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# POLICE IN THE PLAYGROUND:

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE IMPACT OF THE MANUKAU  
POLICE 'COPS IN SCHOOLS' PROGRAMME ON YOUTH  
ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR AND PERCEPTION OF POLICE

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**ABSTRACT**

Over the previous two decades, police officers have become a more prominent presence in schools around the world. While there have been relationships between schools and police for some time, it is only more recently that this has resulted in programmes which see police officers being stationed in schools on a full time basis. Despite the popularity and global proliferation of these programmes, very little research has been undertaken into their effectiveness. With police departments continuing to develop and implement their own programmes, it is important to provide a base from which these can be developed, and an indication of which elements have been found to be effective. In 2008, following concerns regarding youth antisocial behaviour and gang involvement in Manukau City (South Auckland), New Zealand, the Manukau Police developed a programme called “Cops in Schools”. This saw 6 officers working in 12 schools. This study aimed to investigate the effectiveness of this programme in relation to student antisocial behaviour and perception of police. It was also envisioned that the study would provide a description of the programme from the perspectives of teachers and students, as well as an indication of their perceptions of the effectiveness of the programme. As such, the study utilised a mixed method approach. Three specific approaches were used: a qualitative analysis of student focus group ( $n=28$ ) and teacher focus group ( $n=11$ ) data; a quantitative analysis of the perception of police in the study schools in comparison to a control school ( $n=49$ ); and a quantitative analysis of suspension, stand down, and exclusion/expulsion rates before and after the implementation of the programme. The results of each aspect of the study appeared to be somewhat contradictory. While no statically significant changes were indicated in relation to the

quantitative components, both the teacher and student focus groups painted a largely positive impression of the programme. The focus group data also provided a wealth of information about specific aspects of the programme which seemed to have an impact on student and teachers perceptions. The possible explanations of these findings are discussed. The limitations of the current study, as well as future research directions are also outlined.

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## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

One's youth is a period of considerable physical, psychological and social change. It is a time where individuals begin to develop a sense of who they are, and where they fit in the world. In doing this, boundaries are pushed, new experiences are sought, and, for many, social norms, or even laws, are violated. The antisocial behaviour of some young people in New Zealand has long been an issue of public concern. With the negative outcomes of such behaviour having wide reaching, long term, negative impacts for individuals, families, and wider society, addressing and combating youth antisocial behaviour (ASB) is of utmost importance. An intervention established by the New Zealand police with the premise of combating this issue is the Manukau Police 'Cops in Schools' programme (Browning, 2007). This thesis outlines an evaluation of this programme and investigates its impact on indicators of youth ASB and student perception of the police. In order to place the current study in context, a brief overview of the 'Cops in Schools' (CIS) programme will first be given. This will be followed by a definition of the term 'youth antisocial behaviour', and an investigation of several indicators of its prevalence. Next, the relationship between age and crime will be discussed with a brief focus on the role of brain development during adolescence. Following this, the prominent theories of the aetiology of youth ASB will be outlined. Next, risk and protective factors relating to the development of youth ASB will be presented. This will be followed by an investigation of the long-term negative outcomes associated with youth-based ASB. Next, the models of intervention used to guide antisocial youth away from a life of crime, and the efficacy of these interventions, will be discussed, with a

particular focus on programmes which are run collaboratively between police and schools. This will be followed by an in depth investigation of the current literature that evaluates programmes similar to CIS. Finally, a description of the CIS programme will be given, and the need for the current research will be discussed.

#### *A Brief Overview of 'Cops in Schools'*

Launched in early 2008, the Manukau police CIS programme is the most recent incarnation of police/school partnerships in New Zealand. Currently, six community constables (full time police officers) are stationed in twelve South Auckland schools. The key aims of the initiative are: to improve student perception of the police; to reduce youth antisocial behaviour, to provide a positive role model to students; and for police recruitment purposes. Given this wide range of desired outcomes, the role of the 'Cop in School' is varied, with officers undertaking activities ranging from student mentoring and coaching sports teams, to following up complains of student behaviour in the community. A more comprehensive description of the programme will be provided towards the end of the current chapter.

#### *Defining 'Youth Antisocial Behaviour'*

In order to discuss the impact and focus of the 'Cops in Schools' (CIS) programme on youth antisocial behaviour (ASB), a definition of youth ASB, and an indication of its prevalence, must first be discussed. In order to achieve this, the definition of youth that will be used for this research will firstly be presented. This will be followed by a definition of ASB, and a merging of these constructs in order to produce a definition of youth ASB. Following this definition, an

investigation into the prevalence of youth ASB in New Zealand will be undertaken.

