a gender perspective, however, one observes that policewomen believe in gender equality more than their male colleagues. It also points out that most Maltese policemen are convinced that men make better police officers than women. Indeed, this conviction reassures them if, as Martin (1980 quoted in Martin and Jurik, 1996:63) maintains, 'the integration of women into police patrol work as co-workers threatens to compromise the work, the way of life, the social status and the self-image of the men.'

When it came to expressing opinions on why males may be better police officers, the research shows that unlike Maltese policemen, Maltese policewomen are convinced that male police officers are taken more seriously. Indeed, the Maltese public may be used to considering females as 'objects to be dominated rather than authoritative figures to be feared and obeyed' (Martin and Jurik, 1996:65). The data also indicates that most Maltese police officers think that

men make better police officers because, according to them, men are tougher than women. Heidensohn (1992:99) claims that some police officers have entered the police force believing that 'strength, size, and force are vital' only to realize that this is nothing but myth. In addition, some Maltese officers seem to think that policemen are more committed to their work than policewomen, a few others seem to believe that policemen are more respected by the public whereas a smaller number assume that, because they are less emotional, men make better police officers. In contrast, Reiner (1992:143) claims that ideal police officers maintain public order merely by using their interpersonal skills and avoiding the use of physical force. However, as Reiner (1992:143) admits, 'These skills are not adequately recognized, rewarded or understood.' Lunneborg (1989:121) attributes these skills to female police officers, claiming that policewomen's 'greater tact and helpfulness and lack of aggressiveness' would 'improve relations with the community'. However, in their effort to be accepted within the Malta police force, rather than promoting their values, it seems that most Maltese policewomen have chosen to adopt male values (Lunneborg, 1989:113). Thus, even the obsession with toughness seems to be shared by both Maltese policemen and policewomen alike.

In fact, this research reveals that both genders share an apparent obsession with toughness. Like their male counterparts, and even to a greater extent, half of the female respondents selected the statement 'men are tougher than women' as their first choice. Evidently, this could indicate that even Maltese policewomen may tend to have sexist and preconceived ideas on gender. The policemen's second most popular first choice was the statement 'policemen consider policing a career' followed by 'policemen are taken more seriously'. The policewomen's most common first choices were 'policemen are taken more seriously' followed by 'men are less emotional than women'.

One could observe that the commonly assumed notion that toughness characterizes ideal police officers automatically associates males to policing. However, another reason why policing is traditionally linked with males lies in its very nature: long, awkward working hours, unpredictable danger and stressful work. Although these conditions are commonly considered as incompatible with women, this research points to the fact that policing is equally challenging for both sexes. The data shows that most respondents (irrespective of gender) answered that police officers are never truly off duty, that policing involves working awkward hours and that policing is stressful. In addition, a subsequent table shows that most Maltese police officers (irrespective of gender) believe that police work interferes with family life.

Regarding the question why females may be better police officers most Maltese police officers seem convinced that women, although not physically strong, have other skills. Apparently, many Maltese officers are aware that policewomen develop strong characters to

enable them to cope with police duties. Several Maltese police officers also acknowledge the fact that policewomen work harder to obtain the same recognition as their male colleagues. However the statements 'women defuse dangerous situations' and 'women cope better with stress' were relegated to minor responses. Interestingly, more Maltese policemen than policewomen seem to be convinced that women are compassionate; many more Maltese policewomen seem to be convinced that women defuse dangerous situation than Maltese policemen; more Maltese policewomen acknowledge the fact that women work harder to obtain the same recognition as men; more Maltese policemen than policewomen believe that policewomen develop strong characters to cope; and many more Maltese policemen than policewomen believe that women use their sexual appeal to get what they want.

When it came to arguing why males and females may make equally good police officers, the data revealed that most Maltese police officers believe that both genders can make good police officers. Most respondents claim that both genders can make good police officers since both genders receive the same training and education; since anyone can defuse dangerous situations; since people, not uniforms, make good police officers; and since gender is not seen as an issue.

When it came to discussing the sexual harassment of Maltese policewomen, it became apparent that most Maltese police officers assume that policewomen use their sex appeal to get what they want, and that policewomen like and expect to be sexually harassed. However, sharp divergences of opinions could be observed if one examines these responses from a gender perspective. Male and female respondents do not share even one of the three most commonly chosen options. The male responses imply that a number of Maltese policemen are convinced that some policewomen use their sexual appeal and sexual needs for personal gain – policemen just take advantage. The male respondents blame policewomen. Maltese policewomen appear to think differently. Maltese policewomen either blame themselves for their sexual victimisation or blame their image as vulnerable, sexual objects. The sexualization of the police force is the result of the macho image of the force (Reiner, 1992:124). Policemen may resort to sexual harassment to prove their virility (Clarke, 1992:101) and demonstrate their power (MacKinnon, 1995:297). Heidensohn (1992:16) stresses that sexual harassment safeguards male-dominance in the workplace. It preserves policewomen's status as 'outsiders' (Martin and Jurik, 1996:70). However, one must also keep in mind the policewomen who, perhaps, have chosen to allow their sexual harassment to continue, to avoid being victimised career-wise (Horne, 1980:127).

The chivalrous sentiment, so endemic of the Malta police force, was also questioned. It transpired that most Maltese police officers, irrespective of gender, hold that policewomen should not be protected and kept inside implying that, most Maltese policewomen expect equal

rights and duties. The data gathered showed that the conservative attitude of Maltese policemen towards policewomen (and women in general) increases with seniority. In addition, the majority of Maltese police officers, policewomen in particular, do not think that policewomen are best at doing clerical jobs.

In addition, most Maltese police officers, irrespective of gender, believe that policewomen are very good with victims. This finding could imply that the stereotypical image of females is very much entrenched within the minds of both male and female Maltese police officers. On the same lines, almost three-quarters of the respondents believed that policewomen are very good at dealing with people, again implying that Maltese police officers believe that policewomen have excellent interpersonal skills. This view is strongly supported by both sexes. Probably because of the implied requisite interpersonal skills in media relations, the ability to deal with the media seems to be associated, by both genders with females. However, sustainers of this idea number much less than those of the idea that policewomen are good with victims and with people in general.

The findings suggest that the vast majority of Maltese police officers, notwithstanding their gender, assert that gender is not an issue within the police force. However, subsequent tables shed more light on gender issues within the Malta police force, shattering a seemingly exemplary image of a gender-aware police force. Evidently, although so many respondents had expressed that gender is no issue, it appears that, for most Maltese police officers, it certainly seems to matter when it comes to occupying the high ranks of the Malta police force. In fact, this research points out to the fact that the acceptance of women diminishes, as the ranks get higher. Thus, women are now being accepted within the Malta police force, however, this is provided that they know 'their place' (Clarke, 1992:134). Indeed, as Raggins and Sundstrom (1989 cited in Burn, 1996:74) maintains, 'gender is actually a better predictor of a person's rank in the organisation than length of time in the organisation'.

Analysis by gender sheds more light on this issue. Maltese policemen seem to accept females within the police force, so long as they keep to the lower ranks. In fact, support for policewomen promotion dwindles as the ranks get higher, reaching a wall of 'not at all' at commissioner level. Contrary to what was expected, the opinions of female respondents did not differ greatly to the opinions of male respondents. Female respondents answered that females should occupy the rank of police constable 'to a great extent'. However this sentiment faded as the ranks got higher, reaching the lowest at the prospect of having a female police commissioner. This could either be yet another sign of the fact that Maltese policewoman have been 'defeminised' (Lunneborg, 1989:113) into reasoning in the same way as their male colleagues, or it may be an indication of their 'learned helplessness' (Brehm and Kassin,

1993:648) – they passively accept being relegated to the positions of least status within the Malta police force.

Sexual deviants are also opposed by the Malta police force which seems to be equally split between police officers who think that sexual deviants should not be allowed to join the police force and those who think that sexual deviants should be allowed to join the police force. The data points out that Maltese policewomen are more tolerant towards sexual deviants than their male colleagues. In fact, unlike what most Maltese policemen think, the majority of policewomen think that one's sexual orientation does not determine one's capabilities as a police officer. Maltese policewomen may be more tolerant than their male colleagues because they might know what being treated as an outsider feels like; consequently, they understand sexual deviants and their problems more than Maltese policemen do.

The prologue of Borg's (2001:vii) book on this period starts with the very words used by Charles Dickens to start his novel, 'A Tale of Two Cities':

> It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair …

This introduction is justified because, it captures the essence of the contradictions that were lived by the Maltese people during the turbulent 1980s. Indeed Borg (2001:vii) describes how during the first seven years of the 1980s, the law-abiding Maltese people lived in fear but, it was also during this decade that the Maltese people realized and acknowledged that the situation must change. It did change and democracy was restored. However, the 1980s have left a Maltese nation weary of its police force and no matter how hard the authorities try to wash away the stains of this dark period, the memories of the socialist police state live on to some degree.

Police culture does not suddenly emerge from a vacuum. Adler et al. (1995:136) claim that a subculture (such as the culture of Maltese police officers) grows out of the dominant culture of a particular society. In addition, Bayley and Mendelsohn (1968 quoted in Reiner, 2000:98) stress that police officers 'reflect the dominant attitudes of the majority people towards minorities': in the Maltese context of the 1980s, the attitudes of the Labour supporters towards the Nationalist supporters. Therefore, indirectly (and perhaps even directly), Dom Mintoff contributed to the shaping of the culture of the 1980s Maltese police force. For the purpose of this research, Reiner's (2000:87-101) core elements of police culture (mission, action, cynicism, pessimism, suspicion, isolation/solidarity, police conservatism, machismo, racial prejudice and pragmatism) had to be extended to include the attributes that have been probably inherited from

Dom Mintoff, including: harshness and authoritarianism, evidence by the inability to reverse decisions, reluctance to use counselling services, inability to disobey orders and the police officers' generally low tolerance level.

However, in accordance with Chan (1997:66), police culture changes from time to time and police officers' constant, time-related change of attitude is responsible for the continuous mutation of police culture. The findings discussed in this chapter have depicted a Maltese police force which appears to show progressive development since the 1980s. Perhaps this reflects the dominant sentiment of modern Maltese people who have grown fond of their personal liberty and who have learned to be more tolerant in a pluralistic society such as Malta's. In accordance with Reiner (2000:87), police officers are not mere puppets in the hands of their own culture. To the contrary, police officers are actively involved in building, strengthening, opposing or renovating their culture (Chan, 1997:73). Reiner (2000:87) insists that police culture is 'neither monolithic, universal nor unchanging.' Thus, one could come to the conclusion that a discussion of what Reiner (2000:87-101) considers as the elements of police culture does not expose all the possible components of the culture of Maltese police officers. One cannot merely identify, extract, compare and contrast the Reiner-compatible cultural elements inherent in the Maltese police force and assume that there are no more cultural indicators, simply because they concord with Reiner's (2000:87-101) themes. This would be like attempting to learn about butterflies merely by observing them, embalmed in a case. In order to make sense, these cultural elements must be seen within a context.

This chapter also provided a historical and cultural context to the core elements of Maltese police culture. Indeed, a cursory look at recent Maltese history is necessary if one is to understand contemporary Maltese police culture. However, the present is equally important. As was claimed at the end of chapter 2, one could also learn extensively about Maltese police culture by taking note of the nature of the interactions between the Malta police force and the various sections of society. Police culture is fuelled by police officers' experiences as they intereact with different citizens (Reiner 2000:85). Thus, chapter 7 will discuss the responses of Maltese police officers when they were asked about how they dealt with members of the public.

Chapter 7: The Police and the Public

Introduction

Reiner (2000:85) explains how, before attempting to understand police practices, one has to comprehend 'how police officers see the social world and their role in it – "cop culture"'. Indeed, Waddington (1999:108) declares that there is an 'obvious chasm between what officers say and what they do.' Waddington (1999:108) quotes studies indicating that, although police officers may express themselves in a particular way when enjoying their leisure time in private, they do not act accordingly while on duty. Thus, police officers may voice racist remarks in the canteen, but may not necessarily act in a racist manner while on duty. Waddington (1999:108 and 105-106) challenges the very notion of police culture but Reiner (2000:85) comes to its rescue, pointing to the 'important distinction … between "cop culture" – the orientations implied and expressed by officers in the course of their work – and "canteen culture" – the values and beliefs exhibited in off-duty socializing'. This chapter sheds light on the former – 'cop culture' (Reiner, 2000:85). Cultures do not develop in a vacuum, they develop 'as people respond in various meaningful ways, which in turn create the situations that others act within' (Reiner 2000:85). There is a reason why Maltese police officers act in the way they do. The rationale or culture which guides their actions may be found via an analysis of the relationship between the police and various sections of Maltese society, namely: youths, people from different social classes, different races, offenders, the elderly, victims of crime and domestic violence, informants and other criminal justice partners.

Police culture and offenders

Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1 indicate that most Maltese police officers think that youths are inclined towards criminality, followed by middle-aged people. Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1 show that police officers from all three rank levels consider youths as those most inclined towards criminality. In fact, four-fifths (30.1% very criminal, 49.2% criminal) of lower participants, almost two-thirds (3.5% very criminal, 60.0% criminal) of those from middle-management and most (17.6% very criminal, 76.5% criminal) of those in command are convinced that youths are inclined towards criminality. One might therefore expect most Maltese police officers to target youths.

Since police officers are also members of society, Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1 could also indicate that 'Our society does not like young people' (Haines and Drakeford, 1998:1) either. White and Adler (1994:117) claim that the 'targeting of young people as a group warranting police intervention and increased surveillance has been marked by sustained ideological campaigns establishing youth as "the enemy"'. Consequently, like their foreign counterparts,

Maltese police officers tend to view youths with suspicion (White and Adler, 1994:120) and act accordingly.

Table 7.1 The propensity of people to be criminal according to their ages by rank (Q44)

Propensity to be a criminal		NR %	Very criminal %	Criminal %	Not very criminal %	Not at all criminal %
Lower Participants	Elders	1.2	3.5	7.4	44.9	43.0
	Middle-aged	.8	15.2	44.9	36.7	2.3
	Youths		30.1	49.2	19.1	1.6
	Children	2.0	1.2	5.9	28.9	62.1
Middle Management	Elders	3.3	8.3	5.0	53.3	30.0
	Middle-aged	3.3	15.0	43.3	36.7	1.7
	Youths	3.3	3.5	60.0	6.7	1.7
	Children	3.3		5.0	51.7	40.0
Command	Elders		5.9	5.9	29.4	58.8
	Middle-aged		5.9	41.2	47.1	5.9
	Youths		17.6	76.5	5.9	
	Children		5.9		23.5	70.6

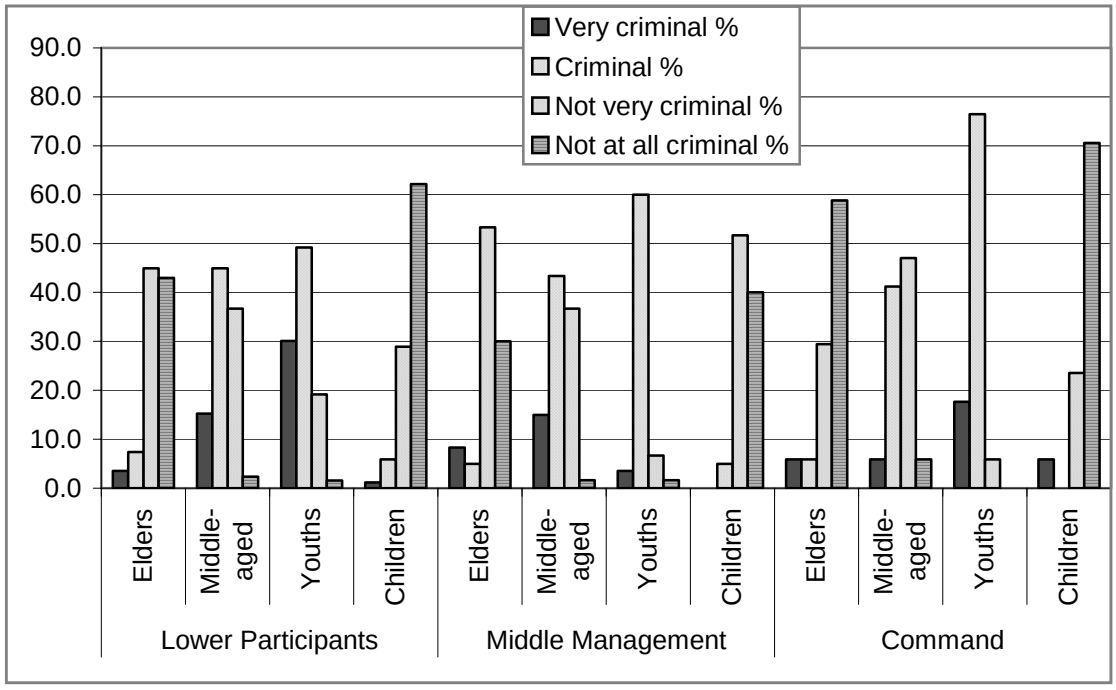


Figure 7.1 The propensity of youths to be criminal by rank

Loader (1996:76) explains how police work circles around youths and their activities. In fact, a male beat officer interviewed by Loader (1996:76) sums up the quality of the relationship between the police and youths: 'Most of the time we spend with youngsters is

prosecuting them or moving them on from street corners' (Loader, 1996:76). This poor relationship between the police and young people is further emphasised by Reiner (2000:136) who stresses that the 'young "street" population has always been the prime focus of police order-maintenance and law-enforcement work'. The negative attitude of the police versus the young may be fuelled by the negative attitude of the public versus the young (Haines and Drakeford, 1998:1). Youths are viewed as being: tumultuous, divergent, incorrigible (Brown, 1998:3), associated with crime and problems (Loader, 1996:24), '… graceless, Godless, sullen, illiterate … unmannerly …' (Haines and Drakeford, 1998:4-5), drug-addicts, murderers, criminals, 'affluent, ill-educated, spiritually dead and amoral androids' (Haines and Drakeford, 1998:4-5), lazy, 'anti-authoritarian, subversive – and inevitably criminal' (Brown, 1998:3). Haines and Drakeford (1983:3) explain how distrust, antagonism and repression are the result of apprehension and, in turn, all these elements have greatly contributed to the criminalisation of young people and targeting of youths by the police.

Table 7.1 indicates that many Maltese police officers would not expect the elderly to engage in criminal acts. Conversely Table 7.2, points out that an overwhelming majority of Maltese police officers are convinced that the elderly are most likely to become victims of crime, with 92.4 per cent of the respondents strongly agreeing or agreeing that the elderly are potential prey of criminals.

