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Contents

Articles

A Brief Discussion of Effective Ways to Teach Potentially Life-Saving Psychology

Konstantinos Papazoglou, Daniel M. Blumberg and Mike Schlosser 2

Counterproductive Counterterrorism? A Preliminary Examination of the Terrorist Identity as a Social Construct of Conditions of Confinement

Nathan Thompson 11

Structural Violence in Unexpected Indigenous Police Custody Deaths; Canada & Australia

Vincent Eagan 33

Development of Intelligence Collection and Analysis on Sex Trafficking: A Challenge for “Rescue” NGOs

Troy Whitford 63

Adaptability Traits and Perception of Forensic Science among Investigating Police Officers (IPOs) in Nigeria

Zakariyya Muhammad Sarki and Geshina Ayu Mat Saat 75

Book Reviews

Trends in Corrections: Interviews with Corrections Leaders around the World

Emma Wintle 93

Civil Disobedience: a Philosophical Overview

Anna Corbo Crehan 95

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A Brief Discussion of Effective Ways to Teach Potentially Life-Saving Psychology

*Konstantinos Papazoglou, * Daniel M. Blumberg and Mike Schlosser*

ABSTRACT

Police officers are exposed to a plethora of potentially life-threatening incidents over the course of their careers. These events cause specific psychological harm to police officers. Even though police departments aim to provide their police personnel with advanced technological equipment and effective operational training, questions remain about the degree to which police officers are adequately trained to survive the often debilitating psychological challenges of police work. In this paper, some relevant psychological research findings will be presented to demonstrate the ways in which police officers can be better prepared for the mental and emotional adversities of their jobs. The authors provide an action plan for psychological scientific and clinical knowledge to be incorporated into police training curricula in the academy, during continuing professional education, and through on-duty field training. The argument is advanced that law enforcement executives and administrators should directly focus on officers' mental preparedness and psychological survival.

Keywords: police trauma; police compassion fatigue; police moral injury; stress; emotional regulation; psychological training

INTRODUCTION

The stressful nature of police work is common knowledge. Thanks to books, movies, and television programs, the public has been exposed to the real and fictionalised dangers that officers encounter. For example, former police officer and best-selling author Joseph Wambaugh peeled back the veneer and exposed some of the deep seated psychological issues that impact many police officers. Some of these stressors are operational (i.e., on-duty experiences), some stressors are organisational (e.g., staffing, resources), and some are environmental (e.g., the relationship with the community, crime rates).

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Although mental health practitioners have provided clinical services to police officers for decades, it has been difficult for psychologists to translate the science into something practical to be used in police training. One veteran police sergeant expressed his frustration after a psychological training class when he said “*Doc, too much analysis brings paralysis.*” According to this officer, psychologists (and other healthcare providers) should leave the arcane science in the university classroom. Instead of simply teaching psychological principles to officers, they should adapt the science and provide officers with pragmatic applications that can be used on- and off-duty.

Additionally, the field of psychology has made multiple contributions to public welfare in the form of treatment and assessment methods, policy programs, and psychoeducation, among others. Psychoeducation has been defined as a didactic way of providing an individual or a group of people with information that enables them to better understand—and, hence, cope with—an issue or a psychological matter (Bauml, 2006). Over the years, psychoeducation has been used with different populations, including patients suffering from bipolar disorder (Colom et al., 2003), schizophrenia (McFarlane et al., 1995), and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Neuner et al., 2004). However, before practitioners can undertake any sort of practical work with a particular client population, they need more than their knowledge of psychological practices and principles; they must have a keen awareness of the specific needs and characteristics of the members of the population with whom they will be working. This raises the central question of the present paper: since psychological knowledge appears to offer tremendous benefits to the health and wellbeing of police officers, how can healthcare professionals teach psychology to police officers in an efficient and effective manner?

Identifying the Issue

Police officers experience myriad critical incidents and traumatic stressors in the line of duty, which have the potential to negatively impact their health and wellbeing. Also, officers’ wellness is compromised by the chronic and cumulative influence of the organisational, operational, and environmental stressors confronted on a daily basis. Take the following

examples: 1) a police officer responds to the death of a child who happens to be the same age as his or her own child. The officer must secure the scene, while simultaneously providing some comfort to the distraught family; 2) a police officer pursues an armed suspect, on foot, who just committed a robbery. During the pursuit, the officer is faced with a “shoot-don't shoot” decision; 3) a police officer makes a traffic stop in a high crime area, at night, and the driver and occupants immediately start yelling and cussing at the officer. The police officer must remain calm, use all officer-safety protocols, and attempt to de-escalate the situation. These examples could happen to the same officer on consecutive shifts or even on the same shift. To make matters more difficult, the officer has to juggle stressors from his or her personal life, respond to the scrutiny of supervisors who will evaluate all of the officer's actions, and cope with the threat of citizen complaints and with unwanted media attention.

The majority of officers are doing the job for the right reasons: they want to help people who cannot help themselves, they want to protect people who cannot protect themselves, and they want to be part of the community. Nevertheless, the media tend to emphasise negative police behavior. This spotlight shines on all officers, not just the few bad apples. Furthermore, due to social media, cell phone videos, dash cams, and police body-worn cameras, police officers find themselves under the microscope 24/7, making their every action and word open to examination and critique. This has become a new form of stress for officers; many are reluctant to make a traffic stop or follow their training for fear that they will become the subject of the next viral video.

As part of their training in the police academy, as well as during subsequent continuing professional education throughout their career, officers are often taught psychological principles as a separate lecture- or workshop-based course. Critics of this pedagogical approach argue that it isolates the content within a classroom setting, which may (understandably) limit the ability of trainees to apply the concepts and skills in real-world settings. Indeed, considering the many challenges that officers experience while on-duty, translating the theoretical knowledge learned in the classroom to actual action while on patrol can be exceedingly difficult. There are two concerns. First, no one is suggesting that

psychological knowledge could train police officers to become clinicians. However, there are numerous psychological principles that, when applied, would help police officers do their jobs more effectively. Teaching officers how to use active listening skills and tactical empathy, for example, will help to defuse and deescalate situations with volatile individuals. This has to be done in a scenario-based, active learner modality, so that officers are able to practice and master these techniques. Secondly, psychological knowledge may be crucial for an officer's survival. Therefore, rather than teaching convoluted theories about, for example, the brain and body's reaction to stress, officers need to be taught how to put the psychological theories of wellness into practice, both on-duty and in their day-to-day lives.

Recommended Action Plan

The authors suggest that psychological knowledge should be incorporated into operational police practices in a manner that considers the multiple challenges that officers experience in the line of duty. To this end, psychologists should partner with police executives to determine effective ways of incorporating psychological principles and study findings into police practice. Although attempts to apply psychological knowledge in specific emergency situations may be ineffective because officers respond to a wide variety of incidents, psychological knowledge may nevertheless be viewed as an integral component of the major cluster of challenging issues (not incidents per se) that affect police officers. The following paragraphs discuss some of these challenges and how they can be addressed and processed by incorporating psychological knowledge.

Stress Reactivity. Given the pervasiveness of police officers' exposure to various stressors, psychologists can provide many evidence-based techniques to help officers manage their stress. Some of these techniques can be learned off-duty during individual or group sessions and utilised while on-duty, for example, progressive muscle relaxation, mindfulness, and controlled breathing (e.g., Barlow, 2007). Also, health-care professionals can teach and reinforce stress management techniques even while officers are on-duty. This can occur with the squad before a shift during roll-call and, even, in the field between calls. The routine presence of mental health professionals emphasises the positive

psychology aspect of wellness and stress management and destigmatises officers' interactions with clinicians. Furthermore, officers can be shown how employing such techniques before and after exposure to critical incidents may help them to significantly improve their ability to manage the resultant stress and to strengthen their resilience following such events (e.g., Andersen et al., 2015).

Emotion Regulation. Despite public expectations regarding appearance and deportment, officers experience emotions, such as fear and anger, which can affect their ability to think clearly and make appropriate decisions in the line of duty. Psychologists can teach officers techniques designed to regulate their emotional reactions. Emotion regulation training has been shown to improve officers' ability to accept and tolerate negative emotions, support themselves in distressing situations, and successfully process emotionally challenging situations (Berking, Meier, Wupperman, 2010). Because of concerns with liability, police executives can be convinced of the value of implementing emotion regulation training, but the training must be accompanied by subsequent reinforcement; officers should be held responsible to consistently demonstrate the skills that were taught.

Moral Injury and Distress. Police officers frequently experience moral dilemmas in the line of duty. In some of these situations, officers feel distress as a result of what they perceive to be a conflict between law and order on the one hand, and the reality of human society on the other. For instance, an officer may be ordered to conduct traffic stops and give out tickets in an underprivileged community where he or she knows that the violators will not be able to afford the citation. Similarly, an officer who responds to a critical incident (e.g., domestic violence, abused children) may question his or her ability to serve the community effectively; such officers begin to feel distress because they are unable to prevent harm from befalling innocent people.

Another form of psychological trauma that some officers experience is moral injury. This concept was developed by military scholars to describe the experience of being exposed to or failing to prevent atrocities during combat (Litz et al., 2009). Although the study of moral injury among police officers is still in its infancy (Papazoglou & Chopko,

2017), many officers experience this phenomenon because of what they encounter on duty. The harm caused by exposure to morally injurious incidents has considerable potential to negatively impact officers' job performance. In addition to experiencing intrusive levels of anger, shame, and guilt, morally injured officers begin to question whether there is any justice in this world. Leaders in the law enforcement can establish open dialogues with their personnel regarding their experiences of such events while in the line of duty (e.g., Kalvermark et al., 2004; Litz et al., 2009). Similarly, psychologists who work with police should collaborate with police executives to establish mechanisms to help officers identify (and share) the moral dilemmas and morally distressing situations they have experienced on the job.

Psychologists can help officers cope with morally injurious and distressing incidents. Officers should receive knowledge about duty-related moral dilemmas. They should have a mechanism to articulate their morally ambiguous experiences and receive support and hands-on training about proven techniques for dealing with the psychological impact of these experiences. These techniques include journaling, attending group meetings, and practicing some form of spirituality.

Compassion Fatigue. Officers are frequently exposed to the aftermaths of violent crimes, natural catastrophes, fatal accidents, and all other types of general human suffering. Furthermore, officers are often required to provide support to civilians or victims who may be experiencing feelings of desperation and emotional suffering. As a result of these demands, officers may experience compassion fatigue. Compassion fatigue refers to the “cost of caring” for those who suffer (Figley, 1995, 2002) and often results from an officer's inability to emotionally connect with victims or, at the other extreme end of the spectrum, to emotionally disengage from their suffering (Figley, 1995, 2002; Papazoglou, 2017). However, research has shown that the impact of compassion fatigue may be mitigated by compassion satisfaction, which refers to an officer's capacity to feel appreciation and satisfaction for helping those who suffer (Figley 1995, 2002). To this end, psychologists may help officers improve their ability to recognise situations that could lead to compassion fatigue. Likewise, psychologists could instruct officers

to apply tangible techniques that would enable them to recognise the value of their service to their communities. For instance, letters of appreciation or gratitude have been successfully used in work with military personnel as a way of helping them appreciate the value of their services (Reivich, Seligman, & McBride, 2011). Similarly, police officers can be helped to develop compassion satisfaction through the use of gratitude exercises and letters of appreciation.

CONCLUSION

Police officers attend various training sessions throughout their careers. Who delivers the information in these training sessions is as important as the particular lesson or curriculum itself. Police officers consider themselves to be a family and tend to believe that those outside of their family cannot relate to their complex world or their struggles. An officer might say, “Do my job for a while, then we’ll talk.” Unfortunately, many times, perceived legitimacy comes only when an established officer delivers the training. Therefore, for anything outside of the basic law enforcement realm, it is important for non-law enforcement personnel to collaborate with law enforcement instructors for training. Non-law enforcement trainers should spend time in the field with police officers to gain officers’ respect and earn legitimacy.

The authors have emphasised that psychological survival should be considered of equal importance to physical survival for police officers in the line of duty. Indeed, police departments often disregard the critical role of psychological survival for their officers. However, as two interrelated structures, mind and body should be equally prioritised and supported. To this end, psychologists can play a vital role by collaborating with police executives to develop training curricula that is accessible and that can be easily applied to police practice. Although it is important for officers to learn about psychological theories via lectures and workshops, police officers would benefit immensely from the introduction of tangible psychological skills that can be instantly applied within their day-to-day work. This approach would allow officers to utilise preventative skills, which would help them prevent many of the debilitating impacts that their work can have on their health and wellness. The Israeli army, for example, has pioneered “psychological gyms” in which personnel can “work out” to

cope with trauma-related issues (Cobb, 2013). Police departments are encouraged to institute similar resources. Ultimately, mental health professionals can help police officers understand the vital importance that psychological knowledge plays in their psychological survival.

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Counterproductive Counterterrorism? A Preliminary Examination of the Terrorist Identity as a Social Construct of Conditions of Confinement.

Nathan Thompson*

ABSTRACT

Prisoner classification is an essential component of effective offender management and rehabilitation. However, the detrimental side-effects, such as that of labelling are often neglected. While prisoner classifications are generally assigned based on the level of risk that the offender presents, in certain circumstances, classifications such as that of the former Special Category Status in Northern Ireland and Category AA or Category 5 in New South Wales are reserved for terrorist offenders and are assigned based on the nature of the offence. Coupled with the practice of segregating this offender group from the mainstream prisoner population, and the requirement that they dress differently to their criminal peers, this paper argues that these conditions of confinement act as identity symbols that afford external validation to the terrorist offender's desired and dominant identity. Such practices in Northern Ireland were met with criticism and failure however despite this; New South Wales have implemented practices that arguably mimic many of those from Northern Ireland. As such, there is legitimate concern for the likelihood and consequences of history repeating itself.

Key Words: Symbolic Interactionism, Identity Development, Labelling Theory, Prisoner Classification, Terrorist Offenders.

INTRODUCTION

Prisoner classification is an essential component of effective offender management and rehabilitation. However, the detrimental side-effects, such as that of labelling are often neglected. The influence that social labelling exerts on the development of a corresponding identity is supported by a plethora of research and aligns with the symbolic interactionist approach when investigating identity development. While conventional application of labelling theory asserts that the assignment of

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a deviant label will increase the likelihood of that actor engaging in corresponding deviant behaviour, in the terrorist context, such a label is arguably more likely to act as a reinforcer that externally validates the identity sought by that actor. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, this credibility can enhance the status of the actor during the social interactions that are critical to the development and maintenance of their desired identity.

Although a detailed analysis of identity development is beyond the scope of this paper, the principles of labels, appraisals and narratives are applied to the terrorist prisoner context. The objective being to ascertain the role that conditions of confinement play in the development or maintenance of the terrorist identity within that offender group. By reviewing the historical practices and outcomes of the British experience with Special Category Status in Northern Ireland, along with the current practices in New South Wales, correlations are developed between experiences of the past and those that can be expected in the present. From this, predictive outcomes are presented that may act to guide correctional administrators in addressing the underlying precursors to the terrorist identity, and potentially prevent history from repeating itself.

SOCIAL LABELLING

Despite periods of criticism, Labelling Theory continues to receive increasing acceptance in the explanation of criminal and deviant behaviour (Bernberg, 2009; Bernberg, Krohn & Rivera, 2006; Kroisca, Lee & Carr, 2017; Restivo & Lanier, 2015; Wellford, 1974). Conventional application of Labelling Theory asserts that the assignment of a negative, deviant or criminal stereotype (label) to an individual would result in an increased likelihood of that actor engaging in negative, deviant or criminal behaviour (Bernberg, 2009; Bernberg, Krohn & Rivera, 2006; Kroisca, Lee & Carr, 2017), or put simply “[the] person becomes the thing that he is described as being” (Tannenbaum, 1938 as cited in Restivo & Lanier, 2015:117).

