## Ethics Surveys of First Year Constables: Summary of Findings 1995–1998

Research and Prevention Division Criminal Justice Commission

November 1999

#### The CJC's mission is to promote integrity in the Queensland Public Sector and an effective, fair and accessible criminal justice system.

# Abbreviations

CJC Criminal Justice Commission

QPS Queensland Police Service

- ESC Ethical Standards Command (formerly the Professional Standards Unit)
- PSU Professional Standards Unit (now the Ethical Standards Command)
- NPRU National Police Research Unit
- FYC First Year Constables
- RBT Random Breath Test

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## Executive summary

The Criminal Justice Commission regularly surveys First Year Constables concerning their views on ethical conduct and the disciplinary and complaints process within the Queensland Police Service. The surveys are administered to officers in training at the Academy after they have been 'in the field' as operational police for several months. The methodology employed ensures that the vast majority of constables in each intake complete the survey.

The data summarised in this paper relate to four separate samples of First Year Constables:

- 1. January 1995 intake surveyed after 8 months in the field (n=84)
- 2. January 1996 intake surveyed after 2 months in the field (n=50)
- 3. January 1997 intake surveyed after 6 months in the field (n=113)
- 4. January 1998 intake surveyed after 6 months in the field (n=157).

#### How First Year Constables view the disciplinary and complaints process

Since 1995, there has been an increase in respondents' knowledge of:

- the disciplinary and complaints process
- how to deal with ethical problems
- the Criminal Justice Commission's role in investigating complaints.

Knowledge of the role of the Ethical Standards Command (formerly called the Professional Standards Unit), the informal resolution process and the appeals procedure in relation to discipline matters has remained consistently low over all four surveys.

Most respondents said they knew an officer who had been the subject of a complaint investigation, and that they thought the Queensland Police Service was fairer than the Criminal Justice Commission in the way in which it conducted investigations.

#### Attitudes of First Year Constables to scenarios of unethical conduct

Respondents were presented with 10 scenarios describing various forms of unethical conduct and asked to:

- rate the seriousness of the conduct
- indicate whether they would be willing to report a fellow officer for engaging in that conduct
- rate the likelihood of an officer who engaged in such behaviour being caught.

For most scenarios, there was an increase over the four years in perceived seriousness, and willingness to report, and perceived likelihood of detection. These trends may reflect the greater emphasis being placed on ethical issues in Academy training; they could also indicate a more general change in the Queensland Police Service culture.

#### How First Year Constables view the police culture and organisation

Respondents had positive views about some aspects of the police culture and organisation, but perceived the organisation as a whole to be punitive rather than supportive. There has been some increase over the four years in the stated preparedness of First Year Constables to report fellow officers for misconduct, but many respondents remain concerned about the consequences of 'whistleblowing'.

# Introduction

#### About the survey

The Research and Prevention Division of the Criminal Justice Commission (CJC) regularly administers the survey 'Police Views on the Complaints and Disciplinary Process' to Queensland Police Service (QPS) recruits, First Year Constables (FYCs) and other groups of officers training at the Academy. The CJC conducts this ongoing research to monitor any shifts in the attitudes or views of QPS officers on issues relating to ethical conduct.

The survey seeks to find out what police think of the disciplinary and complaints procedures within the QPS and to get their responses to a number of scenarios of unethical conduct by police officers. These scenarios are modelled on questions used in a survey undertaken by the National Police Research Unit (NPRU) in 1992 (Huon et al. 1995). Respondents are also asked to rate the fairness of QPS and CJC complaint investigations.

This paper focuses specifically on the results of surveys administered to FYCs after they have spent some time 'in the field' as operational police. The surveys were administered in class while officers were attending the Academy for in-service training, and were filled out by the officers themselves. The great majority of FYCs in each intake completed the questionnaire. Surveys contain no identifying details and all participants were advised that their anonymity would be protected.

#### Characteristics of survey groups

The data presented here relate to four separate FYC samples:

- January 1995 intake surveyed after 6 months in the field (n=84)
- January 1996 intake surveyed after 2 months in the field (n=50)<sup>1</sup>
- January 1997 intake surveyed after 6 months in the field  $(n=113)^2$
- January 1998 intake surveyed after 6 months in the field  $(n=157)^3$

The data in table 1 indicate that the majority of respondents surveyed were male, with the gender proportions remaining fairly constant across the intake groups. There was some shift in the age profile, with the 1998 intake containing fewer respondents aged under 25 years than the previous intakes.