Table 7.2 The elderly are most likely to be the victims of crime (Q46)

The elderly are most likely to be the victims of crime		Total
Strongly agree	Number	115
	Column %	34.8%
Agree	Number	190
	Column %	57.6%
Disagree	Number	18
	Column %	5.5%
Strongly disagree	Number	2
	Column %	0.6%
Don't know	Number	5
	Column %	1.5%
Total	Number	330
	Column %	100.0%

Roberts (1990:77) claims that the effects of crime are frequently graver for elderly victims than for others, due to physical fragility, poor general health conditions, mental deficiencies, dependency on social security and low income levels. However, 'older people are statistically less likely to become victims of most crimes than younger people' (Spackman, 2000:10). Yet, perhaps because of the characteristics of the elderly mentioned by Roberts (1990:77) most Maltese police officers are convinced that the elderly are those most likely to become victims of crime.

Table 7.3 Worker groups most liable to commit crime (Q59)

Who commits most crimes?		Total
Blue-collar workers	Number	7
	Column %	2.1%
White-collar workers	Number	2
	Column %	0.6%
Professionals	Number	16
	Column %	4.9%
Self-employed	Number	1
	Column %	0.3%
Unemployed	Number	122
	Column %	37.1%
Occupation does not matter	Number	181
	Column %	55.0%
Total	Number	329
	Column %	100.0%

As regards worker groups most likely to commit crime, although Table 7.3 shows that more than one-thirds (37.1%) of Maltese police officers admit that the unemployed might be driven to illegality, more than half (55.0%) believe that crime can be committed by anyone, regardless of their occupation or class. Less than one per cent consider white-collar workers and self-employed as criminal. Although most Maltese police officers seem to believe that occupation status does not matter, the data implies that many Maltese officers could target the unemployed.

Social class divisions in Malta were discussed to some extent in Chapter 3. According to Anyon (1980 quoted in Sultana, 1994:33), it is one's occupation and the amount of income it generates that indicate one's social class. For Miliband (1987 cited in Sultana, 1994:42) there are two major social classes: the dominant class, which comprises the 'power elite' and the 'bourgeoisie', and the subordinate class, which comprises the 'working class' and the 'underclass'. Thus, one would find people with professions occupying the power elite section, white-collar workers and the self-employed occupying the bourgeoisie, blue-collar workers belonging to the working class and the unemployed being considered as the underclass. Given that the British police have always been at loggerheads with the working class (Reiner, 2000: 58), and 'hostility amongst much of the working class has continued to the present time' (Benyon, 1986a:5-6), one would have expected Maltese police officers to express the same negative sentiment towards this, often belligerent, class. However, it could be that Mintoff's efforts to promote the working class and remove class distinctions (Sultana, 1994:35) has left its mark on the Malta police force.

Table 7.4 shows that the typical criminal would be a young male with a low income and with low educational attainment, probably a Libyan or Arab coming from the south of Malta.

There is a clear class and race conceptualisation of criminality. One could associate low income (Merton, 1968 cited in Vold and Bernard, 1986:189), low educational standards (Cohen, 1955 cited in Vold and Bernard, 1986:194-195; Miller, 1958 cited in Vold and Bernard, 1986:214) and the south of Malta (Vella, 1989 cited in Sultana, 1994:42) to the Maltese working class. Therefore, although Maltese police officers seem to resist admitting that they consciously discriminate between people from different social classes, Table 7.4 could indicate that, Maltese police officers discriminate between people of different income brackets, of different educational standards and between people from the north and the south of Malta. Thus, Maltese police officers may not consciously target the working class, yet, they view with suspicion individuals who could fit the description of working class people.

Reiner (2000:93) explains how the police use criterion other than social class to distinguish citizens. According to him, the police distinguish and label people by their 'power to cause problems, and their congruency to the police value-system'. Reiner (2000:101)

Table 7.4 The connection between different people and crime: profile of the typical criminal in Malta (Q61)

How strong is the link between crime and:	Connection	Little or no connection	Don't know
Males	83.8%	6.0%	7.5%
Females	28.5%	60.7%	7.8%
Libyans	79.6%	8.7%	8.1%
Arabs	76.0%	10.8%	9.6%
Maltese	60.7%	24.3%	11.7%
Europeans	36.9%	44.1%	13.8%
Asians	27.9%	50.8%	17.1%
Americans	27.3%	54.4%	14.1%
Young people	61.9%	26.1%	9.0%
Middle-aged people	52.0%	36.0%	7.8%
The elderly	7.8%	77.2%	10.8%
Dark people	38.7%	33.0%	23.4%
Fair people	26.4%	42.0%	27.0%
Coloured people	33.6%	34.2%	25.5%
Long haired males	28.5%	37.5%	28.2%
People with strange hairstyles	33.3%	34.8%	25.8%
Persons with ear-rings	26.1%	40.2%	27.6%
Persons with body piercing	29.1%	39.0%	24.6%
People with low income	58.0%	24.3%	13.8%
People with low educational standard	55.6%	24.6%	15.0%
Working-class people	30.0%	47.1%	18.0%
Middle-class people	23.1%	53.8%	17.7%
Upper-class people	16.5%	59.8%	18.0%
People from the south of Malta	54.4%	23.4%	18.3%
People from the north of Malta	28.2%	47.7%	19.5%

describes the police as being inclined to behave according to their practical, experience-based reasoning. Thus, sociological interpretations of social class aside, experience might have taught Maltese police officers that, when it comes to committing crime, social class (as understood by sociologists) does not matter. Additionally, Reiner (2000:93) explains that police officers replace the sociological class levels with seven broad categories: 'Good-class villains', 'police property', 'rubbish', 'challengers', 'disarmers', 'do-gooders' and 'politicians'.

Regarding police racism, Smith and Gray (1985 cited in McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001:80) as well as Holdaway (1993 cited in McLaughlin and Muncie, 2001:80) report that 'black officers were isolated and extremely vulnerable and had to work in an environment where racist jokes, stereotyping and banter were the norm'. Suspicion is a job requirement for law enforcers and a consequence of the sense of mission (Reiner, 2000:91). Reiner (2000:91) explains how police officers 'need to keep a lookout for signs of trouble, potential danger and clues to offences'. The problem is, however, that their judgements are derived from their own culture and experiences. Consequently, police officers resort to stereotyping (that is, they act on their own beliefs about the perceived qualities of members of a particular group) and labelling (those targeted by the police gain a reputation and people start treating them according to their newly acquired reputation). All this leads to expressions of racism by the police. Bayley and Mendelsohn (1968 quoted in Reiner, 2000:98) thus summarise the findings of several studies on police racism: 'Are policemen prejudiced? The answer is yes, but only slightly more so than the community as a whole. Policemen reflect the dominant attitudes of the majority people towards minorities.' Since societies are imbued with racism, racism seems to be implanted in police performance (Benyon, 1986a:28).

Chapter 2 mentions some examples of manifest police racism: British police officers against black people (Lambert, 1970 cited in Reiner, 2000:99; Benyon, 1986a:27), against the Irish (Scraton and Chadwick, 1991:175) and against West Indians (Benyon, 1986a:28); American police officers against black people (Brehm and Kassin, 1993:145); Australian police officers against Aborigines (Chan, 1997:174). Police racism was also observed in Canada (McIntyre, 1993:647). Table 7.5 and Figure 7.2 show that most Maltese police officers are prejudiced primarily against Libyans and Arabs, then against Sicilians and Italians. The people perceived as most likely to be criminal are Libyans (83.5%) followed by Arabs (83.2%), Sicilians (75.6%), Italians (65.7%) and Maltese (62.4%). Out of the 17 nationalities offered, the respondents placed the British in the 13th position (39.6%) as most likely criminals, whilst, Australians are considered as the least inclined to commit crime (23.1%). There is some evidence that the racism of Maltese police officers reflects that of the community as a whole (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1968 quoted in Reiner, 2000:98). The Maltese society is a racist

society, 'particularly against Arabs and Africans' (Calleja, 2000:51). Furthermore, when it comes to Libyans, 'despite the existence of historical and economic ties between Maltese and Arabs' they (Libyans) 'have never been accepted in Malta' (Borg and Mayo, 1994:219).

Table 7.5 Races and their different degrees of inclination towards criminality (Q27)

People who may be criminal	Very likely	Likely	Total
Libyans	64.9%	18.6%	83.5%
Arabs	59.8%	23.4%	83.2%
Sicilians	39.3%	36.3%	75.6%
Italians	20.7%	45.0%	65.7%
Maltese	18.0%	44.4%	62.4%
Africans	16.2%	40.5%	56.7%
Turkish	17.4%	38.7%	56.1%
Russians	18.0%	36.0%	54.0%
Afghans	25.5%	25.2%	50.7%
Albanians	12.9%	35.1%	48.0%
Europeans	8.4%	33.3%	41.7%
Yugoslavs	8.4%	31.8%	40.2%
British	6.0%	33.6%	39.6%
Asians	6.3%	29.7%	36.0%
Americans	6.0%	24.9%	30.9%
Indians	3.0%	24.6%	27.6%
Australians	4.2%	18.9%	23.1%
Other nationalities	5.7%	7.2%	12.9%

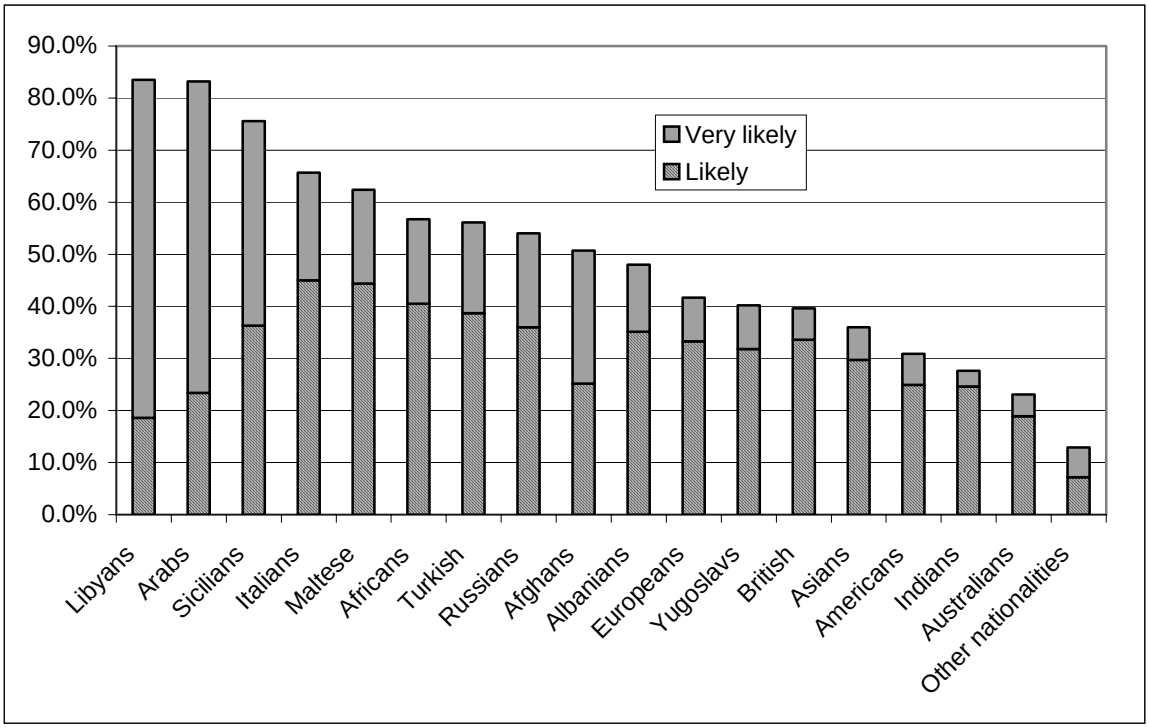


Figure 7.2 Races and their different degrees of inclination towards criminality

Calleja (2000:34) explains how 'racial prejudice is influenced by international relations'. Although one can safely say that Malta is on friendly terms with the rest of the world, it was certainly not always so. Historically, Malta passed from under one nation to another until finally, it became a British colony (Mallia-Milanes, 1988:1). The Maltese suffered abuse at the hands of their various foreign rulers, however the scars suffered by the axis forces during World War II are still fresh. Although the Maltese nurture a love-hate relationship towards the British – some admiring their ex-colonisers and others despising them for treating the Maltese as inferiors (Wettinger, 1988 in Mallia-Milanes, 1988:20) – many Maltese, especially the elders, still have not forgiven the Germans and the Italians for mercilessly bombarding Malta during World War II and although there 'exists a traditional affinity with Southern Italian people', including of course Sicilians, 'with whom' the Maltese 'share geographical, cultural and economic ties', the notorious mafia leads some Maltese into believing that all Sicilians and Italians are either criminals or potential criminals – and police officers are no exception. The Maltese society tends to 'form stereo-typical assumptions based on prejudice' (Calleja, 2000:7) consequently, no foreigner is safe from racial discrimination (Calleja, 2000:20). Thus, unsurprisingly Maltese police officers reflect wider racist attitudes.

Police culture and victims

Table 7.6 indicates that, in Malta, according to most police officers, victims of crime are the forgotten participants in the criminal justice system. When asked to indicate the extent to which the criminal justice system is sympathetic towards victims of crime, two-thirds (66.3%) of the respondents think that victims of crime get little or no support.

Table 7.6 The criminal justice system's sympathy towards victims of crime (Q71)

The criminal justice system's sympathy to the victims of crime		Total
Strongly supportive of victims of crime	Number	26
	Column %	7.8%
Moderately supportive of victims of crime	Number	61
	Column %	18.4%
Not very supportive of victims of crime	Number	137
	Column %	41.3%
Not at all supportive of victims of crime	Number	83
	Column %	25.0%
Don't know	Number	25
	Column %	7.5%
Total	Number	332
	Column %	100.0%

Reiner (2000:90) claims that 'many policemen see their combat with "villains" as a ritualised game, a fun challenge, with "winning" by an arrest giving personal satisfaction rather

than any sense of public service. Thus, Reiner (2000:90) may be suggesting that, in the course of their work, many police officers may concentrate so much on the 'thief-taking' game that they lose sight of the victims and their needs. Thus, because of this, victims of crime become the 'forgotten participants' (Skogan, 1989:71).

Table 7.7 indicates that most Maltese police officers are aware that they did not receive enough training in the handling of victims of crime. Almost three-quarters (72.3%) of respondents thought that they received little or no formal victim-handling training. Respondents with higher educational backgrounds are more conscious of their lack of training regarding victim handling. Whereas 37.8 per cent of respondents with the lower educational level (with primary or secondary schooling) admitted to not having had a lot of training in this field, a marked 46.3 per cent of the respondents with post secondary or tertiary education agreed with this. A greater proportion of police officers with lower educational levels feel inadequate in dealing with victims of crime. While 23.5 per cent of respondents with post secondary or tertiary education maintained that they had had no training in this area, 36.7 per cent of respondents with primary or secondary schooling shared this opinion. On the same lines, one quarter (25.5%) of those with primary or secondary schooling claim that they either had a moderate or great deal of training, whereas 30.2 per cent of the respondents with post secondary or tertiary education shared this view.

Table 7.7 The extent of formal training received by respondents to handle victims of crime by educational background (Q72)

Formal training respondents received on dealing with victims of crime		Educational background		
		Primary or Secondary	Post secondary or Tertiary	Total
A great deal of training	Number	8	4	12
	Column %	4.4%	2.7%	3.6%
A moderate amount of training	Number	38	41	79
	Column %	21.1%	27.5%	24.0%
Not a lot of training	Number	68	69	137
	Column %	37.8%	46.3%	41.6%
Nothing at all	Number	66	35	101
	Column %	36.7%	23.5%	30.7%
Total	Number	180	149	329
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.043$ df = 3

Although 'police officers can never have enough training' (Cox, 1996:122), Maltese police officers are aware that they have received little, if any, training in dealing with victims of crime. Arguably, this is a major defect. In order to be capable of dealing with victims of crime, police officers are expected to be 'experts in interpersonal communications, possess intimate

knowledge of counselling and crisis intervention strategies, and be able to defuse potentially volatile domestic disturbances' (Nowicki, 1990 quoted in Cox, 1996:122). In spite of all this, however, Nowicki, (1990 quoted in Cox, 1996:122) admits that, in his police academy, the time allotted to these subjects total just seven hours. Cox (1996:129) explains how there was a time (1960s and 1970s) in the USA when crime combat and law enforcement were considered as the overriding functions of police officers and consequently, training courses were designed with this in mind, to provide police officers who would be able to fight crime effectively. However, Cox (1996:129) relates how, in the 1990s, Americans have realized that, although crime combat and law enforcement constitute an integral part of police work, a police officer is involved in many other activities that possibly yield greater citizen satisfaction. An example of such an activity is dealing with victims of crime. 'Increasingly then, communication skills … and human/community/minority relations skills are emerging as among the most important assets of a competent, effective police officer' (Cox, 1996:129). Although some of these skills may be acquired on-the-job by following the examples of others, according to Pritchett (1993 cited by Cox, 1996:129) more formal training is necessary.

Table 7.8 shows that, the vast majority of Maltese police officers seem to believe that police officers need to be professionally trained to deal with victims of crime. The data shows that 93.9 per cent of respondents agreed that professional training in dealing with victims is indispensable, with over one-third (37.7%) taking this view strongly – thereby agreeing with Pritchett (1993 cited by Cox, 1996:129) that this type of training (in dealing with victims of crime) should be included in formal, police training programmes.

Table 7.8 Respondents need to be professionally trained to deal with victims (Q73)

Respondents need to be professionally trained to deal with victims		Total
Strongly agree	Number	124
	Column %	37.7%
Agree	Number	185
	Column %	56.2%
Disagree	Number	9
	Column %	2.7%
Strongly Disagree	Number	1
	Column %	.3%
Don't know	Number	10
	Column %	3.0%
Total	Number	329
	Column %	100.0%

Skogan (1989:71) emphasizes that police 'officers who respond to calls represent the sole contact that the majority of victims have with the criminal justice system'. Additionally he lists the expectations victims of crime have of the police, including guidance on practical

matters related to their victimization, recognition of their status, advice on their future action in relation to the victimization and, more importantly, that victims expect to be 'taken seriously'. Ironically, although Shapland's (1984 quoted in Skogan, 1989:71) study shows that 'caring supportive attitudes [on the part of police] were the main subject for victim praise', these attitudes conflicted with what was assumed by the police to be the correct practices. Skogan (1989:71) describes how the police tend to be 'preoccupied with technical efficiency and unwilling to venture an opinion outside of their traditional area of expertise' whereas, victims 'on the other hand, tend to rate police officers by the amount of time and trouble the officers take to help them.'

Table 7.9 points out that most Maltese police officers are of the opinion that victims should be given all the importance that they deserve. In fact, Table 7.9 shows that this was the most chosen (40.2%) statement, followed by 'police officers deal constantly with victims' (35.4%) and Maltese police officers are not skilled enough to assist victims (23.5%). Very few (0.9%) claimed that victims are not treated well by the police.