Kroisca, Lee and Carr, (2017:85) proposed that “...delinquency labels increase the likelihood of teen recidivism by changing teens’ opportunity structure and their self-meanings”. Similarly, Bernburg, Krohn and Rivera (2006) asserted that the resulting stigma may promote

greater involvement in criminal groups, while Kronick and Thomas (2008:114) proposed that “[l]abeling theory explains behaviors by the reactions received from audiences” and further, that “[a]udience reactions to behaviors are more important than the behaviors themselves”.

Bernburg (2009) argued that the effectiveness of an assigned label is dependent on stigma, the associated negative or immoral stereotypes that are associated with that stigma and the social reaction to those stereotypes. Furthermore, Kronick & Thomas (2008: 115), proposed that the social reaction to stereotypes occurred at multiple levels including “society at large, agents of social control, and significant others”. Bernberg, Krohn and Rivera (2006) concurred, adding that this negative social reaction had the effect of discouraging interaction with conventional peers and promoted associations with deviant peers, thus reinforcing the label through the development of a deviant self-concept and by normalising the deviant behaviour (Bernburg, 2009, Restivo & Lanier, 2015, Kronick & Thomas, 2008).

Self-Concept

The interaction between labelling and self-concept is a foundation principle of symbolic interactionism, which is fundamentally explained through the process of reflected appraisals (Gecas, 1982; Kronick & Thomas, 2008; Redmond, 2015). Bernburg (2009:193) defined this process as “...the individual’s image of self is formed in the process of *reflected appraisals*, that is, individuals form their self-concept on the basis of their experience of interacting with other people”. Gecas (1982:3) concurred stating that “self-concept can best be viewed as a theory that a person holds about himself as an experiencing, functioning being in interaction with the world” and further that “self-concepts reflect the responses and appraisals of others” (p 5).

In the context of identity development, self-concept should be considered to be a key influence (Asencio & Burke, 2011) and fundamental in explaining self-ideology, whereby the individual comes to view themselves as a deviant and assumes a corresponding role (Bernburg, 2009; Gecas, 1982). Asencio & Burke (2011), echoed this finding, proposing that actors with a criminal self-view are more likely to act

according to that view in order to maintain and validate their identity, Consistent with this approach, Gecas (1982:17) argued that “the self-concept is, to a large extent, an agent of its own creation”, a position supported by Asencio and Burke (2011), who equally reported that the self-view favours appraisal that are consistent with the actor’s desired identity while also rejecting those appraisals that are in conflict with it.

IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Defined by Gecas (1982:4), as focusing “on the meanings comprising the self as an object, gives structure and content to self-concept, and anchors the self to social systems”, identity was primarily considered to be an internalised social construct. Hancock (2014) concurred, positing that social interaction was a fundamental element of identity development whereby the self-view was compared with that of others, while Asencio and Burke (2011:166) contended that “an identity is understood as the set of meanings applied to the self in a particular position in society” and further that Identity Theory is instrumental in understanding the relationship between the assignment of a label and the subsequent development of an identity. Two key elements can be drawn from this body of research. The first being, that identity is socially constructed to suit the context of the interaction and secondly, that it provides meaning to the self in that context.

When applying this concept to the terrorist context, Arena and Arrigo (2004) asserted that the interplay between identity and terrorist activity was not a new development and further, that identity had a direct and profound influence on the conduct of the terrorist actor. Consistent with the assertion that the terrorist identity is a social construct, Rotherberger, Muller and Elmezeny (2018:433) argued that “...people do not become part of terrorist groups because they are searching for an identity, but because they are looking for a channel to express their identity instead”. Consistent with this finding, the significance of the role played by identity was further defined by the assertion that “terrorists whose only sense of significance comes from being terrorists cannot be forced to give up terrorism, for to do so would be to lose their very reason for being” (Post, 1998 as cited in Arena and Arrigo, 2004:126) and thus, the terrorist identity became the primary defining identity for those actors.

It was further argued that key elements in the development and maintenance of the terrorist identity encompassed perception manipulation and impression management. This was primarily achieved through the behaviour and activities of that actor in order to present him or herself in the desired context (Asencio and Burke, 2011; Gecas, 1982). Rotherberger, Muller and Elmezeny (2018) contended that maintaining the terrorist identity extended beyond that of behaviour or actions and that it sought self-validation through the reliance on narratives which acted to provide credibility both to the terrorist self-view and also to their perception by others (Hammack, 2008). Consistent with this posture, Ibarra and Barbulescu (2010) asserted that authenticity and self-validation, through the use of self-narratives, were essential preconditions in maintaining the desired identity and consistent with symbolic interactionism, the assignment of social labels constituted an external identity symbol which was a likely contributor to that sense of self-validation (Asencio & Burke, 2011; Gecas, 1982).

Narrative Identity

According to Ibarra and Barbulescu (2010), the significance of narratives in identity development has been largely neglected. Copeland (2018:1) concurred reporting that, “[n]arrative has recently garnered in much attention in the study of terrorism but remains poorly understood”. Notwithstanding these limitations, self-narratives provide an important insight into the manner in which an actor gains meaning in their own existence, represents the identity that the actor wishes to exhibit socially (Copeland, 2018) and is a source of authentication and self-validation for that actor (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). Consistent with this proposition and specific to the terrorism context, Hancock (2014) asserted that narratives were an essential element in the formation of identity, within both Republican and Loyalist communities, during the conflict in Northern Ireland. A finding that was echoed by Hammack (2008) during his investigation of narrative identity in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.

Narrative Identity was defined as “...a person’s internalized and evolving life story, integrating the reconstructed past and imagined future to provide life with some degree of unity and purpose” (McAdams &

McLean, 2013:233). Ibarra and Barbulescu (2010:135) defined self-narratives as “stories that make a point about the narrator- [and] help people revise and reconstruct identities”. Consistent with symbolic interactionism, narratives also rely on symbols of identity, such as language and cultural practices (Hammack, 2008; Hancock, 2014), that were intended to validate or authenticate the actor’s position at both a personal and at a collective level (Copeland, 2018; Hancock, 2014). Consistent with this finding, Hammack (2008:234) posited that “the significant symbolic gestures necessary for successful participation in a community are internalized” when investigating the relationship between individual identity and groups identity in the context of the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.

When applying this framework of identity development to the prisoner context, arguably the two most significant areas of labelling occur when the actor is charged with or convicted of a terrorism related offence, and during the assignment of a security classification by the correctional system. The first falls outside the scope of this paper as it does not constitute a practice that is initiated by the correctional system, but rather, it represents the grounds for the actor coming into contact with the correctional system. However, this paper argues that the security classification assigned to the prisoner offers significant potential to act as a symbol of identity and provide validation to the offender’s terrorist self-concept.

PRISONER CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

The security classification system is considered to be a critical element of effective prisoner management and applies to all offender groups; including those charged with or convicted of terrorism related offences (Thompson, 2018), however the predictive value of prisoner classification remains a source of conjecture (Bench & Allen, 2003; Tahamont, 2019). In general principle, the classification system is comprised of a tiered structure that extends from highest to lowest, or maximum to minimum security (Clements, 1981; Corrective Services NSW, 2015; Tahamont, 2019) with the overarching principle being that a prisoner should be held at the lowest security rating that is appropriate for their identified level of risk (NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2018).

While the primary objective of the prisoner classification system is to differentiate between prisoner groups with dissimilar characteristics and treatment needs (Bench & Allen, 2003; Brennan, 1987; Clements, 1981; Tahamont, 2019), Clements (1981) cautioned that the fundamental principle of classification constituted systemic labelling whereby every offender was required to conform to their assigned label, which fell within the scope of limited number of classification tiers. This sentiment was echoed by Bachman and Schutt (2008:121) who further asserted that "...once these labels are assigned, they have the effect that all labels have: they attach various expectations to prisoners". Consistent with this posture, Bench and Allen (2003:372) also contended that the label assigned to an offender as part of the classification process projected a stereotypical expectation of behaviour from that offender and further that "the classification label becomes a proactive force in determining behavior rather than serving simply as a reflection of behavioral attributes".

Of particular significance to this paper are the British Special Category Status that was formerly assigned to prisoners in Northern Ireland who were convicted of offences in relation to paramilitary activities (Gardiner, 1975; McEvoy, 2001; O'Donnell, 2012) and the New South Wales category AA (for males) and Category 5 (for females) classifications, which is also reserved solely for inmates charged with or convicted of terrorism related offences (Corrective Services NSW, 2015; NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2018). These classifications are unique inasmuch that they are arguably assigned based on the nature of the offence rather than the identified level of risk (Thompson, 2018). In essence, these classifications label a terrorist as being a terrorist and potentially afford those individuals the status and self-validation that they seek (Rubinsztein-Dunlop & Dredge, 2016; Thompson, 2018; Toohey, 2014; United Kingdom House of Commons. Record of Proceedings, December 8, 1977). Arena and Arrigo (2004:126) argued that such conditions were an essential precursor for the existence of the terrorist identity which "can serve to both inform and influence terrorist conduct through individuals' perceptions of themselves and their environment". Furthermore, such conditions may lend support to arguments that the practice of assigning terrorism-specific classifications likely encouraged and facilitated the specific outcomes that they were intended to prevent.

United Kingdom Special Category Status

On 19 June 1972, The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland introduced Special Category Status (United Kingdom House of Commons. Record of Proceedings, February 16, 1981) which was broadly detailed as applying to "...prisoners guilty of offences in connection with the [Northern Ireland] civil disturbances whom it is desirable in the public interest to segregate" (United Kingdom House of Commons. Record of Proceedings, March 8, 1973). Gardiner (1975:34) more specifically reported that Special Category Status applied to "...any convicted criminal sentenced to more than nine months' imprisonment who claims political motivation and who is acceptable to a compound leader at the Maze or Magilligan Prisons" and this classification was evidently reserved for Irish prisoners (McEvoy, 2001; O'Donnell, 2012).

Although the British Government consistently denied that the assignment of Special Category Status conveyed or implied political prisoner status (Spillane, 1986; United Kingdom House of Commons. Record of Proceedings, 22 January, 1981), the officially accepted definition offered by Gardiner (1975) directly contradicted this position whereby he specifically cited 'political motivation' as being one of the criterion for eligibility. Spillane (1986) further counter-argued that a special class of prisoner existed as a result of Britain's erosion of fundamental human rights during its treatment of prisoners who were incarcerated in relation to the Northern Ireland conflict. Such argument was reinforced by the unique conditions that were afforded to Special Category Status prisoners, which were specified as being:

...allowed to wear their own clothes and are not required to work. They receive more frequent visits than other prisoners and are allowed food parcels, and can spend their own money at the prison canteen. They are segregated in compounds according to the para-military organisation to which they claim allegiance Gardiner (1975:34).

According to Moen (1999), the magnitude of incarceration as a result of the conflict in Northern Ireland caused a widespread shift in the prison dynamic. This assertion was supported by Gardiner (1975:34) who reported that "...[there were] 1,119 prisoners in this special category out of a total of 1,771 convicted prisoners". By March 1976, this number had increased to in excess of 1,500 (United Kingdom House of Commons. Record of Proceedings. 26 March 1980). In response, Gardiner (1975:34) reported that "[a]lthough recognising the pressures on those responsible at the time, we have come to the conclusion that the introduction of special category status was a serious mistake" and further "...that the earliest practicable opportunity should be taken to end the special category" (Gardiner, 1975:35).

In response, Special Category status was no longer afforded to any prisoner who was convicted of an offence committed on or after 1 March 1976 and no person charged on or after 1 April 1980 was to be afforded Special Category Status irrespective of the date of the offence (United Kingdom House of Commons. Record of Proceedings. 26 March 1980). The retraction of Special Category Status represented the beginning of a campaign by British authorities to shift the focus of terrorism offences away from that of a political context and into a criminal context (Caesar, 2017; Moen, 1999; Spillane, 1986). This shift in policy was met with resistance from the Irish prisoner population and culminated in the 1981 hunger-strike, resulting in the death of ten Irish Republican prisoners (O'Donnell, 2015; United Kingdom House of Commons. Record of Proceedings, 9 February, 1984).

Terrorist Identity Development

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, valid argument exists that resistance to the criminalisation policy by Irish Republican prisoners was the result of a shift in the reflected appraisals being afforded to that prisoner group. Irish Republican prisoners viewed themselves as political prisoners (Caesar, 2017; Moen, 1999; O'Donnell, 2012, 2015; Spillane, 1986). This self-view, which favoured political justification in denial of criminality (McEvoy, 2001; O'Donnell, 2012) was arguably validated to varying degrees, by the assignment of Special Category Status, whereby this prisoner group was managed under a different regime to that of the

mainstream criminal prisoner population. Consistent with Asencio and Burke (2011), this element lends support to their assertion that the self-view favours appraisals that are consistent with the desired identity while also rejecting those appraisals that are in conflict with it.

More specifically, the individual conditions of the management regime equally represented key identity symbols that favoured the political self-view over that of the ordinary criminal (O'Donnell, 2012). Prison issued clothing was strongly associated with the criminal identity. Moen (1999:5) concurred, proposing that “refusing to wear the prison uniform symbolised the total rejection of the criminalisation [label]”. Furthermore, the magnitude of rejection was demonstrated in September 1976 when:

Kieran Nugent became the first IRA member to be convicted of terrorism and not granted Special Category status. In protest, Nugent refused to wear a prison uniform and instead wrapped himself in a blanket, so as to differentiate himself from ordinary criminals in the prison (Caesar, 2017:336).

This rejection of the criminal identity was practiced by numerous other Irish prisoners that followed (Caesar, 2017). Referred to as the Blanket Protest, it was one of a number of rejections of the criminal identity (United Kingdom House of Commons. Record of Proceedings, 9 February, 1984), and represented an example of the symbolic activities that Gecas (1982) argued were critical to the maintenance of a self-concept with reference to the actor's environment. Arena and Arrigo (2004:126) lend further support to this argument with their assertion that “[i]dentity can serve to both inform and influence terrorist conduct through individuals' perceptions of themselves and their environment”.

The physical segregation of Special Category prisoners from the criminal prisoner population arguably represented an additional external identity symbol whereby they were segregated based on the nature of their offences rather than the level of risk that they presented (Gardiner, 1975; Thompson, 2018). Such practices arguably afforded the prisoners the identity that they desired and provided legitimacy to their self-view

through the application of an official label (Moen, 1999; O'Donnell, 2012; Spillane, 1986; Thompson, 2018). Giving consideration to identity as a social construct (Arena & Arrigo, 2004; Hancock, 2014), concentration with like-minded peers arguably offered the social conditions necessary for self-validation and strengthening of the terrorist narrative (Gardiner, 1975). Consistent with this proposal, Gardiner (1975:34) cautioned that “they are more likely to emerge with an increased commitment to terrorism than as reformed citizens” and represented “a means by which one can strengthen one’s sense of identity” (Arena & Arrigo, 2004:133).

Spillane (1986: 489) reported that Special Category Status was primarily criticised for the “lending of legitimacy to terrorist activities”. This position was consistent with Gardiner’s findings (1975: 34) who recommended that:

We can see no justification for granting privileges to a large number of criminals convicted of very serious crimes, in many cases murder, merely because they claim political motivation. It supports their own view, which society must reject, that their political motivation in some way justifies their crimes.

The primary objective of the criminalisation policy following the withdrawal of Special Category Status was to realign the collective prisoner identity to that of a criminal and diminish the political identity that had been allowed to develop (Caesar, 2017; Moen, 1999). Ostensibly, the legitimacy and self-validation that was afforded to Irish Republican prisoners through systemic labelling had undermined the deterrent effect of incarceration, insomuch that incarceration was viewed as “an honour to be worn with dignity” (Yan, 2009:13) and with “an absence of shame or stigma” (Moen, 1999:10). Arguably, such conditions represented a significant failure of the correctional system in its role to effectively manage and rehabilitate offenders (Gardiner, 1975), which was ostensibly self-defeating and likely resulted in a collective strengthening of the terrorist identity (Spillane, 1986).