	Gender (%)			Age (%)							
Number (n)	Male	Female	Unknown	21–25	26-30	31–35	36-40	41+	Unknown		
84	56.0	34.5	9.5	52.4	23.8	8.3	2.4	0.0	13.1		
50	66.0	30.0	4.0	58.0	28.0	8.0	2.0	0.0	4.0		
113	70.8	27.4	1.8	54.0	28.3	9.7	2.7	3.5	1.8		
157	63.1	32.5	4.5	43.9	30.6	9.6	8.3	2.5	5.1		
	(n) 84 50 113	Number (n) Male   84 56.0   50 66.0   113 70.8	Number (n) Male Female   84 56.0 34.5   50 66.0 30.0   113 70.8 27.4	Number (n) Male Female Unknown   84 56.0 34.5 9.5   50 66.0 30.0 4.0   113 70.8 27.4 1.8	Number (n) Male Female Unknown 21–25   84 56.0 34.5 9.5 52.4   50 66.0 30.0 4.0 58.0   113 70.8 27.4 1.8 54.0	Number (n) Male Female Unknown 21-25 26-30   84 56.0 34.5 9.5 52.4 23.8   50 66.0 30.0 4.0 58.0 28.0   113 70.8 27.4 1.8 54.0 28.3	Number (n) Male Female Unknown 21–25 26–30 31–35   84 56.0 34.5 9.5 52.4 23.8 8.3   50 66.0 30.0 4.0 58.0 28.0 8.0   113 70.8 27.4 1.8 54.0 28.3 9.7	Number (n) Male Female Unknown 21–25 26–30 31–35 36–40   84 56.0 34.5 9.5 52.4 23.8 8.3 2.4   50 66.0 30.0 4.0 58.0 28.0 8.0 2.0   113 70.8 27.4 1.8 54.0 28.3 9.7 2.7	Number (n) Male Female Unknown 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41+   84 56.0 34.5 9.5 52.4 23.8 8.3 2.4 0.0   50 66.0 30.0 4.0 58.0 28.0 8.0 2.0 0.0   113 70.8 27.4 1.8 54.0 28.3 9.7 2.7 3.5		

Note: 'Unknown' refers to the percentage of respondents who chose not to answer these questions.

<sup>1</sup> Although this group of FYCs was surveyed after only two months in the field, previous data analysis shows that there is little variation between this and other survey groups that had spent longer periods in the field.

<sup>2</sup> This intake group included 33 FYCs from the Townsville Campus of the QPS Academy.

<sup>3</sup> This intake group included 43 FYCs from the Townsville Campus of the QPS Academy.

## Structure of this paper

Comparisons between the intake groups are presented under the following headings:

- 1. The disciplinary and complaints process
- 2. Scenarios of unethical conduct
  - seriousness ratings
  - action officers would take
  - perceived likelihood of detection
- 3. Views of the police culture and organisation

# 1. The disciplinary and complaints process

#### Information received during training and service

Respondents were asked to indicate how much information they had received during training and service, and how well informed they considered themselves to be, in relation to:

- · the disciplinary and complaints process
- how to deal with ethical problems
- the CJC's role in investigating complaints
- the role of the Ethical Standards Command (ESC), (formerly known as the Professional Standards Unit)
- informal resolution procedure
- the appeals procedure in relation to discipline
- complaints investigations.

100

90

80

70

60

50

40

30

20

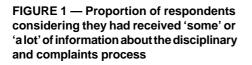
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0

1995

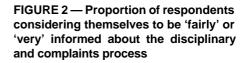
Per cent

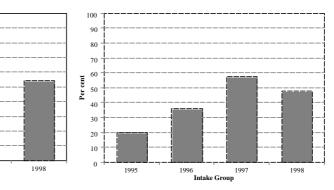
Figures 1 and 2 show, for each of these aspects, the proportion of respondents who believed that they had received 'some' or 'a lot' of information during their training and service (refer to Part A, questions 1a to 1f in appendix) and the proportion who considered themselves to be 'fairly' or 'very' informed (refer to Part A, questions 2a to 2f in the appendix).