*Defining 'youth'.*

Youth is a subjective and changeable concept. Both internationally and within countries, the age range of 'youth' varies considerably. The United Nations, for example, define 'youth' as falling between the ages of 14 and 24 (The United Nations, 2010). On the other hand, the World Health Organisation (WHO) provides a physiologically based definition, using the terms 'youth' and 'adolescence' interchangeably. The WHO describe adolescents as being "the period of life beginning with the appearance of secondary sex characteristics and terminating with the cessation of somatic growth"(The World Health Organization, 2010). The WHO suggests that this period commonly falls between the ages of 13 and 18. The New Zealand Ministry of Youth Affairs (2010) indicates that they focus on issues facing individuals aged between 12 and 25, providing a further definition of 'youth'. Although these age ranges vary, they all encompass a period of physiological, psychological, and social change. As such, youth, or adolescence, can be broadly conceptualised as the life period falling between childhood and adulthood.

In terms of law breaking behaviour, youth can be thought of as a period of diminished criminal responsibility prior to adulthood. The New Zealand Justice System distinguishes between children (ages 10-13) and youth (ages 14-16) offenders, processing each under a different judicial system to adult offenders. Children fall under the jurisdiction of the family court, while youth are processed by the youth court. This distinction is, however, not always clear cut: children who have committed serious offences are occasionally dealt with by the youth, or

in some cases, the adult court systems. Similarly, serious youth offenders can be processed through the adult courts. Furthermore, following a 2010 amendment to the children, young persons and their families act, children aged 13 who commit an indictable offence are now processed under the youth court ("Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Amendment Bill," 2010).

As has been shown, the age range of 'youth' is varied. Although the New Zealand judicial system defines youth at being aged between 14 and 16, for the purpose of this research, 'young people', 'adolescents' and 'youth' will be used interchangeably, and will be defined as high-school students aged between 13 and 18.

#### *Defining 'antisocial behaviour'.*

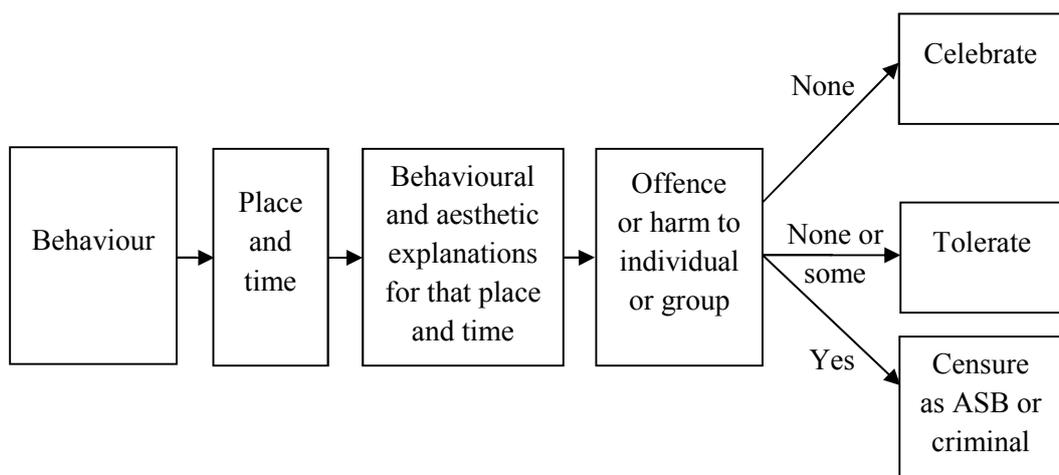
What an individual understands as constituting 'antisocial behaviour' is dependent on a range of subjective factors, such as location, context, and tolerance (Harradine, Kodz, Lemetti, & Jones, 2004). As such, what someone deems as ASB can vary markedly between individuals. Given the inherently subjective nature of this concept, it is difficult to produce a precise definition of ASB. Although a range of definitions have been proposed, a common thread seen in definitions is the notion that the term encompasses behaviour which violates social norms and the rights of others (Berger, 2009; Lokanadha Reddy, 2005; Millie, 2008).