Table 7.9 Why police officers may need to be professionally trained to deal with victims by gender (Q74)

Why police officers need to be professionally trained to deal with victims		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Police should give victims all the importance they deserve	Number	122	10	132
	Column %	43.3%	21.7%	40.2%
Police are not skilled enough to assist victims	Number	64	13	77
	Column %	22.7%	28.3%	23.5%
Police officers deal constantly with victims	Number	94	22	116
	Column %	33.3%	47.8%	35.4%
Victims are not treated well by the police	Number	2	1	3
	Column %	.7%	2.2%	.9%
Total	Number	282	46	328
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.048$ df = 3

It seems that most Maltese policewomen are convinced that police officers deal constantly with victims and that is why they need to be professionally trained in dealing with victims of crime. On the other hand, most Maltese policemen seem convinced that they should give victims all the importance they deserve and that is why police officers need to be professionally trained to deal with victims. In fact, almost half (47.8%) the female respondents think that police officers deal constantly with victims and that is why they need to be professionally trained in dealing with victims of crime. Conversely, 43.3 per cent of male respondents believe that police officers should give victims all the importance they deserve and that is why police officers need to be professionally trained to deal with victims. The difference

in the most popularly selected male and female responses could indicate that, Maltese policemen do recognise that victims of crime should get all the attention they deserve (perhaps because it is perceived that this is what they do not deliver routinely), whilst the answers of the majority of female respondents, that police officers deal constantly with victims could indicate simply that this is what they do routenly deliver. Table 7.9 also shows that about a quarter of both male (22.7%) and female (28.3%) respondents agree that, in Malta, police officers are not skilled enough to assist victims.

Table 7.10 Extent to which respondents believe that the police actually keep victims of crime informed about their cases (Q76)

Respondents believe that the police actually keep victims of crime informed about their cases		Total
Regularly	Number	62
	Column %	18.8%
Rarely	Number	86
	Column %	26.1%
Sometimes	Number	147
	Column %	44.5%
Never	Number	15
	Column %	4.5%
Don't know	Number	20
	Column %	6.1%
Total	Number	330
	Column %	100.0%

Table 7.11 Extent to which respondents believe that the police should keep victims of crime informed about their cases (Q77)

Respondents believe that the police should keep victims of crime informed about their cases		Total
Always	Number	173
	Column %	52.1%
Mostly	Number	84
	Column %	25.3%
Sometimes	Number	63
	Column %	19.0%
Rarely	Number	8
	Column %	2.4%
Never	Number	4
	Column %	1.2%
Total	Number	332
	Column %	100.0%

Table 7.10 points out that the Maltese police are aware that victims of crime are not particularly satisfied with the feedback they receive from the police. Almost half (44.5%) the respondents claim that sometimes, Maltese police officers keep victims informed about their

cases, more than a quarter (26.1%) admit that Maltese crime victims are rarely kept informed and 18.8 per cent state that victims are regularly kept updated on their cases. Although victim support may not be the strong point of the Malta police force, Table 7.11 indicates that most Maltese police officers are aware of this lacuna and seem keen and willing to improve matters. Almost all Maltese police officers believe that the police should always keep the victims of crime informed about their cases. Over half (52.1%) answered 'always', more than a quarter (25.3%) answered 'mostly' and 19 per cent answered 'sometimes'. Only 3.6 per cent of the participants answered 'rarely' or 'never'. These findings are entirely predictable; it would be difficult not to support offering victims, information about their case.

Kelly (1982 cited in Skogan, 1989:71) stresses that 'lack of information is one of the biggest complaints [made by the public about the police]. Victims feel frustrated by a lack of feedback about progress in their case or its probable disposition.' They are disenchanted with the police and their consent dwindles (Benyon, 1986a:17). Table 7.10 shows that only 18.8 per cent of the respondents expected their colleagues to keep victims of crime regularly informed on their respective cases. Therefore, if 'victims want information' (Skogan, 1989:71) in order to be satisfied with the police, this data could indicate that, in Malta, victims of crime are not satisfied with the police.

Table 7.12 indicates that most Maltese police officers consider victim support as important with 80.1 per cent of respondents holding that the Malta police force regards victim support as either quite or very important. Although this trend is present in all three rank brackets, statistically significant differences were recorded in the answers of different ranks. Maltese police officers from the lower participants agree with those from command that the Malta police force should highlight support for crime victims. This opinion is not as widely

Table 7.12 The extent of the importance of crime victim support to the Malta police force by rank (Q83)

The importance of support for crime victims to the Malta police force		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
Very important	Number	104	11	7	122
	Column %	40.9%	18.3%	41.2%	36.9%
Quite important	Number	110	26	7	143
	Column %	43.3%	43.3%	41.2%	43.2%
Not very important	Number	38	23	3	64
	Column %	15.0%	38.3%	17.6%	19.3%
Not at all important	Number	2			2
	Column %	.8%			.6%
Total	Number	254	60	17	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.005$ df = 6

shared by Maltese police inspectors. Whereas 84.2 per cent of the lower participants and 82.4 per cent of those in command are convinced that the Malta police force gives considerable importance to crime victim support, a comparatively lower percentage (61.6%) of Maltese police inspectors take this view. Indeed, a solid 38.3 per cent of the respondents from middle-management (police inspectors) hold that crime victim support is not very important for the Malta police force.

Skogan (1989:71) states that 'Studies of police have highlighted the extent to which their function is to deal … with victims' problems rather than "fight crime."' In addition, Reiner (2000:89) explains how the 'victim-centred perspective' of policing makes it 'not just a job but a way of life with a worthwhile purpose': the preservation of 'a valued way of life and the protection of the weak against the predatory.' Thus, although victims of crime often become the 'forgotten participants' (Skogan, 1989:71), they constitute the very justification for the existence of the police. Therefore, one would expect any police force, even the Maltese one, to give importance to and support victims of crime.

Table 7.13 indicates that, unlike those who entered the Malta police force as officer cadets, many Maltese police officers that entered the Malta police force as recruits claim that crime victim support is very important to the Malta police force. In fact, two-fifths (39.4%) of those who entered the Malta police force as recruits hold that crime victim support is crucial to the Malta police force in contrast with the sole respondent (4.2%) from the officer cadet category who believe this. However, both categories agree that victim support is quite important to the Malta police force. Most (54.2%) respondents who entered the Malta police force as officer cadets and almost more than two-fifths (42.3%) of respondents, who entered the Malta police force as recruits, believe that victim support is quite important.

Table 7.13 The extent of the importance of crime victim support to the Malta police force by level of entry (Q83)

The importance of support for crime victims to the Malta police force		Level of entry: At recruit level	Level of entry: As a graduate - at officer cadet level	Total
Very important	Number	121	1	122
	Column %	39.4%	4.2%	36.9%
Quite important	Number	130	13	143
	Column %	42.3%	54.2%	43.2%
Not very important	Number	54	10	64
	Column %	17.6%	41.7%	19.3%
Not at all important	Number	2		2
	Column %	.7%		.6%
Total	Number	307	24	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.007$ df = 3

These findings could imply that those who entered at officer cadet level can be more critical of the Malta police force. Perhaps, having entered the Malta police force at a later stage, those who entered as graduates (at officer cadet level) were less subject to the effects of police culture and, in turn, this could have led them towards having a clearer vision of reality. Their higher educational level could also be a contributing factor. Thus, Maltese police officers that entered the police force as officer cadets (as graduates) might feel freer to criticise the police force than their colleagues who entered the Malta police force as recruits.

Policing domestic violence

Table 7.14 Physical, psychological and sexual abuse at home is domestic violence by gender (Q51.1)

Physical, psychological and sexual abuse at home is domestic violence		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Yes	Number	238	43	281
	Column %	85.0%	100.0%	87.0%
No	Number	42		42
	Column %	15.0%		13.0%
Total	Number	280	43	323
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

χ^2= 0.006 df = 1

Table 7.15 Psychological abuse at home is domestic violence by age (Q51.2)

Psychological abuse at home is domestic violence		Age			
		18-30 years	31-40 years	41-60 years	Total
Yes	Number	81	106	107	294
	Column %	92.0%	93.0%	82.9%	88.8%
No	Number	7	8	22	37
	Column %	8.0%	7.0%	17.1%	11.2%
Total	Number	88	114	129	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

χ^2= 0.026 df = 2

Table 7.16 Psychological abuse at home is domestic violence by length of service (Q51.2)

Psychological abuse at home is domestic violence		Length of Service			
		0 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16+ years	Total
Yes	Number	94	88	112	294
	Column %	94.0%	90.7%	83.6%	88.8%
No	Number	6	9	22	37
	Column %	6.0%	9.3%	16.4%	11.2%
Total	Number	100	97	134	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%	100.0%

χ^2= 0.036 df = 2

Table 7.14 indicates that most Maltese police officers regard any corporal, sexual or psychological maltreatment at home, as domestic violence, but with rather more female officers

(100.0%) than male officers (85.0%). Table 7.15 shows that 88.8 per cent of Maltese police officers believe that psychological abuse at home is domestic violence. Table 7.15 also indicates that younger officers aged 18-30 years are rather more inclined to this view (92.0%) than other officers aged 31-40 years (93.0%) or 41-60 years (82.9%). Additionally, Table 7.16 shows that the same pattern is true for officers with less experience, 0-10 years (94.0%) than colleagues with 11-15 years or more service (83.6%).

Table 7.17 Neglect at home is domestic violence by age (Q51.3)

Neglect at home is domestic violence		Age			Total
		18-30 years	31-40 years	41-60 years	
Yes	Number	59	88	78	225
	Column %	67.0%	77.2%	60.5%	68.0%
No	Number	29	26	51	106
	Column %	33.0%	22.8%	39.5%	32.0%
Total	Number	88	114	129	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.021$ df = 2

Table 7.18 Neglect at home is domestic violence by level of entry (Q51.3)

Neglect at home is domestic violence		Level of entry		Total
		At recruit level	As a graduate - at officer cadet level	
Yes	Number	204	21	225
	Column %	66.4%	87.5%	68.0%
No	Number	103	3	106
	Column %	33.6%	12.5%	32.0%
Total	Number	307	24	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.044$ df = 1

Table 7.17 indicates that most Maltese police officers believe that neglect at home is domestic violence. In fact, a substantial 68.0 per cent of respondents are of this opinion. However, a closer observation of Table 7.17 would show that the older generation of Maltese police officers appears to be less convinced that neglect at home is domestic violence. In fact, compared to the 67.0 per cent of the respondents between 18 and 30 years of age and the 77.2 per cent of the respondents between 31 and 40 years of age, 60.5 per cent of those between 41 years and 60 years believe that neglect at home is domestic violence. Table 7.18 shows that Maltese police officers that entered the police force, as recruits seem less inclined towards believing that neglect at home is domestic violence. In fact, compared to the 66.4 per cent of the respondents who entered the police force at recruit level, 87.5 per cent of those who entered as graduates, at officer cadet level, believe that neglect at home is domestic violence.

Table 7.19 shows that most Maltese police officers estimate that domestic violence occurs in up to 30 per cent of Maltese homes. In fact, 59.0 per cent of the respondents took this view. A third (33.0%) of the respondents hold that domestic violence occurs in up to 60.0 per cent of Maltese homes. Only 8.0 per cent of the respondents claim that domestic violence occurs in all Maltese homes. Although only 7.0 per cent of those who entered the Malta police force at recruit level think that domestic violence occurs in most Maltese homes, a sizeable 22.7 per cent of those who entered as graduates share this idea. One possible reason for this is that the latter category may have a wider definition of what constitutes domestic violence. This data could indicate that Maltese police officers who entered the Malta police force as recruits could be less sensitive to domestic violence than their higher-ranked colleagues. In fact, Table 7.18 shows that a third (33.6%) of the respondents from this category do not consider neglect at home as domestic violence. In contrast, only 12.5 per cent of the respondents who entered the police force as officer cadets hold this view.

Table 7.19 The extent of domestic violence in Maltese families by level of entry (Q52)

Percentage of Maltese homes where domestic violence occurs		Level of entry		
		At recruit level	As a graduate - at officer cadet level	Total
Up to 30%	Number	180	11	191
	Column %	59.6%	50.0%	59.0%
Up to 60%	Number	101	6	107
	Column %	33.4%	27.3%	33.0%
Up to 100%	Number	21	5	26
	Column %	7.0%	22.7%	8.0%
Total	Number	302	22	324
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.039$ df = 2

Mirrlees-Black (1999) states that, on average in the UK, 1 in 4 women report a physical assault by a current or former partner in their lifetime. Over 1 in 20 crimes reported to the British Crime Survey 2000 (Home Office, 2000) are classified as domestic violence. The Malta Independent (25th April, 2002) reported that one particular Maltese social work agency (Appogg) deals with about 45 cases of domestic violence every month and this 'is just the tip of the iceberg'. Maltese police officers may only be aware of this tip of the iceberg.

Table 7.20 reveals that, upon receiving domestic violence reports, the majority of Maltese police officers would always take immediate action. In fact, Table 7.20 shows that a high proportion of respondents claim that, if they received a report that domestic violence was occurring, they would take action either always (68.5%) or most of the time (23.2%). Very few (1.5%) admit that they rarely or never took action. Table 7.20 indicates that the younger the police officers are the least prompt they are to respond to reports of domestic violence. In fact,

whereas about three-quarters of respondents between the ages of 31 and 40 years (70.3%) and of those aged between 41 and 60 (75.8%) claim that they would always take immediate action to domestic violence reports, a comparatively low 55.7 per cent of the young respondents (aged between 18 and 30 years) share this opinion.

Table 7.20 The promptness of answering to a domestic violence report by age (Q54)

If respondents receive a report that domestic violence was occurring, would they take action immediately?		Age			
		18-30 years	31-40 years	41-60 years	Total
Always	Number	49	78	97	224
	Column %	55.7%	70.3%	75.8%	68.5%
Mostly	Number	27	23	26	76
	Column %	30.7%	20.7%	20.3%	23.2%
Sometimes	Number	8	9	5	22
	Column %	9.1%	8.1%	3.9%	6.7%
Rarely	Number	1	1		2
	Column %	1.1%	.9%		.6%
Never	Number	3			3
	Column %	3.4%			.9%
Total	Number	88	111	128	327
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%	100.0%

χ^2= 0.012 df = 8

Table 7.21 indicates that Maltese police officers with the higher level of education (post secondary or tertiary education) tend to be the least prompt to respond to reports of domestic violence. In fact, whereas 72.8 per cent of the respondents with primary or secondary education claim that they would always take immediate action to domestic violence reports, a comparatively lower 63.0 per cent of the respondents with higher education (post secondary or tertiary education) share this view.

Table 7.21 The promptness of answering to a domestic violence report by educational background (Q54)

If respondents receive a report that domestic violence was occurring, would they take action immediately?		Educational background		
		Primary or Secondary	Post secondary or Tertiary	Total
Always	Number	131	92	223
	Column %	72.8%	63.0%	68.4%
Mostly	Number	38	38	76
	Column %	21.1%	26.0%	23.3%
Sometimes	Number	8	14	22
	Column %	4.4%	9.6%	6.7%
Rarely	Number		2	2
	Column %		1.4%	.6%
Never	Number	3		3
	Column %	1.7%		.9%
Total	Number	180	146	326
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

χ^2= 0.025 df = 4

One would not have expected this outcome, since the respondents with the higher educational background have always (as for example in Table 7.18 and Table 7.19) responded in a way as to show a greater awareness of domestic violence. Table 7.18 indicates that the respondents with the higher educational background were more inclined to consider neglect at home as domestic violence. Table 7.19 pointed out to the fact that the respondents with the higher educational background are more aware of what constitutes domestic violence. Therefore, a possible explanation to the data results in Table 7.21 could be that, since the more educated Maltese police officers consider a vaster list of behaviours as domestic violence, they do not act on every occurrence.

Table 7.22 The promptness of answering to a domestic violence report by length of service (Q54)

If respondents receive a report that domestic violence was occurring, would they take action immediately?		Length of Service			Total
		0 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16+ years	
Always	Number	59	65	100	224
	Column %	59.6%	66.3%	76.9%	68.5%
Mostly	Number	27	23	26	76
	Column %	27.3%	23.5%	20.0%	23.2%
Sometimes	Number	9	9	4	22
	Column %	9.1%	9.2%	3.1%	6.7%
Rarely	Number	2			2
	Column %	2.0%			.6%
Never	Number	2	1		3
	Column %	2.0%	1.0%		.9%
Total	Number	99	98	130	327
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.041$ df = 8

Table 7.22 shows that Maltese police officers with the least policing experience tend to be less prompt when responding to domestic violence reports. In fact, whereas more than three-quarters (76.9%) of respondents with more than 16 years of policing experience claim that they would always take immediate action, a comparatively low 66.3 per cent of the respondents with 11 to 15 years of service share this opinion whereas, a lower percentage (59.6%) of respondents with up to ten years policing experience share this view. There were no statistically significant differences between the responses of participant policemen and policewomen. Thus, one could conclude that the police officer's gender does not determine the officer's promptness of action.

From these responses, one could deduce that Maltese police officers do take domestic violence seriously. However, while this could be so, the respondents could also have been answering in the way they supposed that they were expected to. In effect, Klein, Campbell, Soler and Ghez (1997:88) claim that the constant increase in the number of domestic violence

cases has been permitted because this abuse is culturally accepted by the criminal justice system. Klein et al. (1997:88) point an accusing finger towards the police, reporting that 'Typically, police called to deal with an incident of abuse did not take the problem seriously, rarely arresting perpetrators.'

Table 7.23 Declared promptness of respondents' intervention if a battered woman asks for their assistance by gender (Q55)

A battered woman comes and asks for respondents' intervention. Would they take immediate action?		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Always	Number	217	39	256
	Column %	76.4%	84.8%	77.6%
Mostly	Number	54	4	58
	Column %	19.0%	8.7%	17.6%
Sometimes	Number	10	3	13
	Column %	3.5%	6.5%	3.9%
Never	Number	3		3
	Column %	1.1%		.9%
Total	Number	284	46	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.212$ df = 3

Table 7.23 indicates that the vast majority of Maltese police officers, no matter their gender, would always take action if a battered woman approaches them for help. There are no statistically significance differences. From all the respondents, 77.6 per cent claim that they would always intervene, followed by 17.6 per cent who would mostly take action and a mere 3.9 per cent who admit that they would sometimes get involved. On the other hand, only three participants declare that they would never assist a battered woman. The responses of both genders confirm that promptness of action has little to do with the police officers' gender. However, perhaps worth mentioning is the fact that, a higher proportion of policewomen declare that they would always help a battered woman. In effect, a marked 84.8 per cent of the female respondents claim that they would always intervene when compared to the 76.4 per cent of the male respondents who claim that they would always intervene if a battered woman approaches them for help. This could indicate that Maltese policewomen are more sensitive to the plight of victims of domestic violence. The Malta Independent (25th April, 2002) reported that one Maltese social agency (Appogg) gets 45 new cases every month. It also reported that a 'staggering 2,700 people have sought help for domestic violence in the last seven years'. Thus, one would expect reports on domestic violence to be a common occurrence at Maltese police stations. Table 7.23 indicates that these reports are taken seriously in Malta.