1996 Intake Group

1997

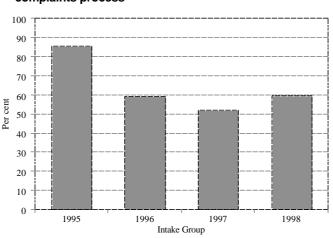


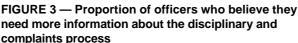


Since 1995, there has been an improvement in how respondents rate the amount of information they have received and how well informed they consider themselves to be in relation to the disciplinary and complaints process. In 1998, 54 per cent of respondents reported that they had received 'some' or 'a lot' of information about the disciplinary and complaints process (see figure 1) while 48 per cent reported that they were 'fairly' or 'very' (see figure 2). The comparable proportions in 1995 were 33 per cent and 20 per cent.

#### The need for more information

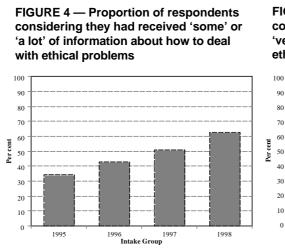
In 1995, 86 per cent of respondents stated that they thought they needed more information about the disciplinary and complaints process (refer to Part A, question 3 of the appendix), whereas this proportion had dropped to 60 per cent in 1998 (see figure 3). This shows an increase in knowledge with subsequent intake groups, although the proportion of those who believe they require more information is still quite high. The officers were also asked which particular aspects of the process they would like more information about. Of the 94 FYCs surveyed in 1998 who indicated that they wanted more information about the disciplinary and complaints process, 24 per cent said that they needed more information about 'everything', 12 per cent mentioned the disciplinary and complaints process and 6 per cent the investigation of complaints.

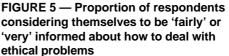


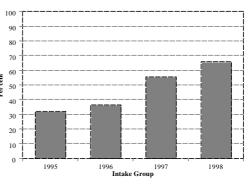


#### How to deal with ethical problems

Since 1995, FYCs report having received an increasing amount of information regarding how to deal with ethical problems confronted as an officer. This most probably reflects the greater attention now being given to training in ethical issues by the QPS Academy. There has been a corresponding increase in the proportion of respondents considering themselves to be 'very' or 'fairly' informed about how to deal with such problems. In 1998, 63 per cent of respondents reported having received 'some' or 'a lot' of information about how to deal with ethical problems compared with only 35 per cent in 1995 (see figure 4). Similarly, in 1998, 66 per cent considered themselves to be 'fairly' or 'very' informed about how to deal with such matters compared with 32 per cent in 1995 (see figure 5).

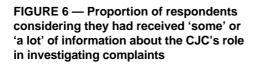


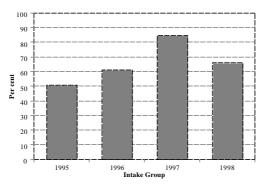




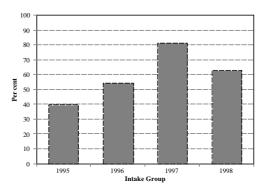
## CJC's role in investigating complaints

Knowledge of the CJC's role in investigating complaints is fairly high and has increased over the four years. In 1998, 66 per cent of respondents reported that they had received 'some' or 'a lot' of information about the CJC (see figure 6), and around 63 per cent considered themselves to be 'fairly' or 'very' informed about the CJC's role in investigating complaints (see figure 7). Comparable proportions for 1995 were 51 per cent and 40 per cent.



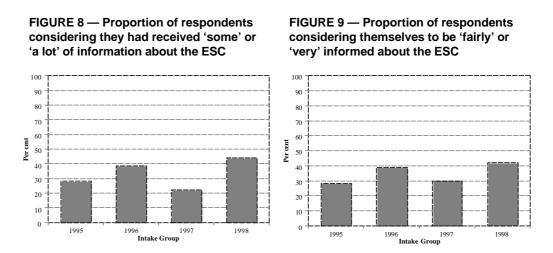


#### FIGURE 7 — Proportion of respondents considering themselves to be 'fairly' or 'very' informed about the CJC's role in investigating complaints



#### Role of the Ethical Standards Command

The data indicate a slight upward trend in the proportion of respondents with knowledge of the ESC. In 1998, 44 per cent of respondents reported having received 'some' or 'a lot' of information in relation to the ESC (see figure 8), while 42 per cent considered themselves to be 'fairly' or 'very' informed about the ESC (see figure 9). However, the reported level of understanding of the role of the ESC is still substantially less than knowledge of the CJC.