New South Wales Category AA and Category 5

In 2004, the New South Wales Government amended the prisoner classification system to allow for the introduction of Category AA, for male inmates¹, and Category 5, for female inmates (NSW Parliament General Purpose Standing Committee No.3, 2006). These classifications were offence specific and were exclusive to:

...inmates who, in the opinion of CSNSW represent a special risk to national security (for example, because of a perceived risk that they may engage in, or incite other persons to engage in, terrorist activities) and should at all times be confined in special facilities within a secure physical barrier that includes towers or electronic surveillance equipment (Corrective Services NSW [CSNSW], 2015, para 12.3.2)

Operating concurrently but independently to the prisoner classification system, select offenders may have an additional security designation assigned. The purpose of the additional security designations was detailed as providing "...additional security measures to be applied to inmates who pose a particular threat that is unable to be managed through usual prison regimes and monitoring" (NSW Parliament General Purpose Standing Committee No. 3, 2006:45). In the case of those who are detained for terrorism-related offences, the *Extreme High Risk Restricted* and *National Security Interest* inmate designations apply. The Extreme High Risk Restricted designation is assigned to inmates who present:

...an extreme danger to other people; or an extreme threat to good order and security; and there is a risk that the inmate may engage in, or incite other persons to engage in, activities that constitute a serious threat to the peace, order or good government of the State or any other place.

The National Security Interest inmate designation is assigned to inmates who present:

...a risk that they may engage in, or incite other persons to engage in, activities that constitute a serious threat to the peace, order or good government of the State or any other place (NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2018:45).

In addition to the prisoner classification system and security designations, CSNSW also operate the *Extreme Threat Inmate* framework which is assigned to inmates who are viewed to present “an extreme threat to other people and/or an extreme threat to the good order and security of correctional centres” (NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2018:56).

Although a degree of discretion is afforded in the assignment of these designations (CSNSW, 2015), in practice all National Security Interest inmates were co-assigned the Extreme High Risk Restricted designation along with the Extreme Threat Inmate designation and housed in the *High Risk Management Correctional Centre* at Goulburn Correctional Centre (NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2019). As such, Category AA and Category 5 have attracted criticism for being a blanket label that is applied to all terrorist offenders irrespective of their individual circumstances (NSW Parliament General Purpose Standing Committee No. 3, 2006; Thompson, 2018) and further, that the Extreme Threat Inmate designation was merely a duplication of the existing security designations (NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2018).

Terrorist Identity Development

The New South Wales prisoner classification system, and specifically, Category AA and Category 5, along with the associated security designations represent a multi-tiered labelling system. Consistent with assertions by Asencio and Burke (2011), the assignment of the terrorism-specific Category AA or Category 5 classification act as a primary identity symbol, which is undoubtedly further reinforced and validated by the additional assignment of terrorism related security designations and Extreme Threat Inmate status. According to Appleby (2010), the assignment of such labels, particularly by the Government may form the dominant identity for that individual and further that, “the deviant will not only surrender to the label that society gives them, but that they

will also see the benefits and rewards that the label can give” adding that “[t]he ‘terrorist’ embraces the label given within the Government’s discourse as a status symbol to be exploited” (Appleby, 2010:427).

The requirement to place Category AA and Category 5 inmates in ‘special facilities’ (CSNSW, 2015) and the default practice of housing these offenders in the High Risk Management Correctional Centre (NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2018) further acts as a potential source of status among this offender group. This practice has attracted criticism insomuch that “[w]e’re playing to their status...[w]e’re labelling them. They want to be treated specially. If we threw them in with everyone else, they would not have that status” (Toohey, 2014, para 6). Equally, former inmate, Junaid Thorne stated “when I came out, people know that you have been in Supermax [the High Risk Management Correctional Centre] and you have been through such an experience and that you were targeted for who you are, [and] that causes you to have even greater influence” (Rubensztein-Dunlop & Dredge, 2016, para 4). Consistent with this position, the NSW Inspector of Custodial Services (2018:63) reported that “both staff and inmates expressed the view that placement at the HRMCC [High Risk Management Correctional Centre] could lead to and has led to a feeling of enhanced status for some young inmates and identity seekers” and further that the conditions at the High Risk Management Correctional Centre may validate one’s self-view of “exclusivity and ‘martyrdom’ among terrorist offenders” (p 63).

In addition to specialised placement, inmates at the High Risk Management Correctional Centre are required to wear orange jumpsuits, particularly during visits as an additional security measure (NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2018). This requirement is specific to High Risk Management Correctional Centre inmates. Consistent with the British experience in Northern Ireland, this acts to distinguish terrorist offenders from the rest of the prisoner population which in turn, potentially affords an additional external identity symbol. Findings by the NSW Inspector of Custodial Services (2018) lend support to this assertion insomuch that both staff and inmates reported that “the use of orange jumpsuits contributed to notoriety and status around HRMCC inmates, to the point where some younger offenders aspired to be placed at HRMCC” (p 49).

From the symbolic interactionist perspective, the assigned labels as a result of a complex and multi-tiered classification system, coupled with segregated placement and the requirement to wear prison uniform which distinguishes this offender group from the mainstream prisoner population are key elements in the development or maintenance of a self-concept in which the terrorist identity is the dominant identity. Equally, as was the experience with Special Category Status prisoners, the clustering of like-minded peers has consistently demonstrated a potential for ideological intensification. Consistent with Gecas (1982) and Asencio and Burke (2011), the use of narratives and reflected appraisals among like-minded peers has arguably enabled the actor to continually modify their self-concept and the projection of their desired identity, based on these social interactions.

DISCUSSION

Comparisons between Special Category Status in Northern Ireland and current practices in New South Wales reveal a number of key areas of significance. Special Category Status was introduced as a compromise to end a hunger strike at Belfast prison and further represented a means for authorities to manage a prisoner population that was experiencing exponential growth, as a direct result of the Northern Ireland conflict (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 1984). Conversely, Category AA and Category 5 were introduced in New South Wales based on the argument that “[p]ersons charged with terrorist offences are regarded as representing a new and special risk to the security of the state, justifying a special security rating within the correctional system” (NSW Parliament General Purpose Standing Committee No. 3, 2006:50). Most significantly, both cases assigned a prisoner classification which was specific to the nature of the offence rather than the level of identified risk. For this reason, these classifications represent labels that, as with all labels, place a predetermined behavioural expectation on the recipient of that label. Special Category Status and Category AA and/or Category 5 ostensibly label an incarcerated terrorist as being a terrorist and in doing so, provide the external validation of their dominant identity that they seek.

Secondly, the segregation of terrorist prisoners, both in Northern Ireland and in New South Wales creates a perception of dissimilarity for

both incarcerated terrorists and also for the mainstream criminal prisoner population. This differentiation was a key source in the denial of the criminal identity by Special Category Status prisoners (Caesar, 2017; Moen, 1999) and equally, accounts albeit limited, from the High Risk Management Correctional Centre in New South Wales support a similar assertion of perceived exclusivity (NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2018). While the overarching objective of segregating terrorist offenders is to prevent the proliferation of their radical ideologies throughout the prisoner population, and this strategy has proven to be reasonably effective at achieving that objective (Thompson, 2018), an unintended side effect is the assignment of a sense of exclusivity to the segregated group which may be exploited to support and validate their desired identity (Appleby, 2010).

Furthermore, prison issue clothing has been closely linked to the criminal identity (Moen, 1999). The assignment of clothing other than the normal prison issue to both Special Category Status prisoners and Category AA inmates at the High Risk Management Correctional Centre also acted to visually differentiate this offender group (Moen, 1999; NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2018). In the case of Special Category Status prisoners, this was a key element in their rejection of the criminal identity and retention of that of the political prisoner. In the case of New South Wales, this differentiation was viewed as a source of status that some sympathisers and identity seekers aspired to (NSW Inspector of Custodial Services, 2018) and consistent with the Northern Ireland experience, provided the terrorist offenders with the perception of exclusivity and further, that they were being managed based on “who they are rather than what they have done” (Thompson, 2018:44).

CONCLUSION

Prisoner classification performs a critical role in identifying security considerations and rehabilitation needs for offenders. Generally, prisoner classifications are assigned based on the risk that the offender presents. However, in the case of Special Category Status in Northern Ireland and Category AA/Category 5 in New South Wales, the classification was assigned based on the nature of the offence and arguably, irrespective of the level of risk that the offender presented. As such, these classifications

represent labels that act to reinforce and validate the offender's desired identity by essentially labelling a terrorist as being a terrorist.

Coupled with the practice in Northern Ireland and in New South Wales, of segregating these offender groups from the mainstream criminal prisoner population, and the practice of further distinguishing these offenders through the requirement to wear clothing that differs from the mainstream prisoner population, the conditions of confinement for these two groups arguably act to validate the perception that these prisoners differ from their criminal counterparts. Arguably, this condition could be negated to a certain extent in New South Wales by rescinding the requirement to dress in orange and utilising the prison issue clothing as an equaliser between terrorist offenders and their criminal peers.

These practices were widely criticised in Northern Ireland, particularly within Lord Gardiner's report, for affording terrorist offenders an unwarranted level of status and identity validation. Attempts to shift the context of these offenders away from the political and into the criminal context were met with extreme opposition from Special Category Status prisoners, including multiple fatal hunger strikes. Equally, the practice of segregating Irish paramilitary prisoners was found to be flawed inasmuch that command structures and ideological commitment was able to be maintained while incarcerated. As such, the introduction of Special Category Status in Northern Ireland, along with its associated conditions of confinement has been widely viewed as a failure and acted only to exacerbate the problem that it sought to resolve.

Significant demographic and ideological differences exist between Special Category Status prisoners and Category AA/Category 5 prisoners, and caution should be exercised in attempting to align the management practices for these two groups. Concerningly, undeniable parallels exist between the past practices in Northern Ireland and the current in New South Wales. The assignment of multiple terrorist-specific classifications and designations, coupled with segregation from their criminal peers and the requirement to wear orange jumpsuits that resemble a 'terrorist uniform' act to validate the offender's dominant identity, being that of a terrorist. While it is too early to determine the outcomes of the practices in New South Wales, the potential for catastrophic failure along with its

consequences, as was the experience in Northern Ireland, cannot be ignored.

NOTES

1. The Northern Ireland Prison Service referred to incarcerated offenders as prisoners. New South Wales refers to incarcerated offenders as inmates. As such, the terms 'prisoner' and 'inmate' are used interchangeably within this paper.

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Structural Violence in Unexpected Indigenous Police Custody Deaths; Canada & Australia

Vincent Eagan *

ABSTRACT

The police incarceration for petty offences like intoxication includes many instances where missed medical conditions have resulted in unexpected deaths. I argue through exploratory research Indigenous cases, primarily from no-fault, no-blame Canadian and Australian Inquests that the attribution of the ‘drunken Indian’ trope results in cursory inspections of prisoners that is structurally differential care than mainstream society. This is only preliminary inductive logic. I treat these cases as latent structural violence. I peel away the layers of the onion to posit how colonial reasoning such as the ‘drunk Indian’, the ‘noble savage’, Said’s Orientalism, social Darwinism, and Eugenics have a role in police inhumanity. These assimilationist colonial constructs are confounded by police work’s normal stresses. Police officers should help facilitate individual and community Indigenous self-determination in order to break these cycles.

Keywords; ‘drunken Indian’, ‘noble savage’, Orientalism, Darwinism, Eugenics, social denial, maleficence

INTRODUCTION

Police officers in Canada need to be aware of structural violence when dealing with Indigenous peoples in order to recognise our own blind-spots as officers. Structural violence in this paper, not attributable to one individual, is a form of indirect violence or social injustice that may be manifest or latent repression (Galtung, 1969,1990), overt or subtle (Monchalin, 2016, p. 144-5) found in societal institutions, including the justice system that favours a Eurocentric colonial status quo denying Indigenous people’s reaching their full human potential. Sagamok-Anishnawbek 1st Nation’s- Peter Menzies (2007, p.373) cites how “many forms of violence against Aboriginal people are structural or implicit and so may remain hidden in individual accounts.” Menzies argues “Rather

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than pathologizing the individual, as is often done, I would argue that these indicators should be viewed historically and in the context of their oppressed status as Aboriginal men.” This paper attempts to move away from police pathologising the prisoner by exploring root causes. Victim-blaming or (Gray, 2016, p. 81) “psycho-centrism diagnoses social problems and human struggles as innate pathologies of the ‘individual,’ who is held responsible for health and illness and for success and failure in the world.” One of the metrics for structural violence is “differential morbidity and mortality” (Galtung, 1969, p. 177) arising out of being deprived opportunity due to structural inequality. How can police officers recognise the latent structural aspects in the justice system or the ‘Blind Justice’ (Maracle, 2015) towards Indigenous to mitigate inequality. My research is exploratory using Indigenous fatality case studies with nexus to police operations that unearth the differential structures with the marginalised. I use the term Indigenous, as does TCPS2 (2018) research ethics, for simplicity to span categories of First Nations, Aboriginal, Aborigine, Indian, Metis, and Inuit, or otherwise referenced as the term used in a specific period in history (Australia used Aborigine in older documents), recognising the great diversity across these peoples. This is more of a moral examination than the definitional exactness that I would need in a legal argument. I start with my own positionality, recognising my subjectivity and trace some historical developments and ideologies constructing the colonial narrative before using mortality metrics where Galtung (1969) posits differences exist. I then close with how to move forward together with Indigenous peoples in the justice system. The 2017 Yorta-Yorta woman, Ms Day’s death in Australia, as a perfect storm of factors is leading to reforms that should become a template for Canada on intoxication interdictions. I delimit cases of direct violence or suicide that also involves latent colonial factors to focus on the unexpected medical deaths misdiagnosed from the drunken Indian and other attributions.

ETHICS & DATA

The ethics of this research are from using public access documents only and by adopting the Coroner’s motto of ‘speaking for the dead’, looking ahead to preventing future deaths. Justice is served by open

government and transparency. To that end I acknowledge the Province of Alberta for its open justice initiative (Alberta, n.d.), in which I can find citizen casualties from police operations going back to the late 1990's. This holds the Alberta governmental principle of a culture of being open by design and by being open by default. I am partial to Inquest reports as they are no-fault, no-blame, inquisitorial proceedings, and insulated from civil and criminal liability. Australia publishes them for all jurisdictions and include more social history. I have read Chapter 9 (Canada) of the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS2,2018) for ethics governing research with Indigenous peoples, read the Australian Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC) website on consideration for families, and the 14 ethics principles from the 2012 Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS). I recognise I am not doing; site or field research, videos, interviews, collecting samples, or storing and using sensitive information. This research stems from two progressive curriculum Indigenous courses, PD302 & PD402 at Wilfrid Laurier University under Indigenous scholar Lisa Monchalin (2016) to the ends of learning for police officer students. My cases are taken from a larger data base of my purposive sampling of non-coded 800 plus police operations (Canada, UK, Australia, NZ) related citizen deaths (firearms& other force, police pursuits, custody, etc.) entered into a keyword or phrase searchable Qiqqa© program. I observed Indigenous deaths were the overwhelming majority of missed cranial injury deaths relative to other populations, as a presumptive observation begging analysis.