Although most police officers would always take action when confronted with cases of domestic violence, the nature of their interventions sheds further light on their attitudes towards victims of domestic violence. Table 7.24 reveals that the highest proportion of Maltese police

officers would refer victims of domestic violence to the victim support unit (within the Malta police force) although quite a few would attempt reconciling the couple. In fact, Table 7.24 shows that, if a battered woman approached them for help, about two-fifths (43.8%) of respondents claim that they would refer her to the victim support unit, which is housed at the Malta police headquarters. Somewhat fewer (42.0%) would try to either reconcile the couple or try to convince her to go back home. Very few would refer her to a social agency (6.6%) or arrest and prosecute the aggressor (5.7%) and a mere 1.8 per cent of the respondents would advise her to leave her home.

Table 7.24 Actions that a police officer could take in response to an incident of domestic violence (1st choice) by age (Q56)

Actions that a police officer could take in response to an incident of domestic violence (1st choice)		Age			Total
		18-30 years	31-40 years	41-60 years	
Try to convince her to go back home	Number	11	10	26	47
	Column %	12.6%	8.8%	20.0%	14.2%
Advise her to leave her home	Number	2	2	2	6
	Column %	2.3%	1.8%	1.5%	1.8%
Try to reconcile the couple	Number	18	30	44	92
	Column %	20.7%	26.3%	33.8%	27.8%
Refer her to the victim support unit	Number	44	55	46	145
	Column %	50.6%	48.2%	35.4%	43.8%
Refer her to a social agency, such as 'merhba bik'	Number	9	7	6	22
	Column %	10.3%	6.1%	4.6%	6.6%
Arrest and prosecute the aggressor	Number	3	10	6	19
	Column %	3.4%	8.8%	4.6%	5.7%
Total	Number	87	114	130	331
	Column %	100.0%	100%	100%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.050$ df = 10

A closer examination of Table 7.24 would reveal that the attitude towards victims of domestic violence and consequently, methods of intervention, vary with age. This data points to the fact that the older Maltese police officers are more inclined to act as social workers (and attempt reconciling the couple involved) than are the younger Maltese police officers. In fact, whereas about half of respondents younger than 30 years (50.6%) and of those aged between 31 and 40 years (48.2%) would refer victims of domestic violence to the victim support unit, just over a third (35.4%) of the respondents between 41 and 60 years would do this, while a few less (33.8%) of them would try to reconcile the couple involved in the domestic violence case.

The fact that only 5.7 per cent of the respondents claim that they would arrest and prosecute the aggressor could suggest that, like their foreign counterparts, Maltese police officers seem to refrain from arresting perpetrators of domestic violence. From the police culture perspective, 'the response to a domestic violence call has little occupational value to an

officer … any arrest that results from the intervention would be considered a "garbage arrest," not worthy of recognition' (Buzawa and Buzawa, 1990:28-29). Reiner (2000:94) maintains that domestic violence calls are 'regarded as "rubbish" by many police officers' because they are considered as 'messy, intractable, unworthy of attention, or the complainant's own fault.' Tifft (1993:176) claims that arrest 'is not … the practice of police departments' and that police officers prefer to 'handle the immediate situation and respond to the batterer's characteristics', these being recidivism, alcoholism, drug addiction and aggression. Also on this matter, Jaffe, Hastings, Reitzel and Austin (1993 quoted in Jaffe et al., 1993:63) maintain that 'Traditionally, police have considered that their primary role in domestic disputes was to restore order; that is, once the officers were able to separate and calm the partners, they believe their job was done.' This traditional view seems to determine the nature of the response of Maltese police officers to cases of domestic violence.

Buzawa and Buzawa (1990:27) explain how police officers 'perform a variety of tasks in low-level dispute resolution such as intervening to "tone down"… family disputes.' They do not consider 'responding to domestic violence calls … an appropriate police responsibility. They clearly prefer law enforcement functions where the prospects for "action" and an arrest are higher' (Buzawa and Buzawa, 1990:27). Quite a few police officers would try to reconcile the couple or convince the victim to go back home, thus attempting to 'tone down' (Buzawa and Buzawa, 1990:27) the domestic violence incident. Possibly this behaviour is not motivated by Maltese police officers' inclination towards social work, but because they want to extricate themselves from 'dangerous and unpleasant duty with as little cost as possible' and to get involved with '"real" police work' (Buzawa and Buzawa, 1990:27).

Maltese police officers who entered the police force as recruits tend to trivialise domestic violence, believing that they could reconcile the couple and/or send the victim back home. Conversely, the Maltese police officers that entered the police force as officer cadets seem more inclined to acknowledge the complexity of domestic violence and leave counselling in the hands of professional social workers. They also seem more willing to arrest and prosecute perpetrators of domestic violence, than police officers that entered the police force as recruits. Apparently, for most police officers, no matter the level at which they entered the Malta police force, advising the victims of domestic violence to leave home is considered as the ultimate option.

Table 7.25 Actions that a police officer could take in response to an incident of domestic violence (1st choice) by level of entry (Q56)

Actions that a police officer could take in response to an incident of domestic violence (1st choice)		Level of entry		Total
		At recruit level	As a graduate - at officer cadet level	
Try to convince her to go back home	Number	45	2	47
	Column %	14.7%	8.3%	14.2%
Advise her to leave her home	Number	5	1	6
	Column %	1.6%	4.2%	1.8%
Try to reconcile the couple	Number	90	2	92
	Column %	29.3%	8.3%	27.8%
Refer her to the victim support unit	Number	133	12	145
	Column %	43.3%	50.0%	43.8%
Refer her to a social agency, such as 'merhba bik'	Number	18	4	22
	Column %	5.9%	16.7%	6.6%
Arrest and prosecute the aggressor	Number	16	3	19
	Column %	5.2%	12.5%	5.7%
Total	Number	307	24	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.051$ df = 5

Table 7.26 indicates that, like their foreign colleagues, most Maltese police officers seem to be weary of victims who forgive their aggressors and drop court charges. In fact, 56.7 per cent of respondents claim that the most determining reason why the police do not always take action in domestic violence cases is that victims always forgive their husbands and drop charges. On the same lines, a quarter (25.5%) of the research participants complain that victims always protect their husbands when the police take action and 15.3 per cent express concern that it is dangerous for the police to intervene in domestic disputes. The fact that there are no statistically significant differences in the responses of both genders suggests that Maltese

Table 7.26 The most important reason why the police do not always take action against perpetrators of domestic violence by gender (Q57)

The most important reason why the police do not always take action against domestic violence		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
They always forgive their husbands and drop charge	Number	155	27	182
	Column %	56.0%	61.4%	56.7%
They always protect their husbands when police take action	Number	73	9	82
	Column %	26.4%	20.5%	25.5%
It is dangerous for police to intervene in domestic disputes	Number	42	7	49
	Column %	15.2%	15.9%	15.3%
Other	Number	7	1	8
	Column %	2.5%	2.3%	2.5%
Total	Number	277	44	321
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.883$ df = 3

policemen and policewomen agree on the reasons why the police do not always take action in cases of domestic violence.

Police use of informants

Table 7.27 indicates that most Maltese police officers agree that informants are necessary in police work. Almost all (97.3%) respondents claim that informants are either indispensable or important to police work. No statistically significant differences were recorded in the responses of the three rank levels. Skolnick (1994:119) stresses that there 'can be no doubt that informants are essential for law enforcement …' Skolnick (1994:112) explains how police officers 'must have informers to lead them to the criminals' and to provide them with 'underworld information'. However, in return, the police 'must protect the individual informer's identity' (Skolnick, 1994:112).

Table 7.27 The importance of informants in police work by rank (Q62)

Importance of informants in police work		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
Indispensable	Number	146	39	7	192
	Column %	57.5%	66.1%	41.2%	58.2%
Important	Number	101	18	10	129
	Column %	39.8%	30.5%	58.8%	39.1%
Not important	Number	3	1		4
	Column %	1.2%	1.7%		1.2%
Don't know	Number	4	1		5
	Column %	1.6%	1.7%		1.5%
Total	Number	254	59	17	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.520$ df = 3

Table 7.28 indicates that most Maltese police officers believe that informants get special treatment from the police either sometimes (49.8%) or a great deal (14.1%), while 18.6 per cent of them think that this does not happen very often. Only 4.2 per cent rebut the idea that informants receive special treatment from the police, while 11.7 per cent claim they did not know – perhaps indicating discomfort with the topic. Billingsley et al. (2001:5) and Settle (1995:3), in fact, explain that the scarce research on the informer system is the result of the unwillingness of police officers to reveal facts that, they are aware, could trigger the condemnation of the public, tainting the good name of the police and causing the public to question the very methods of the police.

Table 7.28 The extent of the special treatment received by informants from the police by rank (Q63)

Informants receive special treatment from the police		Rank			
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	Total
A great deal	Number	42	4	1	47
	Column %	16.4%	6.7%	5.9%	14.1%
Sometimes	Number	128	28	10	166
	Column %	50.0%	46.7%	58.8%	49.8%
Not very much	Number	43	15	4	62
	Column %	16.8%	25.0%	23.5%	18.6%
Not at all	Number	7	6	1	14
	Column %	2.7%	10.0%	5.9%	4.2%
Don't know	Number	32	6	1	39
	Column %	12.5%	10.0%	5.9%	11.7%
NR	Number	4	1		5
	Column %	1.6%	1.7%		1.5%
Total	Number	256	60	17	333
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.187$ df = 10

Table 7.29 shows that whereas 15.8 per cent of male respondents admit that informants receive a great deal of special treatment from the police, only 4.3 per cent of the female respondents share this opinion. Additionally, while 17.3 per cent of the male respondents claim that informants did not receive a lot of special treatment from the police, a noticeably higher proportion (27.7%) of the female respondents are of the same opinion.

Table 7.29 The extent of the special treatment received by informants from the police by gender (Q63)

Informants receive special treatment from the police		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
A great deal	Number	45	2	47
	Column %	15.8%	4.3%	14.2%
Sometimes	Number	144	20	164
	Column %	50.7%	42.6%	49.5%
Not very much	Number	49	13	62
	Column %	17.3%	27.7%	18.7%
Not at all	Number	12	2	14
	Column %	4.2%	4.3%	4.2%
Don't know	Number	32	7	39
	Column %	11.3%	14.9%	11.8%
NR	Number	2	3	5
	Column %	.7%	6.4%	1.5%
Total	Number	284	47	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.011$ df = 5

These findings indicate that policewomen may be less knowledgeable about the informant system, possibly because they are kept away from the CID. Maltese policemen may have a more realistic picture of the situation than their female colleagues.

Table 7.30 points out that about 60.0 per cent of Maltese police do not feel comfortable with the informer (or informant) system. Over two-fifths (43.9%) of respondents do not feel 'OK' about the informant system and close to one-fifth (16.8%) feel bad for using it, but acknowledge that it is unavoidable. Conversely, 38.1 per cent of the respondents consider the informer system as acceptable. Only three respondents stress that informants should never be given special treatment.

Table 7.30 Respondents' reaction to the special treatment of informants (Q64)

Respondents' feelings when informants receive special treatment from the police		Total
OK about it - they deserve it if they help	Number	125
	Column %	38.1%
Not OK - they should help the police without being paid	Number	144
	Column %	43.9%
Bad, it is unavoidable	Number	55
	Column %	16.8%
Informants should never be given special treatment	Number	3
	Column %	.9%
Don't know	Number	1
	Column %	.3%
Total	Number	328
	Column %	100.0%

One could conclude that Maltese police officers tend to the view that the informant system is a necessary evil. Unease with the informant system is explained by Waddington (1999:124), Billingsley et al., (2001:6) and Cox (1996:48). Waddington (1999:124) stresses that the temptation of corruption is widespread in 'all informant-based' manoeuvres. He (Waddington, 1999:125) also refers to the informer system as the 'short step' to criminality because of the 'paper-thin line between the [informer] handler acting in an acceptable or non-acceptable manner' (Billingsley et al., 2001:6). Maltese police officers may be aware of this. In addition, the informer system seems closely connected with police discretion, implying that the 'police actually make policy about what laws to enforce, the extent to which they should be enforced, against whom, and on what occasions' (Cox, 1996:48). These considerations may very well leave police officers feeling uncomfortable with the informer system.

Police and criminal justice

Police officers described judges (Reiner, 2000:95) as 'remote and unrealistic … corrupt self-seekers … too weak to resist villainy.' Although police antipathy of the judiciary exists, police officers are aware that the judiciary has the power to administer law (Reiner, 2000:95) and, consequently, they seem to respect the judiciary. Yet they do this out of fear, not because they consider the judiciary as truly worthy of respect. This negative relationship with the judiciary might also emanate from the police officers' disapproval of the sentencing practice. Police officers lack faith in 'progressive criminal justice' (McShane and Krause, 1993:10) measures such as alternatives to imprisonment, thus they feel disgruntled whenever offenders receive such sentences. In contrast, their 'hard skin of bitterness' (Reiner, 2000:90) renders them advocates of capital punishment.

Police officers might fail to acknowledge the benefits of rehabilitative penal sanctions because they are not confident in the capabilities of correctional staff (McShane and Krause, 1993:13). However, 'police pessimism' (Reiner, 2000:90-91) might prevent them from believing that some criminals do rehabilitate. Moreover, their obsession with toughness (Nash, 1999:199) might make them resentful of parole and probation officers (Skolnick, 1994:148).

The Fitzgerald Report (1989 quoted in Chan, 1997:46) mentions Queensland's (Australia) police officers' culture of 'contempt for the criminal justice system' and 'disdain for the law'. However, apparently most Maltese police officers consider their relationship with the judiciary as positive. Table 7.31 shows that more than half the respondents (56.2%) feel optimistic about their relationship with the judiciary but a noticeable 38.7 per cent claim that they have a negative relationship. It seems that the lower the rank of the police officers, the less

Table 7.31 The relationship between Maltese police and the judiciary by rank (Q84)

The relationship between the police and the judiciary		Rank			
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	Total
Very good	Number	19	7	5	31
	Column %	7.5%	11.9%	29.4%	9.4%
Good	Number	112	34	9	155
	Column %	43.9%	57.6%	52.9%	46.8%
Strained	Number	81	17	3	101
	Column %	31.8%	28.8%	17.6%	30.5%
Bad	Number	26	1		27
	Column %	10.2%	1.7%		8.2%
Don't know	Number	17			17
	Column %	6.7%			5.1%
Total	Number	255	59	17	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.005$ df = 8

positive their relationship with the judiciary: 82.0 per cent of officers in command, 69.5 per cent of those in middle-management and 51.4 per cent of lower participants were optimistic about their relationship with the judiciary. This might be because the judiciary respects the hierarchy, interactions with the judiciary breed familiarity, higher ranks have the best communicating skills and have most experience in dealing with the judiciary.

Table 7.32 shows that the relationship between Maltese policemen and the judiciary seems to be more positive than that between Maltese policewomen and the judiciary, with 57.7 per cent of the male respondents claiming that they had a positive relationship with the judiciary compared with 46.7 per cent of policewomen.

Table 7.32 The relationship between Maltese police and the judiciary by gender (Q84)

The relationship between the police and the judiciary		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Very good	Number	31		31
	Column %	10.9%		9.4%
Good	Number	133	21	154
	Column %	46.8%	46.7%	46.8%
Strained	Number	84	17	101
	Column %	29.6%	37.8%	30.7%
Bad	Number	25	1	26
	Column %	8.8%	2.2%	7.9%
Don't know	Number	11	6	17
	Column %	3.9%	13.3%	5.2%
Total	Number	284	45	329
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.005$ df = 4

Martin and Jurik (1996:120) hold that 'Because judges have great power and prestige and because appointment to the bench usually occurs as a reward for a successful legal career, it is not surprising that women make up a smaller proportion of the judiciary than of the legal profession' and of police officers. In fact, in Malta, there are no female judges and only four female magistrates. Therefore, it could be that the predominantly male judiciary in Malta might tend to be sexist, and might consequently look down upon Maltese policewomen; and these feelings may be reciprocated.

Table 7.33 shows that although most Maltese police officers believe that the judiciary sometimes imposes adequate sentences, a near-negligible number believe that the judiciary always imposes adequate sentences. More than half (56.5%) the respondents believe that the judiciary imposes adequate sentences some of the times and just over a quarter (25.7%) believe that the judiciary rarely imposes adequate sentences, but a noticeable 15.1 per cent believe that

the judiciary never imposes adequate sentences and only 2.7 per cent believe that the judiciary always imposes adequate sentences.

Table 7.33 Maltese police officers' opinions on sentencing practices by length of service (Q85)

Respondents' opinion on how the judiciary rate in sentencing offenders		Length of Service 0 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16+ years	Total
Always imposes adequate sentences	Number	2	4	3	9
	Column %	2.0%	4.1%	2.3%	2.7%
Sometimes imposes adequate sentences	Number	55	55	77	187
	Column %	55.0%	56.1%	57.9%	56.5%
Rarely imposes adequate sentences	Number	22	20	43	85
	Column %	22.0%	20.4%	32.3%	25.7%
Never imposes adequate sentences	Number	21	19	10	50
	Column %	21.0%	19.4%	7.5%	15.1%
Total	Number	100	98	133	331
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%	100%

$\chi^2 = 0.033$ df = 6

A closer look at Table 7.33 reveals that the most experienced police officers seem most satisfied with the judiciary's sentencing practices. In fact, whereas about a fifth of respondents with less than 10 years of policing experience (21.0%) and those with 11 to 15 years of service (19.4%) believe that the judiciary never imposes adequate sentences, only 7.5 per cent of the respondents with more than 16 years experience share this opinion. However, respondents from all experience levels chose the options in the same order: the judiciary sometimes imposes adequate sentences; the judiciary rarely imposes adequate sentences; the judiciary never imposes adequate sentences; the judiciary always imposes adequate sentences. The hostility nurtured by 38.7 per cent of the respondents (in Table 7.31) who claim that they had a negative relationship with the judiciary could be fuelled by what they consider to be the judiciary's questionable sentencing practices.

Maltese police officers have a pessimistic view about offending behaviours and corrections. Table 7.34 and Figure 7.3 clearly show that the majority of Maltese police officers believe that offenders do not learn, probationers re-offend and prisoners do not receive enough punishment. Three-quarters of lower participants believe that offenders do not learn (75.1%) that probationers reoffend (78.1%) and that prisoners do not receive enough punishment (77.3%). Respondents from middle-management seem less pessimistic than those from the two other rank brackets. Less than half (48.3%) of them claim that offenders do not learn. However, almost two-thirds (65.0%) of middle-management respondents agree with the other ranks that probationers re-offend and 56.7 per cent of them also hold that prisoners are not receiving enough punishment. The responses given by those in command reflect those given by

the lower participants: 64.7 per cent are convinced that offenders do not learn, 70.6 per cent expect probationers to re-offend and 94.1 per cent believe that prisoners are not receiving enough punishment.