#### Informal resolution procedure

In 1998, only 27 per cent of respondents believed that they had received 'some' or 'a lot' of information in relation to the informal resolution procedure (see figure 10). In addition, only 31 per cent of respondents considered themselves to be 'fairly' or 'very' informed about this procedure (see figure 11). This is only a slight improvement over 1995.

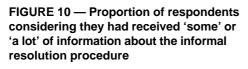
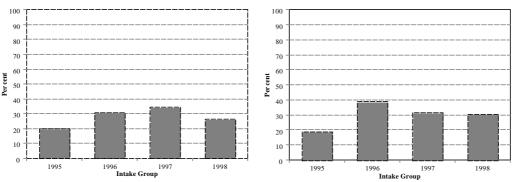
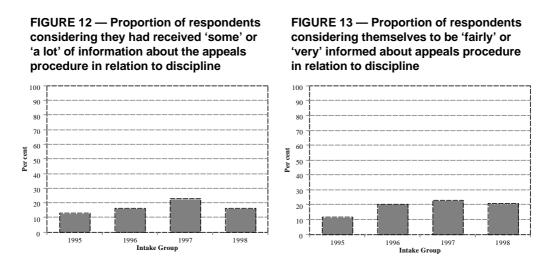


FIGURE 11 — Proportion of respondents considering themselves to be 'fairly' or 'very' informed about informal resolution procedure



#### Appeals procedure in relation to discipline

It would appear from the data that FYCs have received very little information about the appeals process in relation to disciplinary matters. In 1998, only 17 per cent of respondents reported having received 'some' or 'a lot' of information about the appeals procedure (see figure 12) and only 21 per cent considered themselves to be 'fairly' or 'very' informed (see figure 13).

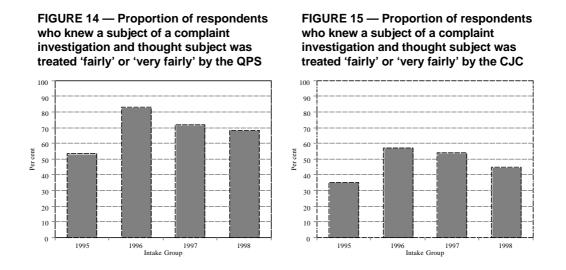


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#### Complaint investigations

In the final section of the survey, respondents were asked if they personally knew an officer who had recently been the subject of a complaint investigation (refer to Part F, question 1 in the appendix). Most officers (73% in 1998) said that they did. Respondents who gave this reply were then asked to rate the perceived fairness of complaint investigations conducted by the QPS and the CJC.

Figure 14 displays the proportion of respondents who thought the subject of investigation was treated 'fairly' or 'very fairly' by the QPS. This proportion has shown an overall increase since 1995, but since 1996 has declined. This trend is reflected in the respondents' view of the subject's treatment by the CJC (see figure 15). The CJC was generally viewed less favourably than the QPS.



#### Summary

The data indicate that FYCs have received relatively little information about informal resolution procedure, the ESC and the discipline appeals procedure. It may be that these areas need further attention in the training process. However, knowledge of how to deal with ethical problems and the CJC's role in investigating complaints has increased over time and is now comparatively high. The proportion of respondents who believe the subject of a QPS or CJC investigation was treated 'fairly' or 'very fairly' has decreased since 1996. Respondents generally see the QPS as treating officers who are the subject of an investigation more fairly than the CJC.

# 2. Scenarios of unethical conduct

This section discusses responses to the following 10 scenarios, each of which describe various forms of unethical conduct by police:

- Scenario 1 Off-duty officer tries to avoid Random Breath Test (RBT)
- Scenario 2 Officer at bottle shop break-in pockets cigarettes
- Scenario 3 Officer retaliates against youth who assaulted female officer
- Scenario 4 Accident by police misrepresented in report
- Scenario 5 Words added to suspected rapist's statement
- Scenario 6 Pick-up outside of patrol area
- Scenario 7 Registration check to get details of attractive woman
- Scenario 8 Officers accept cartons of beer for Christmas party
- Scenario 9 Officer forcefully moves youth on
- Scenario 10 Skimming from drug exhibits.