DRUNKEN INDIAN, NOBLE SAVAGE, ORIENTALISM

My own positionality is in having 39 years' experience as a police officer in Canada which began with a narrower law and order approach, quick to attribute unlawful actions to the offender's character, or as Gray (2016) describes- psycho-centrism, the "human deficit model while simultaneously obscuring societal deficits". In the late 1980's I moved from an eight-officer northern Saskatchewan Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachment to a 200-officer police station in a southern Ontario municipal police service. Both the eight and the 200-officer stations reached about 1900 prisoners a year with the 8-officer detachment with only about 5% less. The eight-officer detachment was remote, with less social agencies, and having a harsh climate that necessitated intoxicated people found outside being detained. Was the high number of prisoners in the north in the 1980's a 'drunken Indian' attribution as part of a colonial status quo? Where did that narrative begin?

One uncorrupted by civilisation 'noble savage' inaccurate depiction of the Indigenous comes from Archie Bellamy or GreyOwl (1932, p. 220-1) who posits;

the future hold nothing for him and they live in days gone by.... than that he should be thrown into the grinding wheels of the mill of modernity, to be spewed out as nondescript, undistinguishable from the mediocrity that surrounds him, a reproach to the memory of a noble race.

This construct of the 'noble savage' existing in the past assumes an eventual demise. Loh (2015, p. 13) explored all manners of art and media finding Indigenous peoples depicted as savages contrasted against the civilised ways of western colonisers. John Ralston Saul argues we have alienating ourselves from our aboriginal identity (Potter, 2009) and two narrative existing-the romantic being of the pure and noble savage whom realists alternately view as corrupt and ignoble. Ellingson (2012, p. 220-232) finds all savage discourse towards the "enterprise of colonial expansion and domination" creating a polarity between savage and

domesticated or civilised. The structural basis for Ellingson (2012, p. 223) arising out of the Monarchy and religion is the “unquestioned legitimacy of the colonial system, within which ‘native inhabitants’ were guaranteed ‘protection in the enjoyment of their civil rights’ only insofar as they submitted themselves to subjection by the system.” In Queensland Australia, beginning with 1897 Aboriginal protection laws (Holland, 2013, p. ii), then to the interwar period Holland argues;

a ‘doomed race’ theory became a means of masking the racism existing in society against the Indigenous people and allowed governments to remove and dispossess Aborigines of their traditional lands without recompense or questions from whites seeking to capitalise on the economic fortunes unoccupied land offered.

Holland also cites a 1953 Territories Federal Minister, Paul Hasluck seeing post-European contact Aboriginal as “inherently flawed, fragile and basically worthless, producing only illness, disease, drunkenness, filth and degeneracy in the thousands of degraded and depressed people who crouch on rubbish heaps throughout the whole of this continent (pp. 108-9).”

Related to the noble-savage, dying-race discourse of polarity is the theme of Orientalism (Said, 1979) where the Eurocentric validates its own advanced civilisational status comparative to the primitive far east in self-other, us-them, towards our western self-identity being nurtured by the perceived backwardness of the other.

Galtung (1990) later included cultural violence to direct and indirect violence, with structural violence becoming “a self-fulfilling prophesy: people become debased by being exploited, and they are exploited because they are seen as debased, dehumanized” (p. 298) in a self-other dynamic. This is the structural lens for Orientalism. Said (1979, p. 207) posits the far east Oriental nations were viewed in a biological determinism and moral political admonishment framework, similar to how marginalized European people in categories of backward, degenerate, uncivilised, insane, delinquent, poor, and even women were regarded.

This Said's Orientalism framework of the west progressive civilisation versus the far east backward civilisation, based on western dominance and superiority is applied to the Indigenous by Monchalin (2016, p. 73) in how the embedded hegemony and colonial discourse in western research and writing leads to the presumption of Europe's dominance. The Said (1979) othering distinctions of 'Us & Them' can also be a default mentality for police officers taking the moral high ground for having agency over the law relative to character attributions made of the offender. Social Darwinism comes into play in the colonial analysis.

SOCIAL DARWINISM & EUGENICS

Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 is an axiom in how it changed theological narratives of creation to evolutionary biology, natural selection, and survival of the fittest. Social Darwinism emerged with ethnocentrism and academic white-washing of racism towards primitive cultures being inferior according to Indigenous Sociologist Kathleen Butler (2016). Butler argues for Indigenous teaching methodologies in the classroom. Darwin expected Aborigine extinction as a consequence of a stronger variety of man (British) meeting a weaker (Butler, 2016, p. 20). Historian Margaret MacMillan (2013) argues that in the declines of Empires and colonial competition prior to WW1 shared assumption from Darwin's theory of evolution fueled Social Darwinist's (p. 264-5) wanting to "explain the rise and disappearances of different societies with the help of such concepts as natural selection." Macmillan posits social Darwinist thought is one contributor to powers going into WW1 as a survival of the fittest by Nation. Racialised theories were reinforced with Winston Churchill an honorary patron of the 1912 Eugenics Conference, as was the President of Harvard.

Eugenics, as a science, became a monster in Nazi Germany and also existed in Canada such as the 1928 Alberta Sexual Sterilisation Act or a similar BC Act in 1933. Professor Karen Stote's (2012) research of official documents and case data finds disproportionate sterilisation of Indigenous women in Eugenics ideologies in Alberta and elsewhere with only cursory patient consents. These practices existed until the sterilisation laws were repealed in 1970. Indigenous women were arbitrarily labelled as mentally unfit or defectives. The descriptors also included being

promiscuous and for illegitimate pregnancy's which ignores women's own victimisation. Stote found some cases were politically based to reduce the number of impoverished people requiring government assistance (p. 125). A class action lawsuit on Indigenous sterilisation is currently before Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench (Martin, 2018) and Professor Stote is expected to be an expert witness. The American Indian Health Service also performed unrequested and unnecessary sterilizations with Indigenous (and other marginalised) women and children in the 1970's for reasons that were "economic and social in nature" by white doctors "who believed they were helping society by limiting the number of births in low-income, minority families" (Lawrence, 2000, p. 410). This Eugenics-based sterilisation policy in Canada, whether intended or not, was structural violence by asserting white authority as part of overall Indian policy. In Queensland Australia in the interwar period, sterilisation was considered for the Aboriginal (Holland, 2013, p. 104), as well as worries about the purity of our blood and half-caste evil (p. 123). The Queensland Chief Protector for the Aboriginal, John Bleakley wrote in 1929, as paraphrased, of worry over cross-breeds inheriting the intelligence and tastes of the whites, to be "then nullified by the retarded instincts of the blacks", thus unable to be a steady white or contented black (Holland, 2013, p.95). In Turkey after WW1, Eugenics emerged in the new upper class post-Ottoman rule who wanted to move Turkey forward "as a way to build a professional class 'fit' to rule the country" (Güvenç-Salgirli, 2011, p. 281), to prove that "Turks were as capable of modernization as the Europeans" (p. 284). Cemil Topuzlu, a Surgeon and twice Mayor of Istanbul argued for forced sterilisation for defectives and degenerates (p. 283). Social diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhea were seen as positive factors for "winnowed the degenerate (p. 294)", especially if sterilisation was a disease side effect. Related to this is the 2012 Inquiry media statement by Commissioner Wally Oppal into British Columbia's missing and murdered Indigenous (CBC, 2012) that "these women were vulnerable; they were treated as throwaways."

Some police officer's default to the Orientalist polarity of Us & Them in Said's (1979) framework, as seen in good-guys versus bad-guys discourse and in framing a thin blue line between order and chaos. Other marginalised can get called 'white trash', as well as police calls involving

misadventure from stupid actions generating dark humour Darwinian backstage comments by officers. I use some recent history death cases to question structural violence, taking Galtung's (1969) suggestion that mortality rates are one metric. This is exploratory research only at this point in which the police are part of a structure. Razack (2011) posits these types of untimely death get framed as timely in colonialism. I turn to my highly summarised cases.

EXPLORATORY RESEARCH CASES

Intoxication arrest is designed in Canada for peoples own protection and safety, usually under a Provincial, non-criminal law. It usually involves a citation not unlike a traffic offence. The moral obligation of police in these detentions deserves analysis.

(1) *Callous indifference* by the arresting officer by blindly following orders (Razack, 2015, p. 29-52) is one conclusion made by Commissioner William Davies in the December 1998 Vancouver British Columbia hypothermia death of Frank Paul in an alleyway outside a detoxification centre where he was left by police. Frank had been released from the drunk tank a short time before, then re-arrested, with a senior officer declining to further detain Frank, telling the officer to drop him off near the detox. The Inquiry Commissioner had accepted psychiatric evidence that “systems can govern an individual’s responses and cause him or her to behave unethically under pressure.” This Frank Paul Inquiry came about in part by lobbying of Coast Salish grandmother Kat Norris and her work to bring culture and tradition back into Indigenous communities (Norris, 2017).

(2) Agnes Sutherland, age 62, from Fort Albany, Ontario had been arrested for threats in Timmins, ON. She died on Sunday, Feb. 4, 2018 of complications of end-stage diabetic nephropathy in a woman with ischemic heart disease. Agnes’s health required palliative care, she refused dialysis, and she was bounced around medical/social services prior (hospital to shelter, to police). She wanted go home to Fort Albany which was not happening for her (Loparco, 2018; Grech, 2019). The Nishnawbe-Aski Nation (NAN, 2018) was concerned whether Agnes had been treated roughly. She is a “a survivor of the notorious St. Anne's residential school”

according to her son Glen Sutherland (Perkel, 2018), who questions why she was allowed to refuse dialysis.

(3) Deborah Chrisjohn died in September 2016 in police custody, with an officer being found criminally negligent over failures in her care. London, Ontario police had responded to a disturbance/intoxicated person call. Judge Pomerance (2019) writes “She had ingested a toxic level of methamphetamine resulting in a heart attack. The tragedy of her death is compounded by the fact that it might have been prevented. Timely medical intervention might well have saved her life. Regrettably, that did not occur.”

(4) Wilfred Emile in October 2015 was detained for public intoxication in Fort Smith, Northwest Territories and became unresponsive, then going to palliative care and dying of chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (Menard, 2016). He was not taken to the medical centre until experiencing medical distress in cells.

(5) Earnest Shaun Moosomin died in Surrey BC August 2014. He was found on the Skytrain transit floor and thought to be intoxicated. The issues emerging in this complication of overdose from methamphetamine/heroin death were that an ambulance was not called at first arrest, that he had been staying in an unsuitable unregulated recovery house where illicit drug activity occurred, and that the application processes for recovery supports too complex. The Inquest also noted the need for services requiring cultural safety for Earnest’s background of all his siblings being in the child welfare system and his mother traumatised from a residential school, as well the need for First Nations representatives on Health Boards (Barnard, 2015).

(6) William Leonard Ballantyne (Sask, 2014) died November 2012 in Prince Albert Saskatchewan of Acetaminophen overdose. Police had removed him from the hospital (he was there for medical reasons) on behalf of hospital security for some disturbance. William then had breathing difficulty in cells. No medical clearance was obtained from a medical practitioner to remove him from hospital in the first instance (Pilon, 2012). The family got no answers at the time.

(7) Paul Kayuruk in October 2012 was found in an unresponsive state at Baker Lake landfill, Nunavut October 14th and taken into custody on the assumption of alcohol intoxication by RCMP. He was taken for medical treatment from cells and found to be suffering a stroke, and also a diabetic, subsequently passing. One Inquest recommendation was for police to challenge assumptions about intoxication (Suramela, 2017).

(8) Raymond Stewart Eagle died in January 2010 in the Northwest Territories from atherosclerotic coronary artery disease, and remote cranial trauma, after found on the road in Yellowknife 3rd August 2006. He was taken to hospital, medically cleared, then taken to RCMP custody where he went comatose. He was in extended care until his death (NWT, 2010). His sister Margaret Eagle hopes that other intoxicated persons who end up in Yellowknife RCMP custody every year will receive better care (CBC, 2011).

(9) Robert Wood (Colli, 2014) died in January 2010 after RCMP custody in Nelson House Manitoba. The death was due to acute cranio-cerebral trauma from a fall or falls. He fell over in public during a drinking binge, a nurse had signed off he was suitable for lodging, he urinated in the police cruiser, was put in the RCMP cells, was falling over again, taken back again to the nursing station, then airlifted to Winnipeg for palliative care. Judge Colli expressed disappointment the family or First Nations did not participate in the Manitoba Inquest. The Inquest also mentions “*government contributions to the malignancy in Aboriginal communities as a factor.*”

(10) Victoria Rose Paul, age 44, died in August 2009 of a stroke while in police custody for intoxication in Truro, Nova Scotia after an arrest outside Warehouse bar with her son Deveron Paul. The subsequent Fatality Inquiry found Truro police failed to provide respect and dignity, failed to appropriately monitor health and provide access to medical service in a timely manner (Mont, 2012, p. 67). Care was not provided until 10 hours after incarceration, and prisoner forms C13-4 for both were incomplete about medical conditions. The Mi’kmaq next of kin perspective is Victoria was *treated callous like a dog, being left on the floor in her own urine*. Deveron Paul testified of being called a “*wagon-burner.*”

(11) Stanley Steven Cardinal died in August 2009 in Kamloops BC after being in police custody of multi-organ failure, cardiac arrest, mixed alcohol/ methadone toxicity. Stanley had been found lying on the ground and ambulance also attended. The Inquest heard from the ICU Physician that he was confident Stanley's condition was survivable if he been brought to the hospital immediately from the scene (Michael, 2010).

(12) Raymond Silverfox, in December 2008 was an inebriated patron at the Whitehorse Salvation Army. He was assessed, but not medically transported by EMS. The Salvation Army, no longer able to care for Raymond resulted in him ending up in RCMP cells, where he was later found unresponsive. The cause of death was found to be Sepsis and Acute Pneumonia (Joannou,2013; CRCC, 2011).

(13) Leon Herman Bighetty dies in Winnipeg, November 2002, believed intoxicated and taken to the Main Street Project detention facility, where 13 hours later on release he was unresponsive. He later died of two subdural hematomas, after 6 days in a coma (Smith, 2005). Was the head injury missed?

(14) Viola Contois died March 2001 of acute ethanol intoxication in a police vehicle while on route from Mafeking to Swan River MB. The Inquest Judge comments "When in doubt, the important lesson of this case is that the police should err on the side of caution and assume a medical emergency" as well as "medical needs of the individual must be given priority over the needs of the police to make an arrest" (Thompson, 2003).

(15) Brian Mark House of Enoch First Nation AB was a diabetic and arrested for public intoxication in September 1999, sleeping in a ditch. He went into distress later in cells, later dying. No alcohol was in his system and his cause of death presumed to be metformin toxicity from his diabetic medication (Rae, 2000).

(16) Steven Spotted Eagle, 57 died Sept 1999 at Siksika AB died of a head injury, skull fracture, and subdural haematoma. He was found unconscious, intoxicated, taken to RCMP by Indigenous officer, not lodged, and Ambulance called to police station right away.

(17) David Gordon Chowace died in July 1994 at Grande Prairie AB of blunt cranial trauma and acute alcohol intoxication. He fell off a

dumpster, was taken to hospital, was intoxicated and diabetic, became belligerent at hospital, and left hospital. RCMP took him to the drunk tank, then David was found unconscious and taken back to hospital (Patterson, 1995).

(18) The November 1990 hypothermia death of intoxicated Neal Stonechild is a case of manifest structural violence. Critics (Monchalin, 2016, p. 261; Razack, 2015, p. 173) explore how Neal was dropped off out of town by Saskatoon police in a practice known to the street culture as the ‘Starlight Tour’. Montchalin (2016) and Razack (2015) voice street culture reports of many other starlight non-fatal cases involving intoxicated Indigenous people.

These Canadian cases are selective to the data in Inquests relevant to my topic. Not all jurisdictions in Canada publish Inquests, and some only publish the manner, cause, and recommendations. Australia better publishes Inquests in all jurisdictions, which cases corroborate the Canadian context.