Table 7.34 Respondents' views on offenders by rank (Q67)

		In favour	Against
Lower Participants	Offenders do not learn	71.5%	24.2%
	Probationers re-offend	78.1%	16.4%
	Prisoners are receiving enough punishment	16.0%	77.3%
Middle Management	Offenders do not learn	48.3%	48.3%
	Probationers re-offend	65.0%	33.3%
	Prisoners are receiving enough punishment	35.0%	56.7%
Command	Offenders do not learn	64.7%	35.3%
	Probationers re-offend	70.6%	29.4%
	Prisoners are receiving enough punishment	5.9%	94.1%

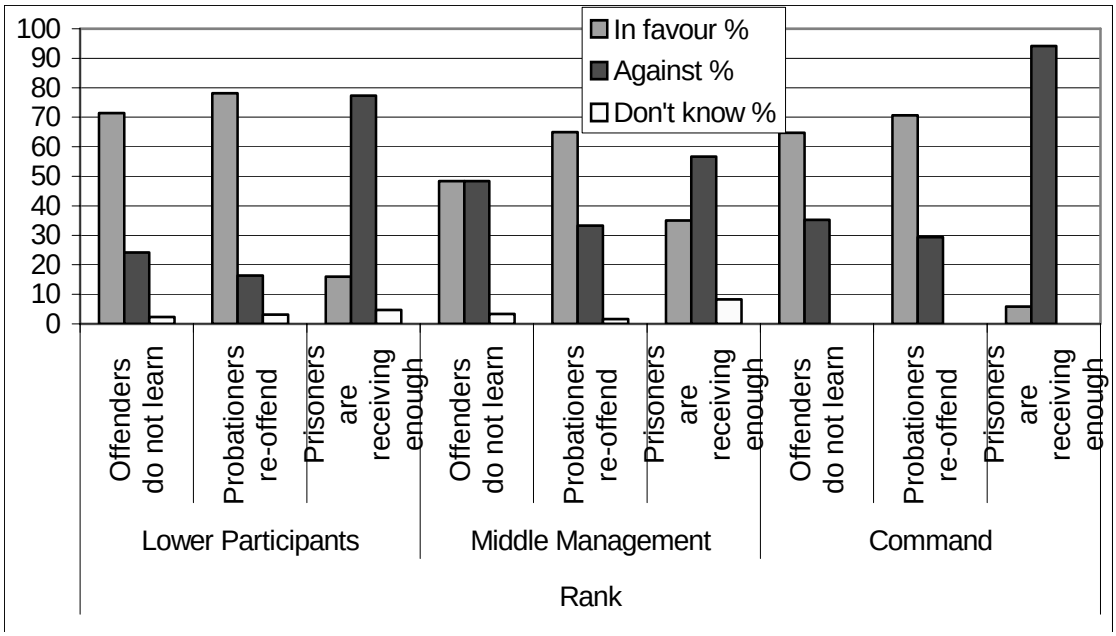


Figure 7.3 Respondents' views on offenders by rank

Reiner (2000:89) believes that the police consider themselves as the 'thin blue line', the 'good guys' who, quoting a constable interviewed by Reiner (2000:89), do not 'give a damn if … [they] … oppress law-breakers, because they [the offenders]'re oppressors in their own right'. Thus, one could sense the understandable negative attitude of police officers towards offenders. Reiner (2000:89) also explains that 'police officers tend to acquire a set of views which have been rightly described as 'cynical', or 'police pessimism'. Niederhoffer (1967 quoted in Cox, 1996:169) describes police cynicism as a 'loss of faith in people, enthusiasm for

police work, and pride and integrity.' In Reiner's (2000:90) words, police officers develop 'a hard skin of bitterness'.

Table 7.35 indicates that the majority of Maltese police officers do not believe in the effectiveness of parole as a penal sanction instead of imprisonment. Although more than half (52.8%) of the respondents have a cynical attitude towards offenders, a noteworthy 47.2 per cent have a positive attitude towards community work. What Reiner (2000:90) described as the 'hardboiled outlook' of police officers could be also attributed to more than half of the Maltese police officers, especially to the one-sixth (17.3 %) of respondents who said that they would never trust an offender to perform community work. Similarly, Table 7.36 points to the fact that the majority of Maltese police officers do not favour parole as an alternative to imprisonment indicating that more than two-thirds (67.7%) of respondents distrust offenders on parole. There is evidence of deep suspicion towards community-based sentences for offenders.

Table 7.35 Extent to which respondents would trust offenders to perform community work instead of these offenders being sent to prison (Q68)

Respondents would trust an offender to perform community work instead of being sent to prison		Total
Always	Number	10
	Column %	3.0%
Probably	Number	146
	Column %	44.2%
Probably not	Number	117
	Column %	35.5%
Never	Number	57
	Column %	17.3%
Total	Number	330
	Column %	100.0%

Table 7.36 Extent to which respondents trust offenders on parole (Q69)

Respondents trust offenders on parole		Total
Always	Number	1
	Column %	.3%
Probably	Number	105
	Column %	32.0%
Probably not	Number	154
	Column %	47.0%
Never	Number	68
	Column %	20.7%
Total	Number	328
	Column %	100.0%

Table 7.37 shows that nearly three-quarters of Maltese police officers think that community sentences are no punishment at all whilst prison is a proper punishment – 25.2 per cent strongly agreeing and 47.1 per cent agreeing. Interestingly and less predictably, one-quarter (23.7%) disagree or strongly disagree. There is more than a spark of liberal sentiment. Officers with the lower level of education (with primary or secondary schooling) are most vociferous in their negative response. In fact, whereas 65.5 per cent of the respondents with the higher educational level (with post secondary or tertiary schooling) pronounce themselves against community alternatives, 77.9 per cent of those with primary or secondary schooling oppose these alternatives to imprisonment.

Table 7.37 Community alternatives are no punishment - prison is by educational background (Q70)

Community alternatives (probation and parole) are no punishment. Prison is		Educational background		Total
		Primary or Secondary	Post secondary or Tertiary	
Strongly agree	Number	46	37	83
	Column %	25.4%	25.0%	25.2%
Agree	Number	95	60	155
	Column %	52.5%	40.5%	47.1%
Disagree	Number	27	41	68
	Column %	14.9%	27.7%	20.7%
Strongly Disagree	Number	5	5	10
	Column %	2.8%	3.4%	3.0%
Don't know	Number	8	5	13
	Column %	4.4%	3.4%	4.0%
Total	Number	181	148	329
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.054$ $df = 4$

Chan (2000:91) explains how the 'occupational culture of policing can be conceived as a "penal culture"'. Garland (1990 quoted in Chan, 2000:91) defines penal culture as 'the loose amalgam of penological theory, stored-up experience, institutional wisdom, and professional common sense which frames the actions of penal agents [police officers, in this case] and which lends meaning to what they do. … it forms the immediate meaningful context in which penal practices exist.' White and Perrone (2000:52) explain that police officers experience 'feelings of frustration' which derive from 'dissatisfaction with the manner in which courts handle … cases'. Police officers believe that, via the granting of 'legal rights', criminals have the upper hand in the fight against crime (White and Perrone, 2000:52). This might explain police officers' apparent aversion of community alternatives to imprisonment and their preference of harsh sentencing.

Table 7.38 shows that most Maltese police officers believe that capital punishment should be introduced. A sizeable 61.6 per cent (of which more than half strongly agree) of the

respondents favour the death penalty. Two-thirds (66.6%) of lower participants are in favour of capital punishment, but half (50.0%) of those in middle management are against it. Those in command are split almost equally on the issue (53.3% disagree). Against this, one-third of all respondents (32.7%) disagree or strongly disagree with capital punishment.

Table 7.38 Capital punishment should be introduced by rank (Q92)

Capital punishment (the death sentence) should be introduced		Rank			
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	Total
Strongly agree	Number	93	9	4	106
	Column %	38.0%	15.5%	26.7%	33.3%
Agree	Number	70	17	3	90
	Column %	28.6%	29.3%	20.0%	28.3%
Disagree	Number	47	18	5	70
	Column %	19.2%	31.0%	33.3%	22.0%
Strongly Disagree	Number	20	11	3	34
	Column %	8.2%	19.0%	20.0%	10.7%
Don't know	Number	15	3		18
	Column %	6.1%	5.2%		5.7%
Total	Number	245	58	15	318
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.018$ df = 8

It is noteworthy that the most fervent supporters of capital punishment seem to belong to the lower participants; 38.0 per cent of them strongly agree that capital punishment should be reintroduced. It could be that their cynical attitude (Reiner, 2000:90) leads them to refute the rehabilitation ideal. Thus, they are inclined towards supporting capital punishment.

Table 7.39 indicates that Maltese policemen are more in favour of the death penalty than are their female colleagues. In fact, although the difference between male and female

Table 7.39 Capital punishment should be introduced by gender (Q92)

Capital punishment (the death sentence) should be introduced		Gender		
		Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	Number	97	9	106
	Column %	35.7%	19.6%	33.3%
Agree	Number	72	18	90
	Column %	26.5%	39.1%	28.3%
Disagree	Number	60	10	70
	Column %	22.1%	21.7%	22.0%
Strongly Disagree	Number	31	3	34
	Column %	11.4%	6.5%	10.7%
Don't know	Number	12	6	18
	Column %	4.4%	13.0%	5.7%
Total	Number	272	46	318
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.021$ df = 4

support for capital punishment seems very similar (62.2% of the male respondents and 58.7% of the female respondents), male respondents are much more convinced (35.7% of them strongly agree compared to the 19.6% of the females who strongly agree). The attitude of Maltese policewomen may be owed to their traditional socialisation and to the resultant receptivity, acceptance and emotional tone (Clarke, 1992:6).

Table 7.40 indicates that the point at which Maltese police officers enter the police force strongly affects their perspective on the issue of capital punishment. In effect, Table 7.40 shows that those who entered as recruits favour capital punishment much more than those who entered as graduates, at officer cadet level.

Table 7.40 Capital punishment is the only way to reduce violent crimes by level of entry (Q93.1)

Capital punishment is the only way to reduce violent crimes		Level of entry		
		At recruit level	As a graduate - at officer cadet level	Total
Strongly agree	Number	99	3	102
	Column %	32.2%	13.0%	30.9%
Agree	Number	94	2	96
	Column %	30.6%	8.7%	29.1%
Disagree	Number	77	11	88
	Column %	25.1%	47.8%	26.7%
Strongly Disagree	Number	25	4	29
	Column %	8.1%	17.4%	8.8%
Don't know	Number	12	3	15
	Column %	3.9%	13.0%	4.5%
Total	Number	307	23	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.004$ df = 4

In fact, Table 7.40 reveals that 62.8 per cent of respondents who entered as recruits believe that capital punishment is the only way to reduce violent crimes, compared to the 21.7 per cent of those who entered as officer cadets. The reasons behind this divergence of opinion could be that tertiary education widens one's horizons, therefore graduates may appreciate the complexity of the issue; entering at officer cadet level gives officers less time to be socialized within police culture. Table 7.41 indicates that almost all Maltese police officers believe that capital punishment would serve as deterrent to potential criminals. In fact, 80.0 per cent of the respondents were of this opinion. The lower participants seem to be the most convinced (83.9% of the respondents), followed by those in command (76.5% of the respondents) and by those in middle-management (63.8% of the respondents). Police middle-management receives a regular intake of graduates (entering as officer cadets). These officer cadets subsequently receive university training. Therefore, Table 7.41 could indicate that university training does enable officers to appreciate the complexity of capital punishment and that, perhaps having entered the

police force when young could have robbed the lower participants of the opportunity to learn how to resist giving in to peer pressure.

Table 7.41 Capital punishment serves as deterrent by rank (Q93.2)

Other people would then think twice before committing a crime		Rank			Total
		Lower Participants	Middle Management	Command	
Strongly agree	Number	101	11	6	118
	Column %	39.6%	19.0%	35.3%	35.8%
Agree	Number	113	26	7	146
	Column %	44.3%	44.8%	41.2%	44.2%
Disagree	Number	20	11	3	34
	Column %	7.8%	19.0%	17.6%	10.3%
Strongly Disagree	Number	11	9	1	21
	Column %	4.3%	15.5%	5.9%	6.4%
Don't know	Number	10	1		11
	Column %	3.9%	1.7%		3.3%
Total	Number	255	58	17	330
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.008$ df = 8

Table 7.42 offers evidence of negative attitudes by Maltese police officers towards prison staff (referred to as correctional officers) and probation officers (as yet Malta has no parole officers). Over half the respondents claim that prison staff are manipulated by inmates (50.7%), the prison director should be a police officer (as is the case) (51.5%), probation officers are manipulated by probationers (52.3%), prison staff are not as well trained as police officers (52.4%) and police officers are better trained in dealing with offenders (59.2%). Three-quarters (74.8%) of the respondents insist that police officers are more disciplined. This is a strong but perhaps predictable indictment. It seems clear that relations between police officers

Table 7.42 The opinions of Maltese police officers on correctional officers compared to their opinions on police officers (Q89 and Q91)

		Strongly agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know	Total
Correctional officers (prison staff) are manipulated by offenders	Number	31	135	112	5	45	328
	Column %	9.5%	41.2%	34.1%	1.5%	13.7%	100%
Probation officers are manipulated by offenders	Number	26	146	98	9	50	329
	Column %	7.9%	44.4%	29.8%	2.7%	15.2%	100%
Correctional officers are not as well trained as police officers	Number	48	124	107	8	42	329
	Column %	14.6%	37.7%	32.5%	2.4%	12.8%	100%
Police officers are more disciplined	Number	71	175	62	4	17	329
	Column %	21.6%	53.2%	18.8%	1.2%	5.2%	100%
Police officers are better trained to deal with offenders	Number	47	146	99	11	23	326
	Column %	14.4%	44.8%	30.4%	3.4%	7.1%	100%
The prison director should be a police officer	Number	95	75	92	39	29	330
	Column %	28.8%	22.7%	27.9%	11.8%	8.8%	100%

and correctional/probation officers are 'difficult' (Skolnick, 1994:148) even in Malta because local police officers 'lack … faith in the ability of corrections professionals' (McShane and Krause, 1993:13).

Although Table 7.42 shows that most Maltese police officers believe that they are much better than correctional staff, Table 7.43 shows that they are divided, almost equally, when it came to answering whether the prison would run smoother had it been controlled by the police force. In fact, 44.3 per cent believe that the prison would run smoother had it been controlled by the police force while 46.9 per cent do not share this opinion. Maltese policewomen are more convinced of this than policemen: 52.4 per cent of the female respondents believe this, compared to the 43.2 per cent of male respondents.

Table 7.43 The prison would run more smoothly had it been police-controlled by gender (Q90)

The prison would run more smoothly had it been controlled by the police force		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Strongly agree	Number	40	4	44
	Column %	14.9%	9.5%	14.1%
Agree	Number	76	18	94
	Column %	28.3%	42.9%	30.2%
Disagree	Number	104	9	113
	Column %	38.7%	21.4%	36.3%
Strongly Disagree	Number	29	4	33
	Column %	10.8%	9.5%	10.6%
Don't know	Number	20	7	27
	Column %	7.4%	16.7%	8.7%
Total	Number	269	42	311
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.041$ df = 4

Discussion

Evidently, occupational culture might guide Maltese police officers to act in the way they do. This chapter attempts to explain 'how police officers see the social world and their role in it - "cop culture"' (Reiner, 2000:85). The nature of this culture was studied by analysing the relationship between the police and various sections of Maltese society, namely: youths, people from different social classes and races, offenders, the elderly, victims of crime and of domestic violence, informants and other criminal justice partners. For the same purpose, Maltese police officers' attitudes on sentencing practices were also examined.

This research indicates that most Maltese police officers are convinced that young people are attracted to crime and criminality. Consequently, Maltese police officers tend to target youngsters and view them with suspicion. Furthermore, since police officers also

constitute part of society, the findings could also indicate that 'Our society does not like young people' (Haines and Drakeford, 1998:1) either. If the young are often labelled as criminals, the old are often considered as potential crime victims. In fact, the research shows that most Maltese police officers believe that it is the elderly that are most likely to be victimised by criminals because they are perceived as weak and easy targets of criminals.

The data indicates that, although some Maltese police officers suggest that unemployment renders one more predisposed to commit crime, most Maltese police officers believe that, when it comes to choosing to resort to crime, one's social class does not matter. However, the respondents' description of the typical criminal implies that, although Maltese police officers may not consciously target the working class, in practice, they suspect individuals who fit the description of working class people. There is a difference here between what they say/think and what they do.

Maltese police officers seem to be inclined to be racist especially against Libyans, Arabs, Sicilians and Italians since, according to the respondents, the people most likely to be criminal are the Libyans, followed by the Arabs, the Sicilians and the Italians. These voices are strong and inequivocal.

This research suggests that most Maltese police officers consider victims of crime as the forgotten participants in the criminal justice system (Karmen, 1990:16). They are aware that, in Malta, victims of crime are not satisfied with the feedback they receive from the police. However, on the positive side, the data suggests that the vast majority of Maltese police officers acknowledge that crime victims deserve better treatment and, consequently, they should always be kept informed on their cases. Respondents seemed to blame their poor relationship with victims on their lack of training in dealing with them. In fact, most respondents suggested that police officers should receive training in this area. Clearly, dealing with victims of crime needs to be thoroughly covered in future police training programmes.

This research indicates that most Maltese police officers consider any corporal, sexual or psychological maltreatment at home and neglect as domestic violence. Klein et al. (1997:88) claim that the police do not take domestic violence seriously. However, this research suggests that, when it comes to responding to reports on domestic violence calls, the majority of Maltese police officers always take immediate action. Yet, this study reveals that, although the majority of Maltese police officers refer victims of domestic violence to the victim support unit, many Maltese police officers still attempt to reconcile the couple. Buzawa and Buzawa (1990:47) claim that police officers make 'rapid value judgements' based 'on their own beliefs' and act accordingly. Consequently, they avoid making arrests (Berk and Loseke, 1980 cited in Buzawa

and Buzawa, 1990:69) and resort to acting as social workers. They might justify this type of intervention because (as the data reveals) they are weary of victims who repeatedly forgive, protect their aggressors and drop court charges. This vicious cycle of events was also discussed by Buzawa and Buzawa (1990:31). Perhaps it is this weariness of forbearing victims that dampens their enthusiasm to intervene effectively in domestic violence cases.

Clark (2001:38) claims that the 'value of informers at a time when policing is increasingly intelligence-led cannot be doubted.' In fact, this study indicates that the vast majority of Maltese police officers agree that informants are necessary in police work. The findings also show that most Maltese police officers believe that informants do get special treatment such as payment for their services and forgiveness of fines and offences. Most Maltese police officers do not feel comfortable with the informer system. The 'best informers are those actively involved in crime … but how much crime should they be allowed to commit?' (Billingsley et al., 2001:6). Clearly this causes the uneasiness of the police officers involved. Like their foreign counterparts (Billingsley et al., 2001:5), Maltese police officers did not readily disclose any information on the informer system. Clearly, the informer system is shrouded in secrecy.