The full wording of these scenarios is set out in Part B of the questionnaire included in the appendix.

The FYCs surveyed were asked to:

- rate the seriousness of the conduct described in each of the scenarios
- report what type of action they would take if they became aware that a fellow officer had engaged in such behaviour
- predict the likelihood that an officer engaging in the type of behaviour depicted in the scenario would 'get caught'.

The findings for these questions are reported below.

#### Seriousness ratings

For each of the scenarios, respondents were asked to rate on a scale from 1 to 10 how seriously they regarded the behaviour, with 1 being 'not serious' and 10 being 'extremely serious'. Figure 16 displays the seriousness ratings assigned by respondents for each scenario, with the scenarios being ranked from most to least serious.

For most scenarios there was some increase in the average seriousness ratings, with the largest increase tending to be for the scenarios that were ranked as least serious in 1995.

Scenarios that were regarded least seriously were:

- officer retaliates against youth who assaulted female officer (scenario 3)
- pick-up outside of a patrol area (scenario 6)
- officers accept cartons of beer for Christmas party (scenario 8).

Respondents were also asked to indicate how seriously a 'typical officer' would view conduct described in the various scenarios. These responses are displayed in figure 17. Again, the data show an improving trend in the seriousness ratings across the intake groups.

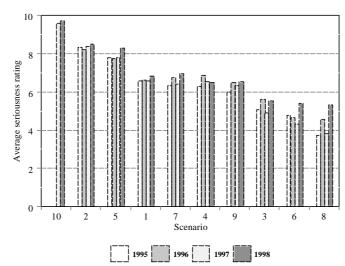
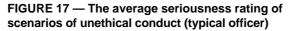
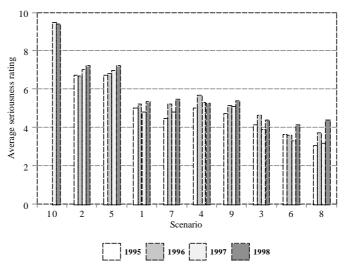


FIGURE 16 — The average seriousness ratings of scenarios of unethical conduct (personal view)





It should be noted that the seriousness ratings for the 'typical officer' indicated by the respondents (figure 17) are slightly lower than their personal seriousness ratings (figure 16). This is in line with the NPRU findings in which respondents indicated that a 'typical officer' would regard ethical breaches associated with an operational matter less seriously than they would themselves (Huon et al. 1995). Similar findings were obtained in an analysis undertaken by the CJC in 1995. It was found in that study that the discrepancy was less prominent for more experienced officers.

Those behaviours viewed as most serious by the FYCs were:

- skimming from drug exhibits (scenario 10)
- pocketing cigarettes at bottle-shop break-in (scenario 2)
- adding words to suspected rapist's statement (scenario 5).

#### Action officers would take

Respondents were asked to indicate what action, if any, they would take if they became aware that a fellow officer had engaged in the behaviour outlined in each of the scenarios. The options were:

- take no action
- report the matter to the QPS
- report the matter to the CJC
- informally raise with a senior officer
- raise directly with the officer.

For the purposes of this analysis, we collapsed these responses into two categories:

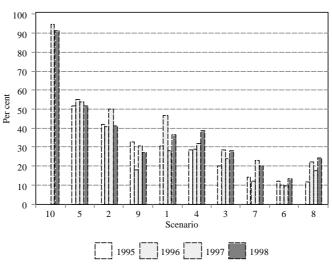
- 'willingness to take official action' the respondent indicated that he or she would formally report the officer to the QPS or CJC, or would informally bring the incident to the attention of a senior officer
- 'unwillingness to act' the respondent indicated that he or she would take no action, or would only raise the matter informally with the officer concerned.

The data collected show that overall there has been an increase in the proportion of officers who would be willing to take action that would result in a matter coming to official attention (see figure 18). The scenarios where there was the greatest increase in the willingness to report were:

- accident by police misrepresented in report (scenario 4)
- officer retaliates against youth who assaulted a female officer (scenario 3)
- registration check to get details of an attractive woman (scenario 7)
- officers accept cartons of beer for Christmas party (scenario 8).

There was only one scenario (scenario 9 – officer forcefully moves youth on) where the proportion of officers willing to take action that would result in official attention was lower in the last three years than in 1995.