Table 1: Missed medical conditions, police detentions, Indigenous- from AU Inquests

Name	Death	Cause	Issues
T Day, 55 (HRLC, 2019)	22 Dec 2017 Castlemaine	Massive brain bleed	Arrested on Dec 5 th , died 17 days later. Coroner allowed witnesses and also an expert report on systemic racism-report due mid-2020 -Ambulance chief Stephenson apologizes for “disrespectful care” (Wahlquist, 2019)
R Maher (O’Sullivan, 2019)	19 July 2016 Maitland AU	Mixed drug toxicity	Arrested for intoxication, died in police cells “it is dangerous and inappropriate to take the approach that the person will or can ‘sleep it off”
P(Kumanjayi) Langdon, age 59 (Cavanagh, 2015)	May 2015 Darwin AU	Large heart-idiopathic dilated cardiomyopathy (probably alcohol related)	Detained paperless arrest scheme “which encourages the arrest of public drinkers, almost all of whom are Indigenous” ... “he was entitled to die in peace, in the comfort of family

and friends. In my view, he was entitled to die as a free man”

Asera aka E Young, age 70 Cavanagh, 2018)	30 Mar 2016 Darwin AU	Head trauma	Fell over when police woke up. Police had careless disregard of law <i>“showed little willingness to critically analyse the circumstances”</i>
C Wurrmerli Murrungun, 53 (Cavanagh, 2016)	12Feb 2015 Darwin AU	Left intra cerebral and left subdural haemorrhage	Drinking, fell to ground outside taxi and went limp- <i>“rag doll”</i> , police transported to hospital in cage van as EMS busy – treatment by police and EMS not legal or appropriate
J I DHU (Fogliani, 2016)	August 2014 South Hedland AU	staphylococcal septicaemia and pneumonia from an old injury	Arrested on warrants. <i>“In her final hours she was unable to have the comfort of the presence of her loved ones, and was in the care of a number of police officers who disregarded her welfare and her right to humane and dignified”</i>
D J Phillips (Vicker, 2012)	January 2011 Kalgoorlie AU	seizure consistent alcohol withdrawal to fatal cardiac	Move on Notice & then later an intoxicated arrest <i>“If a person held in custody refuses necessary medication, police are not in a position to compel compliance.”</i>
E Gaykamangu, 37 (Cavanagh, 2003)	December 2001 Darwin AU	inter-cerebral haemorrhage contributed to by acute alcohol intoxication.	Laying on footpath, Taken into custody to police watch-house. Five hours later on release, was not well and sent to hospital. Died 9 days later. CT scan showed the haemorrhage
D Armstrong, 58 (Brooks, 1999, p.630)	May1992 Brisbane	suffered a heart attack 12 hrs prior to police	Arrested for drunk- based on past history assumptions- couldn’t walk or communicate, taken to cells and 2 1/2 hours later medical attention sought, no alcohol in her system

M Tomachy, 44 (Brooks, 1999, p. 260)	Nov 1991 Queensl and AU	respiratory failure arising from cerebral necrosis, result of head injury	Arrested public drunk on street after domestic dispute (in a house), found unconscious in cells in morning, comatose for 5 days until her death.
S. J.C. (RCAIDIC, 1998)	March 1986 Mount Gambier AU	died subdural haematoma, mental state due delirium tremens	Epileptic, hallucinating, taken to hospital, cleared, assumed intoxicated, then police detained, but later died. No criticism of police by Inquiry
B.T.L. (RCAIDIC, 1998)	6 June 1985 Tamworth AU	Brain injury from fractured skull outside hotel	Hotel call, ambulance declined to take, injury after leaving hotel? then 7 hours in police cells before taken to hospital, -police gave false evidence
J.P.P. age 17 (RCAIDIC, 1998)	28Sep 1983 Roeburne AU	Closed head injury-subdural haematoma	Fight outside hotel with youths and off duty police. John taken to juvenile lockup, roughed up station yard, put in cells semi-conscious, found dead later
K.E.K. (RCAIDIC, 1998)	March 1983 Royal Adelaide AU	Subdural haematoma	Detained for intoxicated and released from cells early in morning, collapsed on street soon after, police then called to take him from hospital as deemed drunk. Inquiry critical of police and hospital care
F. B. (RCAIDIC, 1998)	Oct 1982 Perth AU	Acute subdural haematoma	Asleep outside police station, presumed drunk, left laying on concrete
C. A. N. age 33 (RCAIDIC, 1998)	August 1982 Dubbo AU	Brain haemorrhage-no police wrongdoing	Shoplifter during 4 -day sentence for not paying fine, in police cells, suspected alcohol withdrawal causing convulsion & collapse
R.N.W. (RCAIDIC, 1998)	April 1981, Perth AU	Skull fracture, subdural haematoma	Found unconscious and treated as drunk <i>“Neglect of prisoner and apparent indifference to the welfare of those in custody...treated with less than humanitarian concern...dereliction of duty”</i>

A. D. (RCAIDIC, 1998)	Decemb er 1980 Broome AU	Respiratory failure due head injury	arrest for drunk when found unconscious, " <i>process of detention contributed to the mechanism of his death</i> "
K. P. (RCAIDIC, 1998)	Novemb er 1980, Alice Springs AU	Subdural haematoma	Detained in police watch house intoxicated. Police care did not meet standard. Price was never conscious at scene or in cells.

POLICE PSYCHE

Cases show structural issues for Indigenous persons, as well as the assumptions about drunk Indians where missed cranial injuries, diabetes, cardiac and other medical conditions mimicking intoxication get missed in the cursory examination. Some of these cases are manifest structural violence involving negligence. Most are latent structural violence. I question to what extent the GrayOwl (1932) 'noble savage' narrative as unable to survive in modernity exists, the Said (1979) Orientalists 'Us & Them' dynamic that feeds the Eurocentric self-image of superiority, and fatalistic social Darwinist / Eugenics philosophies viewing this as a self-correcting problem. Officers in general get detached and fatalistic in surviving in a traumatic job. The police new-recruit idealistic goal of doing good and saving the world gets jaded. Bittner (1970) expresses that;

the taint that attaches to police work refers to the fact that policemen are viewed as the fire it takes to fight fire, that they in the natural course of their duties inflict harm, albeit deserved, and that their very existence attests that the nobler aspirations of mankind do not contain the means necessary to insure survival (p.8).

Sociologist Timmermans (2006, p. 280) explains this taint another way after he did three years participatory social research in the morgue, attending 225 autopsies in a New York Medical Examiner's office. He closes off the book introspective of the research impact on himself of

deaths using Erving Goffman's stigmatisation analysis as well as how the dirty work also taints and isolates the ME's office, with high rates of burnout, turnover, and suicide. I can appreciate that psychological exhaustion from my own policing career, much as a forensics officer, and see the need to consciously separate that exhaustion from prisoner care. The managing order in society can include latent biases towards minimal prisoner care that emerges from burnout, call demands, staffing, time constraint, racialised values, and cynicism of this being- not if, but when, marginalised people will die, possibly harbouring deep down Eugenics thought justifying a survival of fittest differential care model of policing. The Criminologist Bittner's (1967, p. 699) exam of rough justice in skid-row policing finds; "the police use of coercion (is) mainly in the interest of managing situations rather than persons." In Northern Territories AU, 'paperless arrest' or 'catch and release' policies were developed to give police more autonomy and unclutter the Court dockets. The Indigenous debate (Yang, 2015) pitted the punitive, penal and unconstitutional arguments against the argument paperless arrests were just an extension of normal police powers. Some 80 % of 2000 of these paperless arrests were Indigenous detainee's (Davidson, 2015). That AU policy addressed the public place nuisance situation- not the individual's self-determination. Police need to deal with persons from our shared humanity as much as with resolving a specific situation. Indigenous perspectives can help.

SELF-DETERMINATIONS

These Indigenous prisoners died alone as in the case of Fort Albany Cree, Agnes Sutherland, 62 February 2018 death, who required a Hospice. The medical sequelae of antecedent factors would likely trace her demise antecedent factors all stemming back to diabetes. Any differential medical triage of patient care becomes the structural violence. The OHRC (2020), on the two-year anniversary of Agnes Sutherlands death has filed an application with the Human Rights Tribunal alleging discrimination based on Indigenous ancestry by public service providers in Timmins, Ontario (medical, police, ambulatory). The OHRC Commissioner Renu Mandhane states "many people I spoke to linked their deaths to systemic racism and unequal access to essential services." The Melbourne AU 2019 Inquest into the December 22, 2017 death of Yorta-Yorta; Tanya Day has accepted

witnesses and submissions on systemic racism (HRLC, 2019) with the report still pending. Metis Carrie Bourassa (2017) explains why there are 40 people in the room when an Indigenous person passes, family and connections, all praying, with death not as end, but as transition. Agnes Sutherland did not have that. The energy and togetherness are important to the dying and family. Can police officers, who come across people near death as prisoners or other predicament, participate in the collective good energy in this transition? Bourassa also discusses sacred objects and smudging to cleanse yourself before passing. Are these services available proximal to officers working with Indigenous communities? Decades ago, I had seized a medicine pouch from a Salteaux prisoner which I now regret, as there was no need to strip him of his dignity.

Juddah's Place in Oshwegen Ontario lead by Mohawk Dr. Karen Hill (2019) complements traditional medical care. Relational and collaboration with each other and the Creator are aims of the practitioners to peel away colonialism, and address fears from an emotional place. Juddah's Place has tracked the progress of 47 cancer patients on this self-healing part of care that does not rely on pharmaceutical interventions as much as western medicine. Police also can refer clients to Juddah's Place here on its open-door referral's reputation.

In the North-West Territories there is an Indigenous elder led Arctic Indigenous Wellness Foundation (AIWF, 2020) that promotes self-determination and a "sense of urgency among the Elders of the north to pass down their long-standing healing traditions, which are on the brink of extinction." AIWF supports fledgling sobering up facilities in Yellowknife, as well as healing camps. Recovery of self requires a self-determination. Criminal interdiction to accelerate an alcoholic to rock bottom as a wake-up does not help self-determination.

Cree student Janice Alison Makokis (2005) tells of herself learning Cree traditions from her grandmother, a residential school survivor who wanted Janice to have a strong foundation in Cree culture. The insidiousness and cunningly subtle colonial influences were to "walk down the road to assimilation and acculturation" (p. 6) which Janice experienced going to a French and Ukrainian local school. Her identity changed to "experiences of self-hatred, racism and shame of being nehiyaw" as a result

of racist comments and jokes and not being white enough. This led to her self-determination through Cree ancestral teachings, ceremonies, and spiritual transformation to decolonize her Indigenous identity to better contribute to the good of the collective. Makokis relates an Elder saying “self-determination requires self-responsibility, which in ceremony is giving your responsibility over to a higher power.”

Indigenous culture and principles include wholistic theory (Absolon, 2010, p. 76) where there are “reciprocal interconnections of self, individual, family, community, nation, society and creation.” This is also “whole, ecological, cyclical and relational.” Absolon writes holistic theory in practice “means to live and practice *minobimaadsiwin*-a good life.” The medicine wheel is used by Absolon to depict holistic theory. Ancestor knowledge is important and can be achieved “via dreams, ceremonies, vision quests and rituals. Ancestors are there waiting to share their knowledge.”

Interconnectedness is also found in the late spiritual healer Chief Charles Labrador (Marsh, Coholic, Cote-Meek, & Najavits, 2015, p. 5) analogy of ‘two eyed seeing’ where the branches of the trees in the forest all touch and are holding hands. Two eyed seeing would combine western and Indigenous knowledge. Two eyed seeing is a tool Martin (2012) argues to overcome the positivism in health research which sees indigenous knowledge as unscientific. Positive knowledge relies on a natural science’s scientific method and empirical or measurable data. Martin (2012, p. 28) writes “that it has long been recognised by Indigenous peoples that the health of Mother Earth is directly linked to the health of people” in her argument for the interactive harmony, the co-learning, reflexivity, that including indigenous knowledge would contribute to the “very reductionist, narrowly conceived arguments that are born of positivist thought.”

CONCLUSION

My intention in this is to find the vestiges, and cookie crumbs of the past that may exist in our laws or in our self as police officers without our conscious knowledge. I try to use the deaths that do not get the attention of the dramatic events like police shooting, and go after latent data, even

if only exploratory. There is an ordinariness and routine to these cell deaths that if magnified could be seen as a banality or base motive, or no motive at all, that begs inspection as Hannah Arendt (1964) found in the Nazi Eichmann analysis, where Eichmann had an indirect technical 'forced-emigration' role as a train's systems employee, rather than directly in the Nazi death camps. The Philosopher John Rawls (1999. p. 98) on theories of justice discusses the natural duties of individuals to include; "the duty of helping another when he is in need or jeopardy... duty not to harm or injure another; and the duty not to cause unnecessary suffering...duty of mutual aid...duty to do something good for another." We need to move past callous indifference and genuinely care for those entrusted to us overnight. Police should not be blind to revolving door detentions of vulnerable Indigenous clients that further debase them. Current custody protocols, while improving, do criminalise the intoxication social-problem and afford little progress towards the individual's self-determination best provided by their own Indigenous culture. Officers have a truth-telling role in the Court. Bychutsky (2017, p. iii) summarises social denial of events and its counter- that of bearing witness with;

Social denial is a socially reproduced blindness in the face of traumatic events and processes. In opposition to social denial is a different social practice, bearing witness. Bearing witness is engaged when society's actors give voice to those who would otherwise be silent.

Officers can move from social denial which is a form of wilful blindness, to bearing witness in reports, proceedings, and truthful official duties. Malmin (2017) cites a Ruderman Family Foundation study of law enforcement encounters with the disabled that found almost half of people who die at the hands of police are disabled. He describes this as institutional betrayal, a term used to describe wrong doings perpetrated by an institution upon individuals dependent on that institution" (p.904) and how this is maleficence. Doctors have a non-maleficence duty and professionalised police also have this moral duty, as in most of these types

of cases, these clients are like patients and only detained for their own protection. Victoria Australia, after the 2019 Inquest into the 2017 brain bleed death of Yorta-Yorta Tanya Day following intoxication incarceration, has undertaken to decriminalise public drunkenness and replace it with a health-based response (Hennessey, 2019). That type of benchmark reform would put non-maleficence ethics on the officer rather than to solely solving a call situationally. Officers have a duty to serve and protect, to which they should approach as a calling, rather than an inconvenience, no matter how tragic the duty with marginalised becomes. I use mortality as a metric as proposed by Galtung (1969) which here overlaps with health care. The justice system has to work in harmony with the whole of government and community. Indigenous communities need to be in the driver's seat with self-determination in justice. My research found numerous cases where underlying assumptions of the drunken Indian might have contributed to missed medical cues whether it be an honest mistake or deviance by the officer. Police do intersect with palliative clients and be sensitive, but in most of these cases I presented, the deaths were preventable. Officers need to be aware of bias and work closer with Indigenous communities. Officers should not be passing moral judgements, or victim-blaming. Lee Maracle's (2015) poem on 'Blind Justice', musing on Prime Minister Stephen Harper's residential school apology, outlines colonial desecrations of the land and people and closes with the lines "I'm not the only one that needs help here. The sharing of my country, with us, with you, defines your humanity. You need us as much as I need you-{I-skutshe'am}". Fate will bring the officer and the Indigenous client together with opportunities of lessons for both officer and the detainee in the encounter.

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Development of Intelligence Collection and Analysis on Sex Trafficking: A Challenge for “Rescue” NGOs

*Troy Whitford**

ABSTRACT

Rescue NGOs are organisations that conduct tactical operations targeting bars or brothels and other establishments, with the intent of releasing people from situations of sexual exploitation. Their role in counter trafficking comes under significant criticism - predominantly for acting unilaterally and without regard for the impact their ‘raids’ have on trafficked victims and sex workers. This article will suggest that rescue NGOs are better placed to develop intelligence collection and analysis capabilities. It challenges rescue NGOs to rethink the paramilitary approach and train its rescue volunteers in intelligence collection and analysis. It encourages greater collaborations, training and awareness.