The majority of Maltese police officers have the impression that they have a positive relationship with the judiciary. They respect the judiciary, although the respect might be born through fear. Police cynicism armours police officers with a 'hard skin of bitterness' (Reiner, 2000:89) and the findings indicate that the majority of Maltese police officers are convinced that offenders do not learn, probationers re-offend and prisoners do not receive enough punishment. Consequently, the vast majority of Maltese police officers are convinced that community alternatives to imprisonment are no punishment. Police officers believe that through being granted what they consider soft sentencing (probation and parole) criminals are granted undeserved advantages (White and Perrone, 2000:52). Most Maltese police officers believe that capital punishment should be introduced, certainly saving taxpayers' money and possibly serving as deterrent to potential criminals.

Clearly, relations between police officers and correctional/probation officers are 'difficult' (Skolnick, 1994:148) even in Malta because local police officers 'lack … faith in the ability of corrections professionals' (McShane and Krause, 1993:13). In fact, the findings put in evidence the negative attitude of Maltese police officers towards correctional personnel since the majority of respondents claim that prison staff and probation officers are manipulated by inmates/probationers, prison staff is not as well trained as police officers, police officers are more disciplined than correctional personnel, police officers are better trained in dealing with offenders, and the prison director should be a police officer.

The Maltese police officers' world is an intricate and perilous one which they seek to control, equipped with their limited training and personal experiences. It is this experience which feeds their occupational culture which, in turn, fuels their apparent: ageism, racism, classism, cynicism towards offenders, exasperation with victims of domestic violence, resentment of informers, discomfort with the judiciary and lack of confidence in correctional personnel. The research indicates that Maltese police officers: view youths with suspicion, consider the elderly as vulnerable, target the lower classes, tend to be racist (particulary against Libyans, Arabs, Sicilians and Italians), are very negative towards offenders, are very sympathetic towards victims of crime, consider cases of domestic violence seriously but warily, consider informants as indispensable, respect the judiciary but resent them for their lack of respect towards the police and are not confident in the ability of correctional personnel.

Chapter 8: Transforming Police Culture

Introduction

Despite the many disagreements concerning the derivation, composition, differences and the significance of police culture (Heidensohn, 1995; Martin and Jurik, 1996; Chan, 1997; Waddington, 1999; Eagleton, 2000; and Reiner, 2000 amongst others), this research contributes to the 'widespread agreement that it [police culture] exists' (Heidensohn, 1995:78) and that it has special contours. This study implies the existence of a police culture which is not simply the result of structural conditions and cultural knowledge but one in which police officers are 'active participants in … [its] … construction and reproduction' and in its translation into 'institutional practice' (Chan, 1997:73). The research also implies that police officers 'have an active role to play in developing, reinforcing, resisting or transforming cultural knowledge' (Chan, 1997:73), and that police culture is constantly changing and that it is the very officers that change it (Chan, 1997:66). The elements of police culture are not overriding, neither universally identical nor static (Reiner, 2000:87). There are cultural differences according to 'individual variables as personality, generation, or career trajectory, and structured variations according to rank, assignment, and specialization' (Reiner, 2000:87). Police culture also varies geographically and chronologically (Reiner, 2000:87), and is determined in part by the dominant culture of a particular country (Waddington, 1999:106). Police culture is thus very complex and, 'a theory of police culture should account for the existence of multiple cultures within a police force and variation in cultures among police forces' (Chan, 1997:66).

Schein (1985 cited in Chan, 1997:235) insists that for cultural change to occur, the establishment must be 'unfrozen and ready to change, either because of an externally induced crisis or because of internal forces towards change'. Apparently, the Malta police force was ready for change from 1987 onwards because of the 1980s political crisis. This research also suggests that some of the malfunctioning traits of the old culture still survive. Chan (1997:235) explains that Schein (1985 cited in Chan, 1997:235) focuses on leadership, on a strategy of 'coercive persuasion' in situations 'where elements of the old culture are dysfunctional but strongly adhered to', which involves using 'the right incentives' to stop respected personnel from departing, persistently questioning previous suppositions, and granting 'psychological safety' by constantly rewarding the acceptance of novel assumptions. However, this top-down strategy proved ineffective in New South Wales, Australia (Chan, 1997:236). Cultural change was only observed within the highest echelons of the police force as a consequence of the 'disenchantment and cynicism towards management among operational officers' (Chan, 1997:236). Chan (1997:236) insists that the momentum for a more progressive police culture primarily derives from 'externally induced crises' however, for this transformation to be

enduring, there should be a constant 'external pressure to change'. This necessary external pressure to change is being exerted by the current Maltese government who is striving to bring Malta up to European Union standards. Malta's accession to the European Union in May, 2004, has imposed a new reality on the Malta police force. Suffice to say that the Malta police was faced with the Schengen agreement. This treaty removed customs and police formalities at the Malta international airport and seaport (the only two international transit points). Therefore, Malta's entry into the European Union meant that it had to amend national laws and these, of course included the Malta police ordinance and the criminal code. Several provisions were made, including the setting up of an external board that investigates allegations of police malpractice. This initiative was animated by the same sentiment that prompted the New York Mollen Commission (Mollen Report 1994, cited in Chan, 1997:236) to recommend the creation of 'an independent external agency to oversee the fight against corruption' and the generation of 'the Ombudsman and the Independent Commission Against Corruption' in New South Wales – Australia. The amendments also underlined the importance of victims and witnesses of crime and bound the police to assist them (victims and witnesses of crime) appropriately.

Especially as a member of the European Union, Malta now has to guarantee that its police force respects human rights and that it provides equal opportunities to all. In addition, European Union membership has brought representatives of the Malta police force closer to their European counterparts. Maltese police officials regularly leave Malta to meet their European colleagues and to actively participate in various discussions on subjects pertaining to policing. Thus, they now regularly share views, police strategies, experiences and information. Therefore, European standards now require the Malta police force to: organise training sessions and update its members on law amendments; place more importance on victim/witness handling (even in training programmes for recruits); grant equal opportunities to all in the selection processes; broaden its horizon and be more receptive of new ideas as well as of different people and cultures.

Nevertheless, Chan's (1997:236) work demonstrates that 'externally imposed changes are often resisted by the organisation, so that change either remains at the damage-control level or is simply a paper exercise'. Chan (1997:236) insists that if one is to significantly and permanently change police culture, one must bring about 'a host of related changes in the field to reinforce the new culture: law reform; external and internal monitoring systems; quality reviews; reward and accountability structures; the empowerment of citizens, especially minority groups, to influence policies; … and even a shift of certain policing functions from the state to civil society.' Therefore, Malta seems to be on the right track, since there have been law reforms, external and internal monitoring systems now exist, citizens have been empowered to a

certain extent and civilians now carry out some policing functions. However, quality reviews as well as reward and accountability structures seem to be lacking, indicating that the necessary change in Maltese police culture may be very slow.

Chan (1997:237) warns that 'change is traumatic, it has to be directed and continuous, people must be willing to change, … planned change is difficult to achieve, especially when it is imposed by one group upon another' and there is 'no such thing as spontaneous change' (Schein, 1985 cited in Chan, 1997:237). In addition, Chan (1997:237) stresses that since 'leadership is necessary from every level and every division of the organisation, not simply from the top' police forces should 'create a suitably supportive climate to encourage and reward such leadership' a climate which evidently is missing from within the Malta police force. Since 'changing police culture … require[s] changes in both the cultural knowledge and the structural conditions of policing' reformers should improve the 'structural conditions of policing', by possibly introducing 'managerialist strategies such as performance indicators, Total Quality Management, continuous improvement and customer focus' (Chan, 1997:237).

The improvement of the structural conditions of policing which involve managerial tactics seems to be the key since even Matthews and Young (1992:72) point out that, despite continuous and considerable increases in police resources, police forces remain ineffective at tackling crime. Lea et al., (1987 quoted in Matthews and Young, 1992:73) insist that increases in police resources merely 'disappear into an ever expanding bureaucracy'. Moreover, Young (1992 in Young and Matthews 1992:40) stresses that 'it is the inadequate tools for the job and an ill-thought-out piece of legislation which creates the working context for the police, not merely the enactment of personal and cultural prejudice'.

However, client focus is also a vital component of an effective policing strategy since it generates public confidence in the police which, in turn, produces public-police co-operation. In fact, the 1950s golden age of British policing was characterised by these components, proving that 'policing by consent' is possible because 'By the 1950s [policing by consent] was achieved in Britain to the maximal degree it is ever attainable' (Reiner, 1992:60). Benyon (1986a:9-17) explains that successful policing is possible when the police force benefits from six key factors: effectiveness, identity, participation, legitimacy, justice and consent. Indeed, it is only then that the public discloses instrumental information to the police, the flow of which 'is crucial' according to Lea et al. (1987 quoted in Matthews and Young, 1992:73). Kinsey et al. (1986 quoted in Matthews and Young, 1992:73) suggest that the police should operate on two basic concepts: 'maximum public initiation' and 'minimum necessary coercion', implying an increased community involvement and restrictions on police powers.

Another essential element is police accountability (Johnston 2000:49). To ensure it, left realists claim that the police should only act when called and intervene when and as much as the law allows. Left realists claim that the police effectiveness increases if they focus on their 'real job (crime control)' and if they exercise accountable policing which would be 'both minimal and reactive' (Johnston, 2000:49). According to left-realists, community policing involves the police in 'multifarious social service functions', which employs police officers 'in dangerous and unaccountable forms of community penetration' (Johnston, 2000:49). However, Reiner (1992:145) stresses that this approach would leave unanswered many distress calls, leading to public disenchantment of the police force and the consequent lack of collaboration. Left-realists believe that 'criminal victimization is a real problem' and that crime victims should receive the deserved attention (Lea and Young, 1984 quoted in Johnston, 2000:48). Hence, although the community policing approach seems to be in direct opposition to the left-realism, both approaches rotate around the public and its needs, namely: a fair, accountable and effective police force, which is worthy of public support.

Although left-realists do not acknowledge police culture as the determining force that shapes police behaviour, Young (1992 in Young and Matthews 1992:40) does not deny its existence. Reiner (2000:106) confirms that 'the nature of police work does seem to generate a recognizably related culture in all forces which have been studied' adding that essential change in this culture 'requires not just changes aimed at individual officers … nor grand policy declarations, but a reshaping of the basic character of the police role as a result of wider social transformation.' Maltese society is constantly being transformed (Tabone, 1994:229) therefore, if Reiner (2000:106) is correct, this social transformation is transforming police culture in Malta. In fact, the core findings of this thesis might suggest that different attitudes co-exist within the Malta police force and are themselves in continuous mutation. What follows is a presentation of the most salient findings of this thesis. They will be presented under three headings: components of police culture; conservatism and police culture; the police and the public.

Components of police culture: core findings

Reiner (2000: 87-101) explains that police culture is composed of a strong sense of mission, suspicion, isolation/solidarity, pragmatism and conservatism. Regards policing styles, this research suggests that the Malta police force is inclined towards the 'service style' (Wilson, 1968 cited in Cox, 1996:64). This opinion is shared by all ranks, however, the inspectors appear to be the ones who least believe it and the ones most convinced that the Malta police force tends to adopt the 'watchman style' (Wilson, 1968 cited in Cox, 1996:64). Interestingly, Maltese policemen seem to be more inclined towards service policing than Maltese

policewomen. Concerning the perceived role of police officers, this study implies that most Maltese police officers consider themselves primarily as suppressors of crime, contradicting Martin and Jurik's (1996:64) belief that police officers consider fighting crime as their main concern.

Does the police force transform ordinary people into noticeably suspicious people, or are noticeably suspicious people attracted to the police force? Although this question has teased the minds of several scholars (Hollin, 1989:131), most Maltese police officers confidently answered that policing transforms ordinary people into suspicious ones. Suspicion is a product of role not personality. However, those who entered the Malta police force as recruits were much less convinced of this than their colleagues who entered as officer cadets. Perhaps the socialization process is smoother for officers who enter at the earliest stage of recruitment.

Co-operation, loyalty and solidarity appear to be the most respected values within the Malta police force (in order of preference). This order of preference is common for both Maltese policemen and policewomen. Paradoxically, police officers experience feelings of isolation and feelings of solidarity, concurrently. Most Maltese police officers consider the police force as a family (echoing Reiner, 2000:91). This sentiment is shared by police officers of both genders, however, more policemen than policewomen tend to consider the police force simply as a place of work. The vast majority of the respondents claim that Maltese police officers stand up for and support each other. Yet, most of them also claim that they would report a colleague to the authorities. However, a minority of the respondents believe that officers would never report a colleague while a majority claim that they would report a colleague only in very serious matters. Comforting in that it seems Maltese police officers would report a colleague – less comforting because it seems that they must first judge the matter as serious. Most Maltese police officers do not feel that the police force protects its members from the public. However, respondents with more than sixteen years of policing experience are the least inclined towards this view.

The "Us/Them" syndrome, mentioned by Waddington (1999:99) is emphasised when most respondents claim that Maltese police officers would never criticize the police force in public. However, unlike those with primary, secondary and/or post secondary schooling, respondents with tertiary education claim that Maltese police officers would criticize the police force in public. This implies that a higher educational background renders police officers more liberal and possibly bolder.

Maltese police officers' pragmatism was measured by their inclination (or disinclination) towards academia/theory. This study accentuates the lack of recognition of

academic qualifications by the Malta police force. Those mostly repelled by academia belong to the lower participants, having entered the Malta police force as recruits. Conversely, this research suggests that police officers with high educational backgrounds noticeably value academia. In addition, although university-based training for officer cadets is still favoured, the respondents emphasized the presumed negative aspects of university training, giving the impression that tertiary training for officer cadets is a necessary evil. Interestingly, unlike inspectors, respondents from the lower participants and those from those in command do not link university training with better police performance. Therefore, this research suggests that Maltese police officers are indeed pragmatic. This can be said especially of the lower participants and of those in command. Inspectors and university graduates appear to be less pragmatic.

Conservatism and police culture: core findings

Reiner (1992:121) describes the British police force as both politically and morally conservative. This study suggests that the Malta police force is loyal to whichever political party happens to be in government. It also implies that the intensity of the link between the Malta police force and the two main political parties (the Nationalist Party and the Labour Party) is strikingly similar.

Skolnick (1994:43) explicates that danger, authority and the continual stress to be successful, are the three main elements of policing. Police officers may adopt authoritarianism as a coping strategy. Consequently, they may use their tone of voice to evoke respect. In fact, most Maltese police officers seem to believe that this should be done. Rigidity is another characteristic: most respondents believe that Maltese police officers find it hard to reconsider and reverse a decision because this would show weakness. Those in command especially endorsed this opinion.

Not showing weakness seems to be indeed a major concern within the Malta police force yet, although with some hesitation, most respondents claim that Maltese police officers would use a counselling service (if the Malta police force had one). Most respondents explained that their reluctance stemmed from the fact that counsellors are not legally bound to professional secrecy. However, the inspectors and the respondents with the higher educational background seemed to have the most confidence in counsellors.

The ever-present danger makes quick and unconditional obedience a requirement in the police world (Skolnick, 1994:10). However, in this research, only a small minority claim that it is the police officers' duty and responsibility to obey no matter what. The vast majority of Maltese police officers believe that, it is the police officers' duty and responsibility to obey the

legitimate commands of superiors, whereas it is the superiors' duty and responsibility to take decisions.

The level of tolerance must have increased drastically since the 1980s. In fact, most respondents claim that it is not at all important to them whether people share their political views. However, this tolerance level decreased when it came to dealing with people of different religions, cultures and different mentalities. Perhaps, being islanders makes acceptance of other religions, cultures and mentalities, difficult.

Contrary to expectations, the majority of Maltese police officers believe that the police force treats policemen and policewomen equally. Most policemen are convinced that the police force favours neither sex, yet more Maltese policewomen than policemen believe that the police force favours males. In fact, it seems that each sex is convinced that the Malta police force favours the opposite sex. Regarding abilities, most Maltese police officers claim that men are better police officers. The 41-60 years age group especially supports this opinion. Elders of the Malta police force are inclined to be the most sexist in contrast with respondents with tertiary education who tend to be the least sexist. The research suggests that most Maltese police officers believe that men are tougher than women and that is why they make better police officers. This fixation with toughness is shared by both genders. Most Maltese policewomen hold that policemen are taken more seriously. However, this idea is not as widely held by the male respondents. Similarly, a sizeable amount of respondents claim that women are compassionate, however, this idea is not as widely held by the female respondents. Very few respondents recognised the fact that women are physically strong too.

Gender differences were also recorded when the sexual harassment of policewomen was discussed. Most respondents answered that policewomen allow this behaviour because they use their sex appeal to get what they want and that policewomen like and expect to be sexually harassed. This answer reverberates from the male majority. Conversely, most Maltese policewomen blame either themselves or their image as vulnerable, sexual objects, for their sexual victimisation.

Although the vast majority of respondents claim that gender is no issue within the Malta police force, it certainly seems to matter when it comes to promotion: the acceptance of women diminishes as the ranks get higher. Perplexingly, this opinion seems to be shared by both genders. Evidently, Maltese policemen consider policewomen as inferiors, however, most respondents (irrespective of gender) held that policewomen should not be protected and kept indoors. This could imply that most Maltese policemen resent the favouritism displayed towards policewomen and that most Maltese policewomen expect equal rights and duties. The

data suggests that the conservative attitude of Maltese policemen towards policewomen increases with seniority. In fact, of those in favour of protecting policewomen and keeping them inside, most respondents came from the sixteen years plus experience bracket. Interestingly, the majority of Maltese police officers and policewomen in particular, do not think that policewomen are best at clerical jobs. However, respondents from the sixteen years plus experience bracket are most inclined to believing this. Both sexes seem convinced that policewomen are very good with victims and at dealing with the media, suggesting that stereotypes are deeply ingrained in both sexes.

As in the case of female police officers, gay police officers clash with the conservative attitude of the police force. In fact, Maltese police officers are inclined to believe that sexual deviants should not be allowed to join the police force. However, Maltese policewomen are more tolerant towards gays and lesbians, since the majority of them did not believe that gays should be barred from joining the police force. Contrary to what most Maltese policemen think, most policewomen opine that one's sexual orientation does not determine one's capabilities as a police officer. Those Maltese police officers who entered the police force as graduates, at officer cadet level, also tend to be much more receptive of gays than their colleagues who entered as recruits, implying that tertiary education might render one more tolerant.

The police and the public: core findings

Before attempting to understand police culture, one has to observe how police officers consider their social world and their role within it (Reiner, 2000:85). Indeed, cultures do not develop in vacuums but they originate as individuals react in different ways, creating particular circumstances in which others have to act (Reiner, 2000:85). Therefore, for this research to be meaningful, an observation of the interactions of police officers with various societal groups (youths, different social classes, races, offenders, the elderly, victims of crime, informants and other criminal justice partners) was necessary.

When it comes to attitudes towards citizens of different ages, Maltese police officers seem to be also affected by sterotypes. Most Maltese police officers, especially the lower participants and those in command, think that youths are inclined towards criminality. This could suggest that Maltese police officers could be inclined to targeting youths. Conversely, the data shows that an overwhelming majority of Maltese police officers believe that the elderly are most likely to become victims of crime presumably because they are weak and thus, constitute an easy prey to criminals. Thus, it may be as difficult for Maltese police officers to accept that an elderly might be a criminal as much as it could be difficult for them to accept that a youth could be a victim of crime.