It is clear in figure 18 that the respondents were most likely to take action resulting in official attention for scenario 10 (skimming from drug exhibits). As a general rule, those scenarios that were indicated by respondents to be the most serious (scenarios 10, 2 and 5 — see figures 16 and 17) were also those for which officers were most likely to take official action (see figure 18).

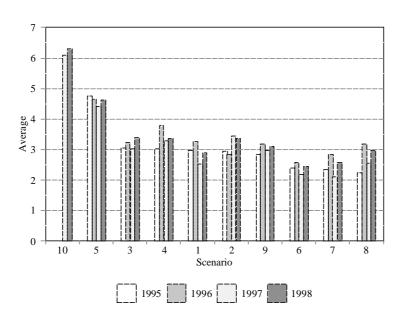


# FIGURE 18 — Proportion of officers willing to take action which would result in official attention for each scenario of unethical conduct

#### Perceived likelihood of detection

For each scenario, respondents were asked to indicate, on a scale from 1 (not at all likely) to 7 (very likely), the likelihood of an officer who engaged in that behaviour being caught. Displayed in figure 19 are the average ratings for each intake group.

The perceived likelihood of detection ratings reported by respondents show a slight upward trend for most scenarios since 1995 (see figure 19). The exception to this are scenarios 1 (attempting to avoid an RBT) and 5 (words added to a suspected rapist's statement). Scenarios 2 (officer at bottle shop pockets cigarettes) and 8 (officers accept cartons of beer at Christmas party) show the greatest average rating increase since 1995. The behaviours perceived as least likely to be detected are those in scenarios 6 (pick-up outside of patrol area) and 7 (registration check). The increase in perceived likelihood of detection could be due, in part, to the publicity generated by high-profile misconduct investigations, such as the Carter Inquiry into Police and Drugs, which may have helped raise awareness about the risks of engaging in improper conduct.



#### FIGURE 19 — Average likelihood of 'getting caught'

Note: Scenario 10 was not included on the 1995 and 1996 surveys.

#### Summary

Over the four years sampled, there has been a small but consistent increase in the seriousness with which respondents regard the unethical conduct described in the scenarios, the proportions of officers willing to take action that leads to official attention, and respondents' ratings of the perceived likelihood that such behaviour will be detected. These trends may reflect the impact of the greater emphasis being placed on ethical issues in Academy training; the changes could also be indicative of some more general change in QPS culture.

# 3. Views of the police culture and organisation

The FYCs were requested to rate their agreement with a number of statements regarding the police culture and organisation. The response format allowed the agreement ratings to range from 'strongly disagree' (1) to strongly agree' (7). Refer to Part D and Part E of the questionnaire in the appendix.

The questions have been grouped into the following six categories for interpretation:

- organisational standards
- views on supervisors and managers
- attitudes and behaviour of fellow officers
- reporting misconduct
- training
- police powers.

The average values of the responses for each intake group are displayed in table 2. The higher the value, the higher the respondent's level of agreement with the statement.

## Organisational standards

All groups of FYCs surveyed considered that the standards for conduct have been clearly communicated to them, and are also of the opinion that the QPS is very tough on breaches of the standards. The organisation is generally seen as punitive rather than supportive, through focusing on what the officers are doing wrong and not recognising or rewarding proper conduct by police. There has been little change over time in the level of agreement with these statements.

#### Views on supervisors and managers

The FYCs surveyed have moderately positive views about their supervisors and managers. Most of them agree that their superiors are approachable and set a good example for new officers. The reported agreement ratings have remained constant over time.

## Attitudes and behaviour of fellow officers

There is generally a positive view of the attitudes and behaviour of fellow officers. The agreement ratings for most statements have remained fairly stable over time. Of concern is the increase in agreement with the statement 'you need to break the rules sometimes to get on with others'.

## Reporting misconduct

The majority of FYCs believe that 'it is not unusual for an officer to turn a blind eye to the misconduct of other officers', and that 'whistleblowing is not worth it'. The data also indicate that many officers may be reluctant to report the misconduct of another officer due to concern about the reaction of fellow officers. There has been little change in these responses over time.