Key words: Rescue NGOs, Intelligence, Sex trafficking, Capability, Volunteer, South East Asia

INTRODUCTION

Non-Government Organisations play a variety of roles in developing nations. Beyond the distribution of aid – such as food, water and sanitation –NGO’s are working in the field of social welfare and justice. Specifically, there are NGOs involved in rescuing people from situations of sexual exploitation. “Rescue” NGOs have emerged as a minor participant on the NGO landscape but its work carries major implications for its rescued and the volunteers who undertake rescue operations. While rescue operations are sometimes done with the help of local law enforcement agencies they also tend to work unilaterally. Rescue NGO operatives are sometimes former police officers of junior ranks driven by noble cause justifications even at the risk of violating local laws. Others are untrained volunteers acting on their own to gather intelligence or reconnaissance. Lack of training exposes risks to the volunteer operative

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and the people they are trying to help. The risk by NGOs conducting intelligence or reconnaissance includes mistaking sex workers for those trafficked and volunteers being exposed by those organising the trafficking of people. All of which concern the physical safety of the volunteer and the person in situations of sexual exploitation.

Underlining those risks is the lack of intelligence training in operational tradecraft and intelligence analysis. It is proposed that through better tradecraft and establishing fundamental analytical methods, rescue NGOs will be better equipped to conduct their operations. The immediate solution is having volunteers and staff trained by academics and practitioners who possess intelligence and reconnaissance skills and knowledge. While the focus of this exploration is better training and tradecraft for undeterred rescue NGOs– it is recognised that there are broader questions about the legitimacy of rescue NGOs involvement in situations of sexual exploitation. There are also further questions regarding concerns that rescue NGOs may not have the financial resources to mitigate against risks of physical harm to its operatives and victims of situations of sexual exploitation. These questions and concerns are important but not within the scope of this article and would make a worthy separate analysis.

BACKGROUND

The role of NGOs in conducting “rescues” of women and children from brothels and bars in parts of South East Asia has gained considerable media coverage in the West (US DOS, 2017). The practice of NGO volunteers taking part in so-called raids on places where they alleged situations of sexual exploitation is taking pace is depicted more akin to a paramilitary operation than a rescue mission. Its marketing material rescue NGOs tend to exaggerate its contribution to combating situations of sexual exploitation. There is a tendency by some NGOs to overstate the military backgrounds of its rescuers with NGO promotional material portraying armed men conducting military-like manoeuvres (Moore, 2015). In part, it is this paramilitary approach that is likely causing rescues to be scrutinised, with opponents suggesting they do more harm than good.

Some other concerns involve the use of local law enforcement. Some rescue NGOs actively contribute to the lack of capacity in local law enforcement by doing the work for them. In other instances rescue NGOs recruit active law enforcement officers to provide intelligence on cases or organise non-approved cross border operational incursions into neighbouring jurisdictions with local law enforcement officers. Some references in the subject literature suggests NGO rescues have a negative impact on victims in situations of sexual exploitation. Further, it contributes little to the reduction of the crime and often mistakes those voluntarily working in the sex industry for trafficked persons (Walters, 2017). Despite those debates, there is no evidence to indicate rescue NGOs will cease operations. They will continue rescues as long as they are allowed to work with relevant local law enforcement agencies and funded by donations and government aid by providers such as USaid or the US Department of Justice. So, as long as rescue NGOs continue to operate, it is posited that they will require a greater sophistication along with greater maturity in their approach and methodologies.

In some instances ‘intelligence critical to the successful identification and investigation of traffickers is likely to be provided to NGOs and not police’ (David 2007) Where rescue NGOs can provide the most benefit is through developing better intelligence collection and analysis methods that will generate intelligence reports with information police may not be able to obtain. These reports could also be drafted to assist other NGOs working with victims in situations of sexual exploitation and of course local law enforcement. With better intelligence capabilities and training, the rescue NGOs are more likely to provide tactical intelligence for law enforcement agencies as well as operational-level intelligence for themselves to inform their future work.

CRITICISMS OF RESCUE NGOS IN LITERATURE

In a study undertaken by sociologist Stephanie Limoncelli (2016), NGOs that reported to be engaged in rescue activities of women and children were only a fraction of the overall NGOs working in the field of human trafficking. According to Limoncelli only 7% of NGOs reported they were actively conducting rescues. Fewer still were active in investigating human trafficking cases or forming groups to look for signs of trafficking

in “red light districts, boarders or villages (Limoncelli, 2016) Limoncelli suggests only 2% undertake those activities with most of that work taking place in Asia, the United States and Sub-Saharan Africa (Limoncelli 2016). Despite the small number of NGOs involved in rescues and investigations, the literature surrounding rescue NGOs is tempus of opinion and tension. Broadly, the arguments against rescue NGOs are around the inability for those organisations to correctly identify those that have trafficked into sex work. Essentially, the criticism levied at rescue NGOs includes their inability to discern between women who have made a choice to work in the sex industry and those that have been forced or coerced.

Elena Shih in her work *Not in My Backyard Abolitionism: Vigilante Rescue against American Sex Trafficking* (2016) highlights at least two deficiencies in the rescue of sex trafficked women. First, she acknowledges that there is a degree of cultural incompetence. Rescuers often are unable to speak the language of the women involved and operate without an understanding of the socio-cultural background of those they rescue. Second, the rescue groups lack true situational awareness. A common error is mistaking legitimate massage parlours for brothels. The error in identification is primarily caused by an inability to conduct proper surveillance (Shih, 2016).

In a submission made by the Thai based Empower Foundation—a sex worker advocacy organisation—to the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) they highlighted a problem with rescue NGOs superseding the role of local law enforcement and conducting what they describe as entrapment operations. Further, the Empower Foundation described rescue NGOs conducting operations where minors are identified working in a brothel within the first 48 hours of an operation but are left in those brothels for periods of up to three months while further evidence is collected (Empowerment Foundation, 2019). It is not surprising that the Empower Foundation made the recommendation in their submission that NGOs need greater accountability and must be bound by the same laws and policies as state agencies and law enforcement (Empowerment Foundation, 2019). In response to this criticism rescue NGOs should be familiar with and base

their intelligence collection activities on codes of conduct from their country of origin and host country. For example understanding limitations to covert collection set out in the *United Kingdom's Covert Human Intelligence Code of Practice* (2018) or the Metropolitan Police's *Covert Policing Standards Policy* (2015).

TYPOLOGY OF RESCUE NGOS

Rescue NGOs are often Christian based groups made up of volunteers. Groups such as Destiny Rescue, Operation Underground Rescue, and Exodus Road work in South East Asia. Their websites emphasise the law enforcement or military background of its operatives and founders. In some of the imagery and marketing they are often leading local law enforcement raids on bars or brothels sometimes dressed in paramilitary clothing. They are financed through private donations and in some instances, government funding (Hoff, 2012). They are non-for-profit entities. It logically follows that rescue NGOs require a good working relationship with local law enforcement. The most successful in building local law enforcement relationships are rescue NGOs that have operatives with policing backgrounds.

RESCUE TYPOLOGY

There are two types of rescue operations conducted by NGOs. These operations are termed as “hard” or “soft” operations. Both have similar starting points, which involves operatives (i.e., NGO volunteers) scouting possible places where trafficking may occur—usually bars or brothels. Typically, these operatives will use hidden cameras to film the premises and record conversations with owners, managers, and the women/girls “working” there.

In the case of a soft rescue, operatives will request time with a targeted sex worker under the pretence they are seeking to pay the workers for sex. Once they are alone with the worker, they will softly question her about the work she is doing and if she is there willingly. Over several visits the operative will attempt to gain the workers trust and then tell the worker their real intention and ask the worker if she is wanting to leave. If the worker is willing to leave, a further plan is made to extract the worker from

the place of business to social workers who will assist with repatriating the worker home or to some other form of accommodation.

The hard operation also involve the use of an operative to scout the premises of a bar or brothel. Overtime they will compile what investigators refer to as a brief of evidence; that is, evidence of trafficking or underage prostitution before taking that evidence to local law enforcement officials. Local law enforcement agencies will act on the information by conducting a raid on the premises. In some instances, local law enforcement will provide the NGO operative with marked currency that they will use for payment for time with the sex worker. On exchange of money or at the time of choosing, local law enforcers will raid the premises releasing the women and children by arresting the perpetrators.

From an intelligence point of view, there is a problem with the operational planning of rescue NGOs (Prunckun, 2015). The problems are centred on poor risk management and are pertinent to soft and hard rescues. NGO operatives are likely to be exposed by bar and brothel owners. The NGO operatives are essentially working as police informers, but without a thorough knowledge of covert practices and understanding of ethical issues such as collateral intrusion. Often rescue NGOs are working without the supervision of law enforcement, judicial oversight or any resources that would normally assist an official undercover operation.

CURRENT INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Given covert nature of NGOs work, it is difficult to get an absolute understanding of all their current intelligence collection and analysis methods. However, there are some elements that become self-evident. A chief issue is the reliance on tactical training at the expense of operational-level intelligence. This is coupled with a lack of interest in the preparation and dissemination of intelligence reports that would be of value not only to law enforcement agencies, but other NGOs working to address human trafficking.

As an example, the Christian-based trafficking rescue NGO, *Destiny Rescue*, describes the kinds of activities its operatives undertake on its website (Destiny Rescue, 2019) in its call for volunteers to work in its anti-sex trafficking operations. The training they offer spans two weeks and

includes 20 hours of hand-to-hand defensive training, training on use of undercover cameras, local language training, training on policies and procedures, and the use of roleplay in trafficking scenarios (Destiny Rescue, 2019). They state that within two days of joining the team they will be placed in brothels and bars undertaking real operations (Destiny Rescue, 2019). The types of activities new operatives undertaken include, posing as a customer in bars and brothels to identify trafficking victims, gathering intelligence to build a case for local law enforcement, take part in soft rescues without help from local police, follow suspected of what the organisation calls “pimps and paedophiles,” building rapport with them to gather intelligence to build a legal case against them, GPS mapping of bars and brothels and being “burnt” in a police raid (Destiny Rescue 2019) . The expression *burnt* means that the operatives cover is exposed. It appears that having the operatives cover exposed during the police raid of a premises is part of the operational practice and *Destiny Rescue* refers to the position as a “burn rescue agent.” (Destiny Rescue, 2019). This implies a certain expendability of the operatives not to mention safety implications.

PROBLEMS WITH CURRENT PRACTICE

Rescue NGOs will emphasise surveillance and reconnaissance as an important part of their operation. It also appears evident there are aspects of human intelligence collection. Surveillance, reconnaissance, and human intelligence collection are high-risk activities, usually undertaken by well-trained personnel. Providing a two-week training course and expecting the operatives to have their covers exposed does not provide sustainability and opportunity for the operative to develop their practice. Further, most of the rescue work that takes place in South East Asia realistically requires using local operatives to undertake surveillance of targets. Tailing targets in locations where foreigners seldom visit or are easily identified would make operatives too visible to those involved in sex trafficking. In short, collection of human intelligence from those involved in trafficking is incredibly high-risk and requires a high level of skill and patience.

According to the subject literature, an ongoing difficulty for rescue NGOs is the inability distinguish between those trafficked and those working in the industries of their own free will. This is problematic for both soft and

hard rescues. A failure to identify the difference can impact not only on the operation, but also expose the operative to risk.

The soft rescue involves revealing the true intent of the operative without police support. A person working in the bar or brothel, they may reject any assistance from the operative and feel obliged (or frighten not to) to let the owner know they have been made an offer of rescue.

The impact that hard rescues have on victims of trafficking and sex workers has been well documented by groups such as the *Empower Foundation* who cited: lack of planning in support for those removed from the bar and brothel along with the emotional distress sex workers experience during a police and rescue NGO raids. Hard rescues cannot be a unilateral operation, it requires significant support staff for the sex workers and trafficked persons after the raids. Provisions for victims of trafficking and sex workers post raid must be in place as part of the operational plan and can only be done through cooperation with other NGOs. Unfortunately, this is seldom included in the plan.

INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS POSSIBILITIES

Given the importance of training in conducting intelligence guided operations, the need for a training role immediately presents itself. NGOs could benefit from having training in creating efficient intelligence units. It must also place less emphasis on tactical raids and more attention to working with social welfare NGOs. A strength of the rescue NGO could be its ability to collect data, provide analysis, and develop intelligence reports that assist social welfare NGOs and plan joint extraction of those working in bars and brothels who are being trafficked.

Developing a better understanding of the sex trafficking organisation through intelligence products such a *target profiles* and *operational assessments* and furnishing local law enforcement agencies and social welfare NGOs with these reports are more likely to be of value in inhibiting sex trafficking at both the tactical and policy levels.

Intelligence collection and analysis skills are not always possessed by military and law enforcement personnel with tactical operational experience. Instead, staffing rescue NGO volunteers with intelligence collection and analysis experience or training will improve knowledge of

sex trafficking patterns and trends. Utilising academic social scientists also provides an opportunity for developing the ability to understand future policy implications for their operational intelligence. Such training in intelligence collection and analysis could also be extended to NGOs working to provide victim support. Training NGOs in interview skills and the importance of intelligence would assist in developing greater intelligence collection capabilities from those working with victims.

For an operational-level intelligence approach using predictive estimates or policy reviews are vital. Establishing remote intelligence units comprised of academics or social scientists (MacLeod, 2013) could provide wider assessment by putting the rescue NGO into the broader anti-trafficking context. Operational-level intelligence complimented with on-the-ground intelligence collection has the potential for an assessment to impact policy or high-level decision making to affect outcomes as well as outputs.

With the right collection and analysis of data there are a suite of intelligence products that can be drafted and circulated to local law enforcement agencies and social welfare NGOs. Developing target profile and operational assessments, event charts, heat maps, and network diagrams are of value to all concerned with countering sex trafficking. Because rescue NGOs are “on the ground” with the right training, they could collect data and analyse it in-house and distribute it to clients comprising of law enforcement and social welfare NGOs.

ESTABLISHING INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES

The challenges to restructure rescue activities into a partnership with social welfare NGOs and local law enforcement begins with the rescue NGO reconsidering the type of demand that exists for their service. Rescue NGOs should consider the actual demand for the services it offers and identify what aspects of their current operation has longer term success in reducing sex trafficking. This kind of re-evaluation takes honest reflection by NGO managers. Using reflective methods such as cooperative inquiry (Rearson, 1995) and Gibb’s reflective learning cycle (Quinton & Smallbone, 2010) will provide a vehicle for the kind of reflection necessary for identifying the longer term relevance of rescue NGOs.

Cooperative inquiry involves individuals first reflecting on the role of the rescue NGO then bringing those reflections to a larger group where the perspectives are shared and discussions had about how changes that could be made. The Gibbs's reflective learning cycle is commonly used in education settings but has relevance for all organisations. The Gibb's cycle follows some set questions to assist in the reflective process (Quinton & Smallbone, 2010). During the reflective exercise it is likely that rescue NGOs will identify its true operational strengths for supplying tactical and operational intelligence.

Reflecting on operational success and failures lead to understanding the strengths and weaknesses of the rescue NGOs. The rescue NGO's could then conduct a SWOT analysis of the strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats of their operations and identify what intelligence capabilities are required to develop sustainable intelligence collection practices. It can also assist in identifying existing and required resources to develop intelligence analysis methods that produce reports that inform the decision making of law enforcement and other NGOs working in the field. An environmental scan analysis would assist the rescue NGO reacquainting itself with the operational environment. The environmental scan would also assist the rescue NGOs understand the actual needs and motivations of other NGOs working to counter sex trafficking.