The majority of Maltese police officers hold that, when it comes to choosing to resort to crime, social class does not matter. However, the respondents' description of the typical criminal suggests that, although Maltese police officers may not consciously target the working class, it views with suspicion people who fit the description of the working class (Merton, 1968 cited in Vold and Bernard, 1986:194-195 and Vella, 1989 cited in Sultana, 1994:42).

The study points out that most Maltese police officers are prejudiced mainly against Libyans, Arabs, Sicilians and Italians. It could be that the constant construction and transmission of negative race-stereotypes might be feeding this prejudice. In Malta, Libyans and Arabs are considered as fundamentalists, terrorists and criminals – frequently maltreating women. Sicilians and Italians are considered as sweet-talkers and womanisers – closely associated with the mafia. Possibly, Maltese police officers target these nationals more and consequently catch them breaching the law more often than other nationals. This, in turn reinforces their prejudice and the vicious circle goes on.

Evidently, Maltese police officers also nurture their share of cynicism since most of them, particularly the lower participants and those in command, believe that offenders do not learn, probationers re-offend and prisoners do not receive enough punishment. Those in middle-management were less pessimistic. This study also points out that most Maltese police officers do not believe in the effectiveness of community alternatives to imprisonment. In fact, they strongly claim that community sentences are not real punishment – prison is. Maltese police officers do not believe in the effectiveness of parole and although they view community work more positively, less than half of the officers support it.

Police officers become frustrated when they get the impression that criminals are getting the upper hand (White and Perrone, 2000:52). This could possibly be the reason why most Maltese police officers believe that capital punishment should be introduced. The most fervent supporters of this sanction belong to the lower participants and to those in command. They are the ones who entered the Malta police force as recruits rather than as graduates, at officer cadet level. Interestingly, Maltese policemen are more in favour of the death penalty than are their female colleagues. Almost all Maltese police officers believe that capital punishment would serve as deterrent to potential criminals.

The study also indicates that Maltese police officers nurture a negative attitude towards prison staff and probation officers. In fact, over half of them believe that: the prison staff and probation officers are manipulated by inmates and probationers, the prison staff and probation officers are not as well trained and disciplined as police officers and that a police officer should always direct the Maltese prison. Almost 40 per cent of Maltese police officers seem to have a

negative relationship also with the judiciary. The lower their rank (and therefore, the lower their educational background), the least positive their relationship with the judiciary. The relationship between the Maltese policemen and the judiciary seems to be more positive than that between Maltese policewomen and the judiciary. Most Maltese police officers believe that the judiciary only imposes adequate sentences sometimes – with a quarter even claiming that they never do. The most experienced police officers seem to be the most satisfied with the judiciary's sentencing practices.

Most Maltese police officers – particularly those who entered the Malta police force as recruits, the lower participants and those in command – are convinced that the the Malta police force considers victim support as important. Those less convinced are the police inspectors and those who entered the Malta police force as officer cadets. According to most respondents, victims of crime are the forgotten participants in the Maltese criminal justice. The majority of Maltese police officers are aware that they did not receive enough training in the handling of crime victims. The respondents with the higher educational background mostly held this opinion. On the positive side, the vast majority of Maltese police officers seem convinced that police officers need to be professionally trained in this area because victims should be given all the importance they deserve. Maltese police officers seem to be aware that victims of crime are not very satisfied with the feedback they receive from the police and, appear willing to improve the situation.

This research points out that most Maltese police officers consider any corporal, sexual or psychological abuse at home as domestic violence and estimate that it occurs in up to 30 per cent of Maltese homes. Evidently, domestic violence is taken seriously by the Malta police force since most respondents – no matter their sex – claim that, in cases of domestic violence, they always take immediate action. However, the data reveals that the younger the police officers, and the higher their educational background, the least prompt their interventions in domestic violence cases. However, if a battered woman approached the respondents, the majority of them would always take action. The nature of their intervention, however, also sheds light on the prevailing attitude. Although the majority of Maltese police officers would refer victims of domestic violence to the victim support unit, many Maltese police officers would attempt reconciling the couple. The data suggests that, the older the police officers, the more inclined they are to act as social workers. Additionally, like their foreign colleagues, Maltese police officers seem to avoid arresting perpetrators of domestic violence. Their reluctance to sharpen their interventions might stem from their frustration with victims who continually forgive their aggressors and drop court charges, invalidating police officers' hard work.

Most Maltese police officers agree that informants are necessary in police work. They agree that informants get special treatment. Consequently, they are not comfortable with the informant system. In fact, the amount of respondents who avoided answering informant-related questions might be indicative of this uneasiness.

Conclusion

Culture implies a '… particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions' (Williams, 1958 quoted in Hebdige, 1997:359) like the police force. Reiner (1992:109) explains that police culture is a categorised collection of experiences that serve as guidance to police officers, enabling police officers to 'cope with and adjust to the pressures and tensions that confront the police' (Reiner, 1992:109). Each generation of police officers embody this culture, develop it further and subsequently transfers it to the next. Thus, the 'cultural model of organisations emphasizes the underlying values, beliefs, and attitudes of organizational members' (Fyfe, Greene, Walsh, Wilson and McLaren, 1997:160). Therefore, a better understanding of Maltese police culture leads to a better understanding of the Malta police force.

This research was an attempt at gaining insight into police culture in Malta. This involved an analysis of the self-conceptions and attitudes of Maltese police officers as well as their relationship with the public. An increased awareness of the way in which Maltese police officers perceive society and their role within it, might lead to an increased understanding of the logic behind their attitudes. The findings of this study and their interpretation could generate the knowledge needed to harness the energy of Maltese police officers and provide adequate training that could possibly lead to an improved policing in Malta. Effective cultural change is not externally induced (Chan, 1997:237). It comes from within, animated by the very officers who mould police culture in Malta. It is the awareness of the nature of police culture that could enable the local authorities to make the adequate changes, changes that would then be supported and promoted by Maltese police officers themselves. This cultural change could revolutionise the future of policing in Malta. Researches such as this should provide as unbiased a picture as possible. Only in this manner can they become levers for change. At the risk of seeming prescriptive, this research has uncovered aspects of police culture in Malta that bodes well for the future. These characteristics would include a-political policing, officers' liberalism, focus on victims and an increasing acceptance of women. These aspects of the modern Maltese police force may be the motor that could eventually drive Maltese police officers away from their deeply ingrained: cynicism, pessimism, suspicion, internal and external isolation, excessive solidarity with colleagues, conservatism, machismo, racism and pragmatism (Reiner, 2000:87-

100). It is for others to take the process of change forward, but it is hoped that the current research can contribute in some small way.

Appendix A: Questionnaire

POLICE CULTURE QUESTIONNAIRE

Ph.D. Thesis By Jacqueline Azzopardi Cauchi
Institute Of Forensic Studies – University Of Malta

I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR KINDLY ACCEPTING TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE STUDY OF POLICE CULTURE IN MALTA. THIS STUDY WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT YOUR HELP.

Please do not write your name. Your anonymity is guaranteed.

1. What are police officers mostly engaged in?

(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important, 2 is the second most important and 3 is the third most important.)

1. Detecting crime	☐	5. Guiding citizens	☐
2. Combating crime	☐	6. Protecting citizens	☐
3. Preventing crime	☐	7. Offering a shoulder for victims	☐
4. Controlling citizens	☐	8. Arresting offenders	☐

9. Other (please specify)……

2. To what extent does your career interfere with your family life? (Please circle one answer)

1. A great deal 2. Sometimes 3. Not very much 4. Not at all 5. Don't know

3. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements as possible reasons for police work having an adverse effect on an officer's family life?

(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. A police officer is never truly off duty ☐
2. A police officer is always suspicious ☐
3. Police work is very time-consuming with awkward working hours ☐
4. Police work is stressful ☐
5. Police work is dangerous ☐
6. People do not trust police officers ☐

4. How suspicious do you consider yourself to be? (Please circle one answer)

1. A great deal 2. Sometimes 3. Not very much 4. Not at all 5. Don't know

5. To what extent do you agree that this characteristic affects your work in a good way (it helps you to be a better officer)? (Please circle one answer)

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

6. To what extent do you agree that this characteristic affects your work in a bad way (it stops you from being a better officer)? (Please circle one answer)

1. A great deal 2. Sometimes 3. Not very much 4. Not at all 5. Don't know

7. In your opinion: the police force (Please circle one answer):

1. Attracts suspicious persons as prospective employees
2. Transforms employees into suspicious people
3. Does not effect one's level of suspicion

8. How do you consider the police force (Please circle one answer)

1. Simply as a place to go to work
2. Rather like a family?
3. Rather like a club?
4. Other (specify) ……..

9. To what extent do you feel you belong in a group? (Please circle one answer)

1. Very much in a group
2. A little bit in a group
3. Not really part of a group
4. Not at all in a group

10. To what extent would you agree with each statement below about how police officers work:	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
1. They stand up for and support each other.					
2. They would never, under no circumstance, report a colleague to their superiors					
3. They would only report a colleague to their superiors if it is a very serious matter					
4. They would never criticise the police force in public					
5. The police force protects its members from the public					

11. Research in other countries has identified links between political parties and policing. In your experience, to what extent is there a link between the following parties and the police?

	Very strong link	Strong link	Some link	No link	Don't know
1. Malta labour party (MLP)					
2. Nationalist party (PN)					
3. Alternattiva demokratika (AD)					
4. Whichever political party happens to be in government					

12. Which one of the following statements about police matters and politics best summarizes your view?

1. Police officers should never show their political sympathies
2. Police officers should be allowed to show their political sympathies
3. Political sympathies are irrelevant so long as they do not interfere with the job.

13. Which one of the following statements best summarizes your view?

1. The police force favours males.
2. The police force favours females.
3. The police force fosters equal opportunities, and does not favour males or females.

14. Which one of the following statements best summarizes your view?

1. Men are better police officers than women.
2. Women are better police officers than men.
3. There is no difference between male and female police officers

15. Some people think men are better police officers than women. In your opinion, which of the following statements best summarises the main reasons?

(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. Men are tougher than women. ☐
2. Men are braver than women. ☐
3. Men are less emotional than women. ☐
4. Men do not join the police force to appear smart in uniform. ☐
5. Men do not join the police force to hitch smart women in uniform. ☐
6. Men are more capable of dealing with stress than women are. ☐
7. Male police officers are more experienced in police work than are female police officers. ☐
8. Policemen consider policing a career (not just a job). ☐
9. Policemen are not sexual symbols. ☐
10. Policemen are taken more seriously. ☐

16. Some people think women are better police officers than men. In your opinion which of the following statements best summarises the main reasons?
(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. Women are compassionate ☐
2. Women are used to negotiating and diffusing potentially dangerous situations ☐
3. Women may not be physically strong, but they have other skills ☐
4. Women cope better than men do with stress ☐
5. Women maintain a smarter appearance than men ☐
6. Women have to work harder than men to obtain the same recognition as men ☐
7. Policewomen have to develop a strong character in order to cope ☐
8. Women use sexual appeal to get what they want from men ☐

17. Why, do you think is there no difference between male and female police officers
(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. Gender is no issue ☐
2. Anyone can be compassionate and sensitive to other people's needs ☐
3. Women are physically strong, too ☐
4. Potentially dangerous situations can be diffused by anyone with the right words and attitude ☐
5. Men and women receive the same training and education ☐
6. The person's character affects how stress is managed, not the gender ☐
7. The uniform does not make a good police officer, the person does ☐
8. Anyone with the proper attitude is taken seriously ☐

18. Some people think that policewomen get sexually molested by their colleagues. Please select the reasons why some people think this happens
(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason).

1. Women are considered as sexual objects ☐
2. Women secretly crave for sex although they may not admit it ☐
3. Women use their sex appeal to get what they want: men simply take advantage ☐
4. Some women do not stand up for their rights, so they get abused ☐
5. Women like and expect this kind of attention ☐
6. Men like to feel powerful and find women easy targets ☐
7. Some women volunteer sexual favours to gain career favours. Thus, policemen have learned to expect this sexual attention. This behaviour is tolerated ☐
8. Policemen degrade women with the aim of chasing them away from the police force ☐

19. Why do you think do policewomen get sexually molested by their colleagues
(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. Women are considered as sexual objects ☐
2. Women secretly crave for sex although they may not admit it ☐
3. Women use their sex appeal to get what they want: men simply take advantage ☐
4. Some women do not stand up for their rights, so they get abused ☐
5. Women like and expect this kind of attention ☐
6. Men like to feel powerful and find women easy targets ☐
7. Some women volunteer sexual favours to obtain career advantage ☐

8. Policemen degrade women with the aim of chasing them away from the police force ☐

20. Choose the 3 most important values respected within the police force?

(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. Co-operation (helping each other) ☐	6. Autonomy ☐
2. Personal relationship (not romantic one) ☐	7. Competition ☐
3. Empathy (how much one understands others) ☐	8. Emotional detachment ☐
4. Loyalty ☐	9. Harshness ☐
5. Solidarity ☐	10. Toughness ☐

21. To what extent would you agree with the statements below:	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
1. Policewomen should be protected and kept inside					
2. Police women are best at doing clerical jobs					
3. Police women are very good with victims					
4. Police women are very good at dealing with people					
5. Police women are very good at dealing with the media					
6. It does not matter whether one is male or female, a police officer should be able to perform all the duties assigned to him/her. Gender is no issue.					

22. To what extent should women occupy the rank of:	To a great extent	Sometimes	Not very much	Not at all	Don't know
1. Police constable					
2. Police sergeant					
3. Police inspector					
4. Superintendent					
5. Assistant commissioner					
6. Deputy commissioner					
7. Commissioner					
8. Commandant of the police academy					

23. Some people think that gays/lesbians should not be allowed to join the police force. To what extent do you agree? (Please circle one answer)

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3.Disagree 4.Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

24. Some people say that: gays/lesbians do not make good police officers. To what extent do you agree? (Please circle one)

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

25. To what extent do you agree that self-declared gays/lesbians/transsexuals should be forced to leave the police force?

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

26. Which one of the following statements best summarises your view? (Please circle one answer)

1. Gays/lesbians shame the Malta police force.
2. Gays/lesbians do not make good police officers.
3. Gays/lesbians are a blow to the credibility of the Malta police force.
4. Sexual inclinations are irrelevant; it makes no difference

27. How likely is it that a person from the list below would be a criminal?	Very likely	Likely	Not very likely	Not at all likely	Don't know
1. European					
2. Indian					
3. African					
4. Asian					
5. Australian					
6. American					
7. Russians					
8. Italians					
9. Sicilians					
10. Libyan					
11. Maltese					
12. Yugoslav					
13. Albanian					
14. Turkish					
15. Arab					
16. Afghan					
17. British					
18. Other nationality: _____					

28. In your opinion, what is the best balance between theory and practice in police training? (Circle one)

1. Much more theory than practice
2. More theory than practice
3. Same amount of theory and practice
4. More practice than theory
5. Much more practice than theory

29. In your opinion, which one of the following statements best reflects the minimum entry requirements for police recruits? (Please circle one answer)

1. No academic qualifications are necessary. All you need is guts and the will to work.
2. As long as one can read and write, the rest comes easy. School is not that important.
3. A school-leaving certificate. Academic knowledge is not very important.
4. Any 3 O-levels
5. 3 O-levels: Maltese, English and maths.
6. 5 O-levels: 3 of which should be Maltese, English and maths.
7. 5 O-levels and 2 A-levels
8. Other (please specify)……

30. To what extent do you agree that police inspector officer cadets should be trained at university?

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

31. Which of the following statements best summarises your opinion of inspector cadets learning at university? (Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. At university one learns useless stuff. The emphasis should be on-the-job training ☐
2. Police inspector cadets who come from within the police force do not cope with a university-level course. ☐
3. University does not value experience in police work and that is what really counts ☐
4. Most lecturers are not police officers, therefore they cannot teach policing ☐
5. The university environment improves the inspectors social skills ☐
6. University training can give inspectors a different perspective than rigid police academy training ☐

7. Learning at university develops contacts with other professions which may be important in criminal investigations

8. University training gives inspectors a higher status

32. How important is university-organised, in-service training to the following ranks?

	Essential	Desirable but not essential	Not necessary at all
1. Constables			
2. Sergeants			
3. Sergeant majors			
4. Inspectors			
5. Superintendents			
6. District commissioners			
7. Assistant commissioners			
8. Commandant			
9. Commissioner			

33. To what extent do you agree with the view that every police officer needs regular in-service training? (Circle one answer)

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

34. Which one of the following statements best summarises your opinion on higher ranks receiving in-service training

1. Any person may benefit from training - no one knows everything.
2. High-ranking officials should teach and not be taught.
3. The police force does not afford to stay without high-ranked officials while they train.
4. High-ranked officials refuse to learn new methods. Why waste resources that could be better utilised by the young generation of police officers?

35. If it is not possible to provide all the members of the Police Force with in-service training, which three of the following categories of police officers should be given priority?

1. Members of the vice squad (which include the Victim Support Unit).
2. Members of the economic crime squad.
3. Members of the drugs squad.
4. District police officers.
5. Members of the police data and statistics section.
6. Members of the ALE (who deal with environmental crime).
7. Members of the canine and horse section.
8. Members of the transnational crime section (who maintain links/work with Interpol and Europol).
9. Members of the community-media relations unit.
10. Members of the traffic section.

36. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: police officers should use their tone of voice to command respect from the people they speak to. (Please circle one answer)

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

37. In your opinion why do some police officers find it difficult to reconsider and reverse a decision (please circle one answer)

1. Because that would show weakness.
2. People might question one's previous decisions.
3. It simply is not within the typical police officer's character to change his/her mind.
4. Police officers should never show they are wrong.

38. Would you use a counselling service if the police force had one within it? (Please circle one answer)
1. Definitely. 2. Probably. 3. Probably not 4. Definitely not.

39. In your opinion, why do some police officers find it difficult to take counselling? (Circle one answer)
1. Real men do not need counselling.
2. It could ruin one's reputation.
3. Counsellors are not legally bound to professional secrecy (confidentiality).
4. One's personal business is nobody else's.
5. Real/good police officers do not need counselling service.
6. Counselling is for weaklings. Police officers are not weaklings!

40. To what extent is it important to you that people share your:	Very much	A little bit	Not at all
1. Political views			
2. Religious beliefs			
3. Culture			
4. Mentality			

41. How do you relate to someone who does not share your opinions (i.e. With different political views, religious belief, culture or mentality)? (Please circle one answer)
1. I ignore such persons
2. I just say 'hi' and 'bye' to such persons
3. I talk to such persons, but I do not become any closer to them
4. I do not trust such persons. People who are against me cannot be loyal to me.
5. I treat them like any other person, but avoid mentioning such subjects
6. I treat them like any other person, without any reserve

42. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
1. The police force is a disciplined corps and every police officer has the duty to obey his/her superior.					
2. It is the superiors' duty and responsibility to take decisions.					
3. Superiors should never be contradicted…they should know what they are doing.					
4. The police officers' duty and responsibility is to obey always …no matter what.					
5. The police officers' duty and responsibility is to obey…as long as the commands are legal.					
6. The police officers' duty and responsibility is to obey…as long as the commands make sense.					