Question	1995	1996	1997	1998
Organisational standards				
The QPS rules for proper conduct have been made clear to me.	5.4	5.3	5.8	5.8
The QPS takes a very tough line on improper behaviour by police.	5.8	5.8	5.8 6.1	5.8 6.0
The QPS concentrates on what we do wrong rather than what	5.0	5.8	0.1	0.0
we do right.	6.1	5.3	5.7	5.8
The QPS recognises and rewards proper behaviour by police.	2.9	3.5	2.9	2.7
Honesty is rewarded in the police service.	3.4	3.7	3.4	3.3
Views on supervisors and managers				
Supervisors (Sergeants and Senior Sergeants) are 100% behind organisational goals.	4.1	4.3	4.3	4.4
Senior Officers are 100% behind organisational goals.	4.5	4.6	4.7	4.6
The officers in charge of my station set a good example for new officers.	5.1	5.5	5.0	5.4
I find it easy to talk to my supervisors about problems I am facing				
in my work.	5.0	5.0	4.8	4.9
Supervisors in the police service are conscientious about detecting and reporting misconduct.	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.7
Attitudes and behaviour of fellow officers				
Police on the ground have higher standards than I expected.	4.5	4.6	4.4	4.6
There is little incidence of improper conduct in the QPS.	4.5	4.4	4.8	4.8
t is understandable if officers behave improperly after the QPS has let them down.	3.9	4.0	3.3	3.5
The average police officer is 100% behind organisational goals.	3.9	3.7	3.8	4.0
Typical officers put more effort into their job than I expected.	5.2	4.7	4.6	5.0
Typical officers feel a great deal of loyalty to the service.	4.5	4.6	4.4	4.5
My values and those of the police service are very similar.	5.1	5.0	5.1	5.4
Sometimes you have to break the rules if you want to get on with others.	2.9	3.9	3.2	3.5
Reporting misconduct				
It is not unusual for a typical officer to turn a blind eye to improper				
conduct by other officers.	4.9	4.8	4.4	4.6
Whistle blowing is not worth it.	4.6	4.7	4.3	4.4
An officer who reports another officer's misconduct shouldn't expect much support from the police hierarchy.	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.4
An officer who reports another officer's misconduct is likely to be given the cold shoulder by his or her fellow officers.	5.7	5.6	5.5	5.7
Training				
My Academy training conforms with my experiences as a police officer on the street.	3.8	3.9	3.0	3.0
The ethical training of police officers is very effective.	4.6	4.5	4.3	4.6
Police powers				
Expecting officers to always follow the rules is incompatible with getting the job done.	4.7	5.0	4.2	4.3
Police officers are very respectful in their treatment of the public.	5.3	4.9	5.4	5.4
	1			

#### TABLE 2 — Average agreement-rating scores for statements regarding the police culture

## Training

There was generally a positive response from the FYCs in relation to ethical training, with little change in responses across the four years. It appears, though, that the proportion of FYCs believing that the Academy training conforms with their experiences as a police officer on the street has declined over time.

## Police powers

The general view of the FYCs was that police powers are not adequate for police to do the job expected of them. However, there has been some decrease over time in the level of agreement with this statement and in the proportion that agree that 'expecting officers to always follow the rules is incompatible with getting the job done'. This may be a reflection of the introduction of the *Police Powers and Responsibilities Act 1998*.

# Summary of findings

The key findings reported in this paper are as follows:

Overall there has been an increase in FYCs' reported level of knowledge about the disciplinary and complaints process, although knowledge about some aspects, such as informal resolution and the role of the ESC, has remained low.

There has been a substantial increase over time in the proportion of respondents who considered themselves to have been informed about how to deal with ethical problems. This indicates that the greater attention being given by the QPS Academy to training in ethical issues is having a positive effect.

There has been a positive change in the responses of FYCs to the various ethical scenarios set out in the survey. This may be due to the increased emphasis being given to ethical issues in the training program; it could also reflect a change in the 'rank and file' culture generally.

There has been some increase over time in the perceived likelihood that an officer who engages in improper behaviour will 'get caught'. Again, this may reflect the greater emphasis being given to ethical issues in the training process. High-profile misconduct investigations, such as the Carter Inquiry into Police and Drugs, may also have helped raise awareness of the risks of engaging in improper conduct.

Survey respondents hold positive views about some aspects of the QPS culture and organisation, but the organisation as a rule is still largely regarded as punitive rather than supportive.

There has been some increase over time in the stated preparedness of FYCs to report fellow officers for misconduct, but many respondents remain concerned about the consequences of 'whistleblowing'.