As discussed, reflection leads to identifying what intelligence capabilities are already available and what are required. But there are a number of other measures required to establish intelligence capabilities that need to be implemented. Developing networks for information sharing, building trust with local law enforcement and other NGOs are essential to an effective sex trafficking intelligence operation. Within the NGO community building trust is particularly precarious. NGO's have a reluctance to associate themselves with intelligence collection or analysis. Seen as a covert or perhaps even a sinister activity there are many NGOs working in the social welfare and justice field that reject any notion that intelligence collection should be part of their enterprise (Whitford & Prunckun, 2017).

Having a clear understanding of the kind of intelligence required needs to be at the forefront of an intelligence operation. An important measure is

drafting intelligence requirements – that is; questions that the rescue NGO want answered. Developing intelligence requirements will keep the operation focused on its objectives. Accompanying intelligence requirements are intelligence collection plans – what needs to be collected and how it will be collected to answer those questions or requirements. Finally, an analytical plan will outline how the intelligence collected will be analysed and presented.

There is certainly more involved in developing intelligence capability than outlined above. Understanding all the elements involved requires education and training in intelligence collection and analysis. Rescue NGO volunteers require training in intelligence collection trade craft and analysis. Employing or seeking assistance from practitioners or academics in the field of intelligence and security studies would progress the role of rescue NGOs as intelligence providers. Online training packages development by academic and practitioners and offered to prospective NGO rescue volunteers prior to deployment could provide the necessary theoretical aspects to intelligence collection and analysis. This training could then be built upon once in the field. Training of this nature not only improves the skill set and focus of rescue NGOs but also give the volunteer sustainable value rather than being deliberately ‘burnt’ after only one operation.

CONCLUSION

Rescue NGOs, while only a fraction of the NGOs working to stop sex trafficking, will remain an operational feature in counter trafficking. Little will deter their zeal and enthusiasm. What can be achieved is a professionalisation of the operatives which will lead to greater sensitivity to the operational environment and improve the skill set. The challenged for rescue NGOs is to move from paramilitary tactics into the realm of intelligence collection and analysis. Rescue NGOs must adapt to working with other NGOs, and law enforcement through providing intelligence reports and becoming independent experts in the local sex trafficking trade. Proving this kind of support is less intrusive, more sustainable and recognises that combating sex trafficking takes a holistic and planned approach.

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Adaptability Traits and Perception of Forensic Science among Investigating Police Officers (IPOs) in Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

This study was aimed at determining the adaptability traits and the perception of forensic science utilization in criminal investigation of the Investigating Police Officers in Nigeria, as well as find out whether there is a relationship between the variables. The study was a sample survey; out of the 3,503 Investigating Police Officers serving in Zone 1, 401 Officers were selected using systematic sampling. Zone 1 is one of the 12 police zonal commands in Nigeria. Adaptability traits and perception scales were the instruments used to collect data. SPSS version 24 was used for the data analysis. The results showed that many of the respondents have a favourable perception of forensic science and have high adaptability traits, that is, extraversion, agreeableness and methodicalness. It was also found that there was a statistically significant relationship between the perception of forensic science and the agreeableness as well as with the methodicalness, but not with the extraversion. Consequently, it is recommended that consideration should be given to the type of personality police investigators have before they are posted to serve in the criminal investigations department, in addition to other important factors, particularly when forensic techniques are required to be used.

Keywords: Adaptability traits, Criminal justice system, Perception, Nigeria Police, Criminal investigators, Forensic science

INTRODUCTION

Regardless of the type of national governance, the function of crime prevention and control is performed by different government agencies, with police as a primary and more visible organisation compared to other agencies (Ericson, 2005). With proper management of adequate workforce and facilities, the activities of the police could ensure

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the protection of life and property (Buch, 2013), thereby contributing to the overall peace and security within a country. Nsiah-Gyabaah (2010) opined that whenever there are peaceful co-existence and good security, the potentials to overall development of a society increase. In other words, when a police organisation is adequately equipped with necessary facilities and empowered personnel who will properly man these facilities, there is a high prospect that crimes will lessen, and many aspects of national life will improve.

The continuous and rapid development in science and technology in our society have unfortunately also brought about increased dynamism of criminal activities, subsequently requiring police services to be more competent to better respond (Taylor, Fritsch & Liederbach, 2014). To this end, it is believed that the police should have modern working facilities and more importantly, personnel should develop or already have inherent traits and skills; to adapt and accept the changes as they unfold in administrative or operational spheres of the agency (Moore, 2014). Particularly, investigating police officers (IPOs) are expected to be receptive to every innovation that is brought to improve performance effectiveness (Cochran, Bromley & Swando, 2002). For example, looking at the long history of policing and despite the range of benefits forensic science offers, modern application of forensic techniques in criminal investigations is still new in many developing countries in Africa; police organisations have yet to fully adopt and utilise it.

In Nigeria, with a population of over 192 million (National Population Commission, 2018) and high crime rate, there are only two forensic laboratory facilities owned by the Nigeria Police (Ucha, 2010). There is also an acute shortage of forensic officers (Network of Police Reform in Nigeria, 2010). Although the Nigerian government has recently indicated its readiness to reform the police, which may include the provision of more forensic science facilities; there are so many unanswered but important questions concerning police utilisation of forensic science. For example, it is not known if the IPOs are ready enough to adapt to the new situation and subsequent organisational changes, should forensic facilities be made available to the police. Thus, what are the levels of personal adaptability traits among IPOs and what perception do they have

concerning forensic science application in criminal investigations? Are these variables related to one another? These were the questions which this study sought to answer.

The way a worker perceives the working facilities made available by an organisations may influence how the employee will react and utilize them, which could either be in favor of the goals of the organisations or otherwise. Generally, adaptability traits stimulate individuals to modify their thoughts and actions to suit a new situation, for example, when it happens in their workplace. Thus, possession of adaptability traits could likely make an employee to have a favorable perception of a new way of doing things in the organization. Related to the issue of IPOs and utilisation of forensic science in criminal investigation, it can be said that: officers with high level of adaptability traits are expected to have a positive perception of forensic science discipline and should be ready to accept and appropriately use them. Similarly, those with low scores of adaptability traits may likely have a less positive perception towards utilisation of forensic science. To test these assumptions, three common adaptability traits, that is, extraversion, agreeableness and methodicalness; and a perception scale were used, and the following null hypotheses were accordingly formulated:

H₀₁: there is no relationship between extraversion and perception of forensic science by the IPOs.

H₀₂: there is no relationship between agreeableness and perception of forensic science by the IPOs.

H₀₃: there is no relationship between methodicalness and perception of forensic science discipline by the IPOs.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Personality was traditionally seen by psychologists as a weak contributor in the prediction of job performance, however, recent development concerning some personality constructs, e.g. 'big five', has proven that personality types can be valid predictors of performance, even in the police organisation (Black, 2000). The big five personality traits are extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness (Schmitt, Allik, McCrae, & Benet-Martínez, 2007). Personality traits have been

studied and were found to have relationship with various aspects of workers in an organisations; for example, studies on shift-work complaints (Natvik *et al.*, 2011), job satisfaction and burnout (Grant and Langan-Fox, 2007; Levy and Lounsbury, 2011). Other studies suggested an association between unique personality types in police and mental health, stress, and trauma resistance (Galatzer-Levy *et al.*, 2011; Orr *et al.*, 2012). There were studies also on police perception of high crime areas (Ratcliffe & McCullagh, 2001), police pursuit and emergency response driving (Crundall, Chapman, Phelps & Underwood, 2003) and perception of unfair treatment (Dowler, 2005). However, little has been done to explore how personality traits are associated with the perception of forensic disciplines as they are used in criminal investigation.

Perception is the process by which people make sense of what other individuals and phenomenon are supposed to look like. It encompasses the construction of an understanding of the social world from the data obtained through senses (Michener, DeLamater & Myers, 2004). It can also be seen as the process through which people select, organize, and interpret sensory stimulations into meaningful information about their worlds; it is a psychological mechanism that enables individuals to understand their environment (Rao and Narayana, 1998). Rao and Narayana (1998) further argued that perception is the single most crucial determinant of human behavior, as there can be no behavior without perception. In other words, people perceive things based on certain information they gather and possibly act towards that thing based on the perception.

Adaptability, as an individual's attribute, can be seen as one's general ability to adjust to changes, or barriers (seeming or otherwise) in one's career (Rottinghaus, Day, & Borgen, 2005; Duffy, 2010). It is thus an ability, skill, disposition and willingness to change so as to fit different tasks, social, and environmental features (Ployhart & Bliese, 2006). Adaptability also involves a person being flexible to act either as dominant or friendly, depending on the situation (Paulhus & Martin, 1988); it connotes the ability to adjust to a new reporting structure within a team (Kozlowski, Gully, Nason & Smith, 1999). The traits in adaptability include extraversion, agreeableness, methodicalness, independence,

intellectual openness and industriousness (Goldberg, Johnson, Eber, Hogan, Ashton, Cloninger & Gough, 2006)

Extraversion is an individual characteristic that encompasses behavior such as being sociable, talkative, assertive, active, energetic, cheerful, and socially confident (Oh, Lee, Ashton, & de Vries, 2011). Extraversion was found to be a predictor variable of performance across different contexts of businesses and employee performance, particularly in sales and services organizations (Hurtz & Donovan, 2000; LePine & Van Dyne, 2001). Notably, extraversion, as a moderator of the relationship between other personality traits and workplace outcomes; was shown to have strengthened the relationship between conscientiousness and overall job performance among women (Witt, 2002). More so, Rubin, Munz, and Bommer (2005) provided some evidence that extraversion reinforced positive effect of emotion recognition ability in predicting transformational leadership, which is the ability of a leader to encourage, inspire and motivate employees to innovate and create change that will help grow and shape the future success of the company; by its nature, transformational leadership favors adaptation and is therefore related to adaptability capacity of an employee. More so, extraversion was found to have demonstrated oppositional relationships in connection to workplace deviance (Oh, Lee, Ashton, & de Vries, 2011). For example, it was shown that the operational validity of extraversion for deviant behaviors was either low (Sackett, Berry, Wiemann, & Laczko, 2006) or near to zero (Salgado, 2002). This further supports the possibility of connection between extraversion and commitment of the employees to the organizational aims and objectives.

Agreeableness is one of the Big-five personality traits. Agreeable individuals are characterized as pleasant, tolerant, helpful, trusting, forgiving, considerate, and they tend to be cooperative (Bowling & Eschleman, 2010). Graziano and Eisenberg (1997) found that employees who scored high on agreeableness, were more likely to display less hostility and aggression toward others during work time. Mount, Ilies & Johnson (2006) found that agreeableness had a direct negative association with interpersonal destructive behaviors with job satisfaction moderately mediating the relationship. This finding was further supported by Berry et

al., (2007), and is in line with what Dalal (2005) and Salgado (2002) found in their meta-analysis results. Agreeableness is thus considered as an important personal motivational factor that strongly determines workplace behavior (Berry, Ones & Sackett, 2007).

Methodicalness portrays characteristics that are work-oriented, such as achievement, responsibility, and conscientiousness; which are largely non-personal and social. Indeed, Lee *et al.* (2005) found a negative correlation between conscientiousness and destructive deviance. Even though this dimension is work-oriented and non-personal, a significant correlation between conscientiousness and interpersonal deviance was also found in an earlier study (Liao, Joshi & Chuang, 2004). Various studies have shown negative relationships between conscientiousness and workplace behavior (see, for example, O'Neill, Lewis & Carswell, 2011; LePine, LePine & Jackson, 2004; Colbert, Mount, Harter, Witt & Barrick, 2004). Highly conscientious employees are more likely to put effort to achieve personally important goals, identify particular ways to achieve those goals, called optimisation, and when necessary, seek out alternate means to augment existing methods (compensation) (Bajor & Baltes, 2003; Wiese, Freund & Baltes, 2000), which as Bajor & Baltes (2003) argued could lead to better performance, and decreased work-family conflict (Baltes, Zhdanova & Clark, 2011).

METHOD

A sample survey method was used in this study. The location of the study was Zone 1 of the Nigeria Police. The Zone 1 is one of the twelve zonal police commands in Nigeria, comprising of zonal command and three state commands, that is, Kano, Jigawa and Katsina states. Based on the IPOs population of 3,503, a sample size of 347 was determined using Krejcie and Morgan's (1970) table of sample size estimation. A potential 20% dropout rate was added making the sample size 416. Systematic sampling was used to select the elements with IPOs lists as sampling frame. The inclusion criteria were, 1) An investigator has spent at least two years in service, 2) he or she should have been in the location of the study on a regular posting and not on special assignment, loan or operation and, 3) was also serving at the State or Zonal CIID in Zone 1 at the time of conducting the study.

Quantitative data were then collected via a self-administered questionnaire containing measures of adaptability: extraversion, agreeableness, and methodicalness (Goldberg, Johnson, Eber, Hogan, Ashton, Cloninger & Gough, 2006). These scales were used by previous studies and were found to have high validity and reliability with Cronbach alpha values of between 0.69 to 0.87 (Bachelor, Meunier, Laverdiere, & Gamache, 2010; Thalmayer, Saucier & Eigenhuis, 2011). For this study, the domains were validated on the Nigeria police respondents and were found to have high validity and reliability for use in with Cronbach's alpha value of 0.86 (Agreeableness), 0.91 (Methodicalness) and 0.79 (Independence).

To determine the perception of the respondents regarding forensic science discipline, a perception scale was purposely developed by the current researchers; this is because the researchers could not find a scale that was earlier designed and used to specifically measure police perception regarding forensic science. This scale was also included in the self-administered battery. The initial number of items of the perception scale was 18, which were selected out of 55 pools of statements and questions. After undergoing validation and revalidation, four items, (representing reliability, intelligibility, compatibility and validity of forensic science) were retained for the construct with $\alpha = 0.77$. In addition to the perception and adaptability traits, information on sociodemographic characteristics of the participants was collected. At the end of the data collection, responses from 401 respondents were obtained and analyzed using SPSS version 24. The sample size exceeded the minimum size required.

RESULTS

The socio-demographic profiles of the participants

The sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents considered in this study were gender, age, marital status, education, and rank. The majority (87.3%) of the respondents were males while 12.7% were female; this is not surprising as the workforce of the Nigeria Police is dominated by males because females hardly join police (Sarki & Hussein, 2019). According to the Nigeria Police, there were 87.6% and 12.4% male and female police in

the agency respectively (NPF/UNWOMEN/UNFPA, 2010). Respondents with ages between 28 and 37 years constituted the highest percentage (37.2%) in relation to other categories of age. The category that follows in terms of frequency is the 38-47 category (34.4% of the respondents). Very few (9.7%) fall in the youngest category, the 18-27 years' category.

With regard to marital status, the majority (78.1%) of respondents were married, and several respondents were single. More than one-third (35.4%) of the respondents were Diploma holders; more than one-quarter of the respondents had secondary certificate (25.2%) or bachelor's degree/HND Certificate (28.7%). A small percentage of respondents have primary (4.0%) or postgraduate (7.0%) education. In relation to rank, the distribution of respondents was similar: Officers (32.9%), Inspectors (31.2%) and Men (35.9%). Although the percentage of the Men category is a little bit higher, this shows that the Criminal Investigation Intelligence Department comprised of IPOs of higher, middle and lower ranks almost equally.

Adaptability and perception scores of the respondents

The score distribution of personality traits and perception among the respondents is shown in Table 1. Extraversion ($M=14.84$, $SD=3.470$) was the most prevalent (59.1%) and highest trait among, the respondents who scored equal or above the mean. This was followed by Agreeableness ($M=14.97$, $SD=3.157$) and methodicalness ($M=14.56$, $SD=3.602$) with 56.4% and 54.1% respectively. See Table 1.