43. Imagine that you are a superior officer (if you are not!). Would/do you expect your subordinates to obey you: (Please circle one answer)
1. Always, without question.
2. Always, but they may ask questions.
3. Most of the time.
4. Sometimes.

44. How crime-prone are the following groups	Very criminal	Criminal	Not very criminal	Not at all criminal
1. Elders				
2. Middle-aged				
3. Youths				
4. Children				

45. In your opinion, why do some people think youths are crime-prone?

(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.).

1. Youths have lost their values ☐
2. Youths act before they think ☐
3. They are young and immature ☐
4. They are surrounded by opportunities to commit crime ☐
5. They are rebels ☐
6. Today's youths are corrupt ☐
7. Youths get picked upon by the police ☐
8. Other (please specify)……

46. To what extent do you agree that the elderly are most likely to be the victims of crime? (Please circle one answer)

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

47. In your opinion, why do some people believe that the elderly are those who mostly fall victims of crime? (Please circle one answer)

1. The elderly are weak.
2. The elderly trust people too much.
3. The elderly are not able to take care of themselves.
4. The elderly keep their valuables at home.
5. Other reason:……..

48. What crimes do the elderly fall victims to?

(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. Burglary ☐
2. Sexual abuse ☐
3. Physical domestic violence ('swat') ☐
4. Psychological violence (threats, mockery) ☐
5. Neglect (nobody takes care of him/her) ☐
6. Fraud (the elder is locked in a home, his/her property taken over) ☐
7. Fear of crime (fearing for their safety, the elderly lock themselves at home in isolation) ☐
8. Other (please specify)……

49. A crime has been committed and you only have one witness: an elderly person. To what extent do you consider her/him reliable? (Please circle one answer)

1. Very reliable 2. Reliable 3. Not very reliable 4. Not at all reliable

50. In your opinion, why do some police officers consider the elderly as unreliable witnesses? (Circle one)

1. Old people are mentally deficient.

2. Old people may be under the influence of medicines
3. Old people may fear reprisals from the offender and thus may not give the correct version of facts.
4. Other reason:……

51. Which of the following types of behaviour constitutes domestic violence? (Please circle yes or no)

1. Physical abuse ('swat') in the privacy of a home. Yes / No
2. Psychological abuse ('tgħajjir, insulti u theddid') in the privacy of a home. Yes / No
3. Neglect ('abbandun') in the privacy of a home. Yes / No
4. Sexual abuse ('sess b'forza') in the privacy of a home. Yes / No
5. Nagging ('tgergir kontinwu') in the privacy of a home. Yes / No
6. Physical, psychological and sexual abuse in the privacy of a home. Yes / No

52. Would you expect it to be taking place in: (Please circle one answer)

1. Up to 0% of Maltese homes.
2. Up to 15% of Maltese homes.
3. Up to 30% of Maltese homes.
4. Up to 45% of Maltese homes
5. . Up to 60% of Maltese homes
6. Up to 75% of Maltese homes
7. Up to 90% of Maltese homes
8. Up to 100% of Maltese homes.

53. To what extent do you think that it is usual for domestic violence to occur in all families? (Circle one)

1. All the time 2. Frequently 3. Sometimes 4. Never

54. If you received a report that domestic violence was occurring at a certain address, would you take action immediately? (Please circle one answer)

1. Always 2. Mostly 3. Sometimes 4. Rarely 5. Never

55. A battered woman comes and asks for your intervention. Do you take immediate action? (Circle one)

1. Always 2. Mostly 3. Sometimes 4. Rarely 5. Never

56. In your opinion, which are the three most important actions that a police officer could take in response to an incident of domestic violence?

(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. I would try to convince her to go back home. Every couple has its problems! ☐
2. I would advise her to leave her home ☐
3. I would try to reconcile the couple ☐
4. I would refer her to the victim support unit ☐
5. I would refer her to a social agency (such as 'merhba bik') ☐
6. I would arrest and prosecute the aggressor ☐

57. In your opinion, what is the single most important reason why the police do not always take action against domestic violence? (Please circle one answer)

1. Battered wives always forgive their husbands and drop charges anyway.
2. Battered wives always protect their husbands when the police take action.
3. It is very dangerous for police officers to intervene in domestic disputes.
4. Other reason: ..……

58. To what extent do you agree that most police officers are injured when they intervene in domestic violence cases? (Please circle one answer)

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

59. Who, do you think commit most crimes? (Please circle one answer)

1. Blue-collar workers ('*haddiema'*)
2. White-collar workers (*'skrivana'*)

3. Professionals
4. Self-employed
5. Unemployed
6. Occupation does not matter

60. Who do you think cause most problems to the police? (Please circle one answer)

1. Working class people. 2. Middle class people. 3. High-class people. 4. Class does not matter

61. In your opinion, how strong is the link between each of the following categories and crime?	Very strong link	Strong link	Weak link	Very weak link	No link at all	Don't know
1. Male						
2. Female						
3. Maltese						
4. European						
5. Libyan						
6. Arab						
7. Asian						
8. American						
9. Young						
10. Middle-aged						
11. Elderly						
12. Dark						
13. Fair						
14. Coloured						
15. Long haired males						
16. Strange (spiked, almost shaved) hair style						
17. Persons with ear-rings						
18. Persons with body piercing						
19. Low-income						
20. Low educational standard						
21. Working-class						
22. Middle-class						
23. Upper-class						
24. South-side of malta						
25. North-side of malta						

62. How important are informants in police work? (Please circle one answer)

1. Indispensable – the police cannot work without them.
2. Important - but the police can work without them.
3. Not important.
4. They hinder police-work most of the times.
5. Don't know

63. To what extent do informants receive special treatment from the police? (Please circle one answer)

1. A great deal 2. Sometimes 3. Not very much 4. Not at all 5. Don't know

64. How do you feel if an informant receives special treatment from the police? (Please circle one answer)

1. OK about it …they deserve it if they help.
2. Not so OK about it...people should help the police without being paid.
3. Bad…but it is unavoidable.
4. Other (please specify)…….

65. In your opinion, when police officers give informants special favours, which two are the most likely?

1. The informants are paid for their service.
2. The informants' fines are 'forgiven'.
3. The police do not prosecute informants.

4. The police force closes its eyes on the informants' illegal activities.
5. Other (please specify)……

66. Under what circumstances would you reveal your informant/s' identity?
(Kindly choose up to 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. When ordered by the court	☐	5. If it could help your superiors	☐
2. When asked by your superiors to do so	☐	6. If it could help you advance in your career	☐
3. If threatened	☐	7. Voluntarily, anytime	☐
4. If it could help your colleagues	☐	8. Never. Under no circumstance	☐

67. To what extent would you agree with the statements below:	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
1. Offenders do not learn					
2. Probationers re-offend					
3. Prisoners are receiving enough punishment					

68. Would you trust an offender to perform community work instead of being sent to prison? (Circle one)
1. Always 2. Probably 3. Probably not 4. Never

69. Would you trust an offender on parole? (Please circle one answer)
1. Always 2. Probably 3. Probably not 4. Never

70. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: community alternatives (probation and parole) are no punishment. Prison is. (Please circle one answer)
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

71. To what extent do you think the criminal justice system is sympathetic to the victims of crime? (Please circle one)

1. Strongly supportive of victims of crime	4. Not at all supportive of victims of crime
2. Moderately supportive of victims of crime	5. Don't know
3. Not very supportive of victims of crime	

72. What extent of formal training, at the academy or elsewhere, have you received on dealing with victims of crime? (Please circle one answer)

1. A great deal of training	3. Not a lot of training
2. A moderate amount of training	4. Nothing at all

73. To what extent do you agree that you need to be professionally trained to deal with victims? (Circle one)
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

74. In your opinion, which one of the following statements best describes why some police officers think that police need to be professionally trained to deal with victims?
1. Because the police should give victims all the importance, they deserve.
2. Because the police are not skilled enough to assist victims.
3. Because police officers deal constantly with victims.
4. Victims are not treated well by the police.

75. In your opinion, which one of the following statements best describes why some police officers think that police do not need to be professionally trained to deal with victims?
1. Because the police should concentrate on the offender.
2. There are specialised units which deal with victims.
3. Such training is a waste of time

76. To what extent do you believe that the police actually keep victims of crime informed about their cases?

1. Regularly 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Never 5. Don't know

77. To what extent do you believe that the police should keep victims of crime informed about their cases?

1. Always 2. Mostly 3. Sometimes 4. Rarely 5. Never

78. What is the most frequently used method for the police to keep victims informed about the investigation into their case? (Please circle one answer)

1. By periodic telephone calls (by the police).
2. By periodic correspondence (by the police).
3. By periodic visits (by the police).
4. Other (please specify)……

79. What should be the most frequently used method for the police to keep victims informed about the investigation into their case? (Please circle one answer)

1. By periodic telephone calls (by the police).
2. By periodic correspondence (by the police).
3. By periodic visits (by the police).
4. Other (please specify)……

80. Which victims of crime are most likely to receive police assistance and support?

(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. Victims of vandalism	☐	9. Victims of hold-ups	☐
2. Victims of threats	☐	10. Victims of anonymous phone-calls	☐
3. Victims of fraud	☐	11. Victims of sex-molesters	☐
4. Victims of bullies	☐	12. Victims of rape	☐
5. Victims of petty theft	☐	13. Victims of domestic violence	☐
6. Victims of car theft	☐	14. Victims of terrorists	☐
7. Victims of pick-pockets	☐	15. Relatives/close friends of kidnapped/missing persons	☐
8. Victims of burglaries	☐	16. Relatives/close friends of victims of murder	☐

81. Which victims of crime are most deserving to receive police support?

(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. Victims of vandalism	☐	9. Victims of hold-ups	☐
2. Victims of threats	☐	10. Victims of anonymous phone-calls	☐
3. Victims of fraud	☐	11. Victims of sex-molesters	☐
4. Victims of bullies	☐	12. Victims of rape	☐
5. Victims of petty theft	☐	13. Victims of domestic violence	☐
6. Victims of car theft	☐	14. Victims of terrorists	☐
7. Victims of pick-pockets	☐	15. Relatives/close friends of kidnapped/missing persons	☐
8. Victims of burglaries	☐	16. Relatives/close friends of victims of murder	☐

82. What type of support are victims of crime mostly given by the police?

(Kindly choose 3 answers, where 1 is the most important reason, 2 is the second most important reason and 3 is the third most important reason.)

1. Handy-persons to fix structural damage ☐
2. Medical attention ☐
3. Legal advice for victims ☐
4. Feedback on the victims' cases ☐
5. First-aid for victims ☐
6. Referral to other support agencies ☐
7. Crime prevention advice ☐
8. Counselling service for victims/ relatives/ close friends of victims. ☐

83. To what extent does the Malta police force think that support for crime victims is important? (Please circle one answer)

1. Very important 2. Quite important 3. Not very important 4. Not at all important

84. In your opinion, how good is the relationship between the police and the judiciary (judges/magistrates/prosecutors/lawyers)? (Please circle one answer)

1. Very good 2. Good 3. Strained 4. Bad 5. Don't know

85. In your opinion, how does the judiciary rate in sentencing offenders? (Please circle one answer)

1. Always imposes adequate sentences.
2. Sometimes imposes adequate sentences.
3. Mostly imposes adequate sentences.
4. Never imposes adequate sentences.

86. As a police officer, to what extent do you feel respected by the judiciary? (Please circle one answer)

1. A great deal 2. Sometimes 3. Not very much 4. Not at all 5. Don't know

87. Why do some police officers think that they are not respected by the judiciary? (Please circle one)

1. Because they think they are constantly belittled by the judiciary
2. Because they think their opinions are seldom considered
3. Because they think they are looked down on and snobbed by the judiciary
4. Because most criminals receive little punishment.
5. Because the judiciary does not appreciate the work done by the police.
6. Other (please specify)…….

88. To what extent do you believe that correctional officers are effective? (Please circle one answer)

1. A great deal 2. Sometimes 3. Not very much 4. Not at all 5. Don't know

89. To what extent would you agree with the statements below:	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
1. Correctional officers (prison staff) are manipulated by offenders.					
2. Probation officers are manipulated by offenders					
3. Correctional officers are not as well trained as police officers					

90. To what extent do you agree that the prison would run more smoothly had it been controlled by the police force? (Please circle one answer)

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

91. To what extent would you agree with the statements below:	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
1. Police officers can deal more effectively with prisoners than correctional officers					
2. Police officers are more disciplined					
3. Police officers are better trained to deal with offenders					
4. Probation officers are not as well trained as police officers					
5. The prison director should be a police officer					

92. To what extent do you agree that capital punishment (the death sentence) should be introduced? (Please circle one)

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Disagree 4. Strongly disagree 5. Don't know

93. To what extent would you agree with the statements below, often used to justify capital punishment:	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
1. Capital punishment is the only way to reduce violent crimes					
2. Other people would then think twice before committing a crime					
3. Capital punishment gives offenders what they deserve					
4. Capital punishment avoids tax-payers' expenses to maintain prisoners					
5. Capital punishment prevents dangerous prisoners from causing the havoc they would cause in society if released or if they escape					

94. When, do you think, should prisoners be given amnesties? (Please circle one answer)

1. Always 2. Sometimes 3. Never

95. To what extent would you agree with the following statements regarding imprisonment?	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
1. Amnesties are a way of over-riding the decisions of the court					
2. If they really learn in prison, reducing a sentence shortens their learning period					
3. Prisoners should be shown no mercy					
4. When the system is merciful and lenient with offenders, it disrespects and degrades police work and police officers					

Now that you have so kindly almost completed this questionnaire, the researcher needs the following information to enable her to compare and contrast responses between the different categories:

96. What is your rank?

1. Police constable
2. Police sergeant
3. Police inspector
4. Superintendent
5. Assistant commissioner
6. Deputy commissioner
7. Commissioner
8. Commandant of the police academy

97. Gender: male/female

98. Age: In which age bracket do you fall?

1. 18 – 24 years 2. 25 – 30 years 3. 31 – 40 years 4. 41 – 50 years 5. 51 – 60 years

99. What is your educational background?

1. Up to but not beyond primary school.
2. Up to but not beyond secondary school.
3. Up to but not beyond post-secondary school (6^{th} Form, Higher Secondary, Vocational training…).
4. Up to tertiary (University) level.

100. For how long have you been a police officer?

1. 0 – 5 years 2. 6 – 10 years 3. 11 – 15 years 4. 16 – 20 years 5. over 20 years

101. At what level did you join the Malta Police Force?

1. At recruit level. 2. As a graduate – at officer cadet level.

102. This final question requires you to give your own opinion in your own words. Please write down your answer. It is about what you would most like to see if you were able to make one and only one reform or change to policing in Malta

What change would you introduce?
Why would you make this reform?

Appendix B: Permission of Police Commissioner

Telephone No. 224002, 220451 (Police H.Q. Exchange)

All communications should be addressed to the Commissioner of Police, and not to to individual Officers by name or appointment

POLICE GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
Floriana,
Malta.
13th March 2001

Our Reference No.

Your Reference No.

Ms. Jacqueline Azzopardi
Director
Institute of Forensic Studies
University of Malta

Re: Study on Police Culture in Malta.

Reference is made to your correspondence dated 11th March 2001 as regards subject in caption.

I am directed to inform you that your request has been approved.

Regards,

Lawrence Cauchi
Assistant Commissioner
Strategy & Planning

LC/ags

Appendix C: Certificate of SPSS - Introduction Course

L-UNIVERSITÀ TA' MALTA
Msida MSD 06 – Malta
ĊENTRU GĦAS-SERVIZZI TAL-KOMPJUTER
TEL: 3290 3004 – 6
FAX: (356) 343397

UNIVERSITY OF MALTA
Msida MSD 06 – Malta
COMPUTING SERVICES CENTRE
E-MAIL: csc@um.edu.mt
WEB: http://www.csc.um.edu.mt

28th December, 2001

This is to certify that

Jacqueline Azzopardi

has participated in a 6-hour course

SPSS - INTRODUCTION

which was held in December 2001. This course covered introductory skills in data analysis using SPSS 10.0.

Ms Audrienne Cutajar Bezzina
Course Tutor

Appendix D: Letter to all Interviewees

Jacqueline Azzopardi B. Ed (Hons), Dip P.S., MSc
Director
Institute of Forensic Studies
10th December, 2001

To all the Police Officers who receive this questionnaire

First of all, I would like to apologise for the length of this questionnaire and sincerely thank you for your time and patience. Your gesture is greatly appreciated! As you will see, this questionnaire will give an indication of the attitudes and the mentality of most police officers in Malta and Gozo. It is hoped that, this research will serve as an instrument for the Malta Police Force in its efforts for improved policing. This study is the first of its kind in Malta and, as such, is being closely observed by the police authorities. In fact, as you can see (enclosed, kindly find a letter minute by the Commissioner of Police), it is being fully supported by the Malta Police Force. For this, I am very grateful!

Once you complete the questionnaire, kindly insert it in the envelope (enclosed) and send it to:

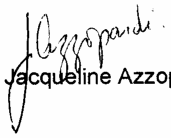
The Human Resource Manager
Human Resources
Police Headquarters
Floriana

It is imperative that all the questionnaires reach this office by not later than,

FRIDAY, 21st DECEMBER, 2001.

Again, I thank you for your help and take this opportunity to wish you all, a very happy Christmas and a New Year filled with contentment!

Sincerely,



Jacqueline Azzopardi

Appendix E: Letter Minute

24

MESSAGE REF. GHQ OG 529
SENDER
OPERATOR P.C.852 PIERRE BUGEJA

DATE 28/01/02
TIME 13:20:20
SER. NO.26125

FROM HUMAN RESOURCES BRANCH
TO
GENERAL

REPEAT TO

SUBJECT .
MESSAGE

THOSE WHO HAVE NOT RETURNED THE QUESTIONNAIRE POSTED TO THEM BY MS.J.AZZOPARDI MAY WISH TO DO SO AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.THOSE WHO HAVE MISLAID THEIR COPY MAY WISH TO PICK ONE FROM H.R.BRANCH.

1/ PC 120 .2/ WPC 145 3/ WPC 46 .4/ PC 244 .5/ . PC 66 ... 6/ PC 557 . .7/ PC 5 . . :.
8/ PC 245 9/ WPC 164 10/ PC 46 ..DETAILS OFFICERS PS.1265 PC.976 PC375
HR DURG/S SII CID SAG FOR

DISTRICT 6 LINK

MESSAGE CONFIRMED BY WPC 195 ROMINA VELLA DATE 28/01/02 TIME 13:43:44

ACTION TAKEN:

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