Table 1:
Adaptability traits of the respondents (n=383)

Adaptability traits	Scores			Respondents' levels of score (%)				
	<i>Max</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Very low</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Normal</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Very high</i>
Extraversion	20	14.84	3.47	4.2	10	26.7	44.9	14.2
Agreeableness	25	17.7	3.06	13.2	26.2	36.9	21.4	-
Methodicalness	30	21.8	4.36	37.9	38.2	21.2	-	-

Moreover, as the table shows, the majority of the respondents have scored at least normal in extraversion, more than half scored normal and above in agreeableness, but none have scored above normal in methodicalness. This indicates that the two traits were common and high among the respondents, while methodicalness was also widespread but not in high proportion.

Table 2:
Perception of the respondents (n=383)

<i>Items</i>	Scores			Overall perception (%)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>M</i> <i>ax</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Not so good</i>
<i>Perception1</i>	5	3.79	1.29	66.6	32.7
<i>Perception2</i>	5	3.38	1.27	51.1	48.1
<i>Perception3</i>	5	3.55	1.18	55.6	42.9
<i>Perception4</i>	5	3.81	1.22	67.8	30.9
Perception	20	14.56	3.42	71.1	26.7

As presented in Table 2, the maximum score on the perception scale was 20, while the mean score of the respondents was 14.56 (SD=3.42). The majority of the respondents (71.1%) have scored equal or above the mean. Particularly, at least two-third (66.6%) have favorable perception concerning the reliability (perception1) and validity (67.8%), i.e. perception4, of forensic science, while more than half among the respondents have good perception of the intelligibility, that is perception2, (51.1%) and compatibility, perception3, (55.6%) of the forensic field. This suggests that a reasonable number of respondents have higher score regarding perception of forensic science in criminal investigation.

Hypotheses tests

In order to test the null hypotheses of the relationship between adaptability traits and perception, binomial logistics regression was calculated: perception been considered as dichotomous variable while the traits as ordinal. Preliminary analysis check conducted prior to the main

hypotheses' tests did not indicate any violation of the assumptions of binomial regression. Thus, all the correlations among the predictors were <0.80 , interactive terms were non-significant ($p>0.05$). The results showed that the regression model was significant, $\chi^2 (df = 3, N = 380) = 31.994, p = 0.000$, and adequate as confirmed by Hosmer and Lemeshow test, $\chi^2 (df = 8, N = 380) = 14.907, p = 0.061$. The variance explained by the model was 11.6% (Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.116$) and the predictive accuracy was 74.7%.

Table 3:

Predictor coefficients for the model predicting the perception of forensic science (n = 383)

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Extraversion	0.059	0.041	2.070	1	0.150	1.061	0.979	1.151
Agreeableness	0.118	0.046	6.721	1	0.010	1.125	1.029	1.230
Methodicalness	0.083	0.035	5.648	1	0.017	1.087	1.015	1.164
Constant	-2.799	0.704	15.828	1	0.000	0.061		

Among the three adaptability traits, agreeableness and methodicalness were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) indicating a relationship with the dependent variable. As presented in Table 3, the likelihood of positive perception increases by 1.125 [95% CI, 1.029-1.230] when a score of agreeableness is increased; there are also odds for increase in perception by 1.087 [95% CI, 1.015-1.164] when a score in methodicalness is increased. Extraversion did not seem to show any statistical significance in the model. Therefore, the null hypotheses H_{02} and H_{03} are rejected, while the H_{01} is not rejected. In other words, perception was positively related to agreeableness and methodicalness but not related to extraversion.

DISCUSSION

The literature does not contain much knowledge regarding adaptability in relation to either police work or perception. Nonetheless, the researchers argue that this association is important because it will help in understanding which type of personality should be more suitable in the

police investigation department. This study found that two (agreeableness and methodicalness) of the three adaptability traits considered are associated with perception of forensic science in a positive way, suggesting that IPOs with high levels of these traits are likely to form positive perception of forensic science discipline in criminal investigations. This, in turn, may lead to cooperative behavior of accepting and adequately using forensic facilities as opined by Berry *et al.* (2007).

The finding related to agreeableness, is similar to Mount *et al.*'s (2006) who reported that being high in agreeableness may make individuals shun destructive behaviors that will affect the organization; it is also in line with Berry *et al.* (2007), Dalal (2005), Lee, Ashton & Shin (2005) and Salgado (2002). In the same vein, Black (2000), as well as Barrick & Mount (1991), have found that agreeableness, together with extraversion and conscientiousness, are important personality factors for police performance. In other words, the finding indicated that IPOs with high score of agreeableness are likely to embrace positive behavior that will improve the working of police organisation, i.e., positive perception towards forensic science disciplines.

In relation to methodicalness, the findings herein agreed with previous studies. In particular, Lee, Ashton & Shin's (2005) study evidencing a positive association between individuals with high methodicalness on one hand and work-oriented, look towards achievement and responsibility, on the other. See also Goldberg (1990) and Rothbart and Ahadi (1994). Thus, there is a likelihood that IPOs who are methodical, due to their work-oriented nature and zeal to achieve responsibility could have better perception of forensic disciplines, which are tools that help realize more reliable investigations. Notwithstanding the agreement with other studies, this study contrasted with Liao, Joshi & Chuang (2004) who had found significant correlation between methodicalness and interpersonal workplace deviance. Interpersonal workplace deviance, which is a minor but unhealthy behavior directed at co-workers, could indirectly affect how employees view their organization, that is, as either conducive for organizational goals achievement or not.

However, concerning extraversion, earlier research by Hurtz & Donovan (2000), LePine & Van Dyne, (2001) and Organ & Ryan (1995), provided some evidence that extraversion was positively correlated with job performance in the business-oriented organizations especially at sales and managerial positions. It was also found to have reinforced methodicalness in certain situations; see, for example, Witt (2002) and Rubin, Munz, & Bommer (2005). It is posited that the application of forensic science disciplines as part of the modern Nigerian policing may be further advanced because of this link between extraversion and perception, thereby improving crime investigation. Contrastingly, this study did not support those findings, as a non-significant relationship was discovered between perception and extraversion.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Although there are many dimensions to understanding an individual's personality type and how they affect behaviour, not much has been done to explore the link between adaptability traits and perception. As is seen in this study, the duo traits of agreeableness and methodicalness, representing adaptability construct have positive relationships with police perception of forensic science discipline in criminal investigations. Police investigators who have a high score of these traits may likely be more receptive to police provision of forensic facilities and be ready to utilise them adequately, than their counterparts who have low scores. Consequently, it is recommended that consideration should be given to the type of personality police investigators have before they are posted to serve in the criminal investigations department, especially when forensic techniques are required to be used. This could be achieved through a well-designed personality test. Other factors, like frequency of forensic investigation training attendance of an IPO, work experience and education level may as well be considered in deciding who should be posted to the investigation department. One limitation of this study was the failure to control the effect of sociodemographic variables which may have compounded the relationship between the dependent and the independent variables; this paves way for future empirical research.

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The authors declare no conflict of interests

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Book Review

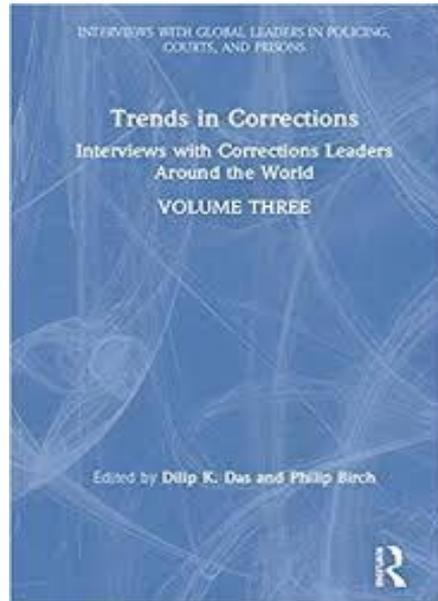
Trends in Corrections: Interviews with Corrections Leaders around the World

Editors, Dilip Das and Philip Birch

Routledge

2019, 254 pages

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Reviewed by Emma Wintle

This third volume contains interviews with ten corrections leaders from Europe, North America, South America, Asia and South Africa, providing the reader with first-hand experiential accounts of correctional practices in these jurisdictions and the challenges faced due to the specific demands of their particular countries and its penal practices. Each of the ten interviewees currently leads, or has been a leader, of a correctional institution or a key department or agency related to the field of corrections. Each interview highlights issues in correctional programming and management styles in the eight countries around the world that are represented in the volume. The interviewees respond to questions about their own personal correctional philosophies and the role of corrections, as well how they incorporate theory and evidence-based practices into their work and balance the goals of corrective control and rehabilitation. There is a particular emphasis within these in-depth interviews on how the correctional leaders evaluate trends and developments and despite localised issues and their position on the trajectory of developments in correctional philosophy and practice, a

number of similarities have been identified, including the need for effective rehabilitation and reintegration services utilising individualised case management and throughcare.

Those conducting the interviews come from the fields of criminology, criminal justice, sociology, psychology, criminal law and law enforcement. The editors, Das and Birch, have years of experience in criminal justice practice, research, education and have published internationally. The concluding chapter written by Birch *et al.* successfully draws together the themes identified from examining the interview data presented in this edition and demonstrates a number of interrelated trends driving complexity and change at an unprecedented rate and affecting the future context of leadership within corrections. For example, shifting demographics including an ageing prison population, changes in community expectations and technological advances which can support the management of offenders. As the editors explain, there is a requirement for corrections to be up to date with innovative policy and contemporary practice and management decisions to be underpinned by relevant theory and an evidence base. This edition supports these principles by publishing ideas and theories based on decades of correctional administrative experience, furthermore, illustrates the need for enhancing and evolving skills and knowledge to face upcoming changes and challenges to leadership and management of correctional practice. This book is therefore a must read for correctional leaders and those that work, or intend to work, in the field of corrections.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER

Emma Wintle is a researcher of policing and law enforcement at Charles Sturt University, Australia. Emma has a Bachelor in Criminology and Criminal Justice (Hons) from the University of New South Wales, Australia, and is a PhD candidate. Prior to entering academia, Emma worked in Regulatory Affairs, analysing policy and lobbying governments for evidence based practices.

Book Review

Civil Disobedience: a Philosophical Overview

By Piero Moraro

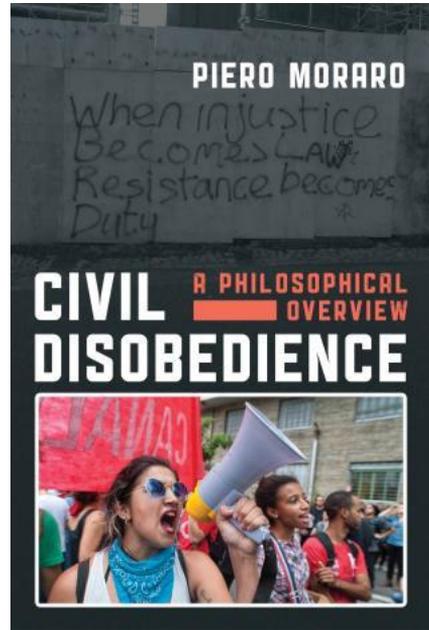
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Reviewed by Anna Corbo Crehan



Moraro’s book, *Civil Disobedience—A Philosophical Overview*, lives up to the promises made in its title. It indeed provides an overview of the philosophical arguments, concepts and theories that have been used to make sense of civil disobedience and to reveal its moral and political dimensions. The book engages with, and extends, a considerable amount of theoretical work, focusing “on the period from the early 2000s to the present” (p. 1). Critically, this focus does not preclude discussion of key figures Gandhi and Martin Luther King (whose respective actions are critiqued against the various accounts of civil disobedience under consideration). Moreover, in surveying the existing work, Moraro develops his own responses to a number of challenging issues that remain unresolved.

The book is divided into six chapters, with an Introduction that provides a useful roadmap for the reader. Chapter 1, “What’s Wrong with Disobedience?,” sets out the philosophical problem posed by civil disobedience, namely how it can be justified qua illegal action when it appears to contradict the fundamental political duty we have to obey the law. The chapter describes, with minimal critique, a number of arguments

for the duty to obey the law, however Moraro concludes that none is able to “establish the wrongness of disobedience per se” (p. 8). As a keystone chapter for all those that follow, this leads me to wonder about the book’s intended audience. On the whole, complex philosophical arguments are rendered accessible for the non-philosopher. However, the frequency with which terms such as *tout court* and *pro tanto* are used to qualify important concepts is likely to be off-putting to those unfamiliar with them, especially as dictionary definitions don’t always convey the niceties of philosophical usage.

Chapter 2 addresses the concept of civility, providing “an account of civility as a disposition to respect fellow citizens as autonomous agents” (p. 27). In turn, this sets up one of the key underpinning arguments of the book, that “for an act of disobedience to be civil, it must persuade, rather than coerce others, for coercion is inherently disrespectful of others’ status as autonomous agents” (p. 33; emphases in original). Much of the remainder of the book turns on what counts as respect for autonomy, especially in regard to persuasion and coercion, with Chapter 4, “Non-violence and Civility” concluding with the claim that “force or violence to compel others to join the communicative enterprise, under some circumstances, may fulfil the duty to respect them as autonomous agents: a commitment to treating others with civility may require one to address others in ways that may infringe on their freedom (yet not also on their autonomy)” (p. 101, emphasis in original). In between, Chapter 3, “Disagreement and Civility,” argues that “Respecting others in the democratic arena calls for sincerity and willingness to face ... disagreement, rather than restraint and avoidance of conflict. This is something we owe them as autonomous agents” (p. 62; emphasis in original).

In Chapter 5, the issue of whether there is a moral right to civil disobedience is considered, along with the subsequent question of what such a right might mean for the existence of a moral justification to punish acts of disobedience. This chapter, while of critical conceptual importance overall, raised a number of issues in regard to the book’s aims and intended readership. In the Introduction, Moraro noted that the book “is organised around themes rather than individual authors” (pp. 1–2). Of the six

sections within Chapter 5, however, three are organised around individual authors, making it difficult for the reader (especially the non-philosopher) to understand the corresponding themes. This difficulty could have been addressed via a conclusion, however the chapter ends rather abruptly with a discussion of William Smith, and no clear segue to the next chapter.

Moraro's arguments in relation to three outstanding issues identified in the preceding chapters are presented in Chapter 6. The novelty of these arguments lies in the fact that they rely on an account of political obligation that "hinges on the notion of respect for, rather than obedience to, the law" (p. 129; emphases in original), while continuing to build on earlier arguments about respect for others' autonomy. The arguments in this chapter are made and well sign-posted. Even if a non-philosopher reader has found prior chapters difficult to wade through, Chapter 6 should be accessible and may even enable them to go back and make sense of the earlier material on which it draws. The chapter lacks a concluding section that ties-up the book's threads succinctly; instead, it ends with a short subsection titled "Why a Racist Cannot Be Civil." Notwithstanding the importance of that discussion, it seems an odd note on which to conclude.

Civil Disobedience—A Philosophical Overview is an important addition to the literature on civil disobedience, especially at this current time when people of all political persuasions are searching for ways to prosecute political arguments. Despite some minor drawbacks, Moraro's virtue ethics-based focus on agents and their dispositions, together with his distinction between respecting "rather than merely obey[ing], the law" (p. 3), brings clarity to the relevant debates, in ways that are both intellectually rigorous and practically applicable.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER

Anna Corbo Crehan PhD is Senior Lecturer at Charles Sturt University's Australian Graduate School of Policing and Security, and Presiding Officer of the Charles Sturt University Human Research Ethics Committee. She has published papers about a number of aspects of policing, including police ethics, obedience to authority, the policing of vulnerable people and professional boundaries

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