Andrew Millie (2008) offers a differential definition of antisocial behaviour, which describes the process by which behaviour comes to be deemed antisocial. Millie bases his definition on the work of Feinberg (1987, 1988), who suggested that the two constituents of criminal behaviour are the offence and harm caused by the behaviour. While criminal behaviour is clearly defined in a

range of government legislation, ASB encompasses behaviour which can be non-criminal, and, as such, is interpreted as antisocial by observers or the targets of the behaviour. Expanding on Feinberg's work, while also taking this subjectivity into account, Millie developed the following representation (see Figure 1.1) of how behaviour is deemed to be ASB.

As can be seen in Figure 1.1, the offence or harm caused by a specific behaviour, as well as its context and how it is explained by observers, leads to a behaviour being deemed antisocial. As such, a particular behaviour may be considered acceptable, antisocial, or criminal depending on the context and the explanations provided by observers. Spitting for example, while acceptable on the rugby or football field when a player clears their throat, can be antisocial or even criminal in a different context, for example if the spitting is directed at someone else (Burney, 2009).

Figure 1.1  
*A Differential Definition of Antisocial Behaviour*



Source: Millie (2008)

Combining the definitions of ‘youth’ and ‘antisocial behaviour’ provided above, youth ASB will be defined in the current research as behaviour undertaken by young people aged between 13 and 18 which violates social norms and causes offence or harm to others.

#### *Indicators of the Prevalence of Youth Antisocial Behaviour in New Zealand*

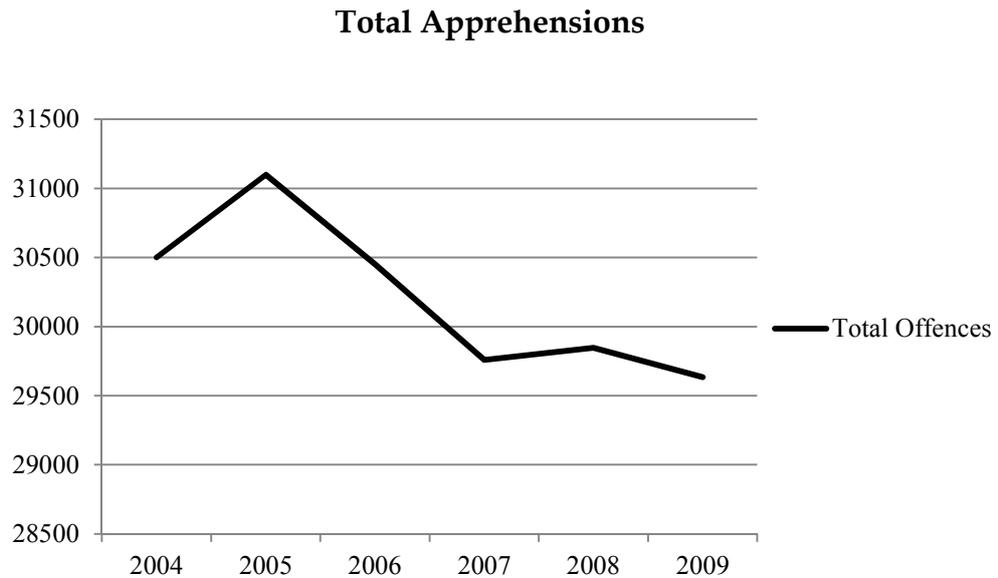
The prevalence of youth ASB can be investigated using a variety of different statistics. Police apprehensions, court data, suspension/stand down data, and self-report data can all be used to determine the frequency of youth ASB (Jensen & Rojek, 2009). Below, the prevalence of youth ASB in New Zealand will be explored using police apprehension statistics, self-report data, and statistics relating to youth ASB within schools. As was discussed previously, definitions of ‘youth’ vary. As such, the following statistics do not all pertain to the same age range.

#### *Police apprehensions.*

Although not always falling within the realm of the law, youth ASB is commonly investigated through police apprehension rates. An apprehension means that the police have dealt with the perpetrator of an offence in some way (Ministry of Justice, 2009). This includes actions such as warnings or cautions, referral to youth justice family group conferences, alternative actions, or prosecutions (Ministry of Justice, 2009). Figure 1.2, below, indicates the total number of young people (aged 14-16) apprehended between 2004 and 2009. This graph shows that the total number of apprehensions dropped between 2005 and 2007, but remained at a reasonably consistent level from 2007 until 2009.

Although the level of youth offending in New Zealand has remained reasonably constant since 2005, the specific offence types have experienced

Figure 1.2  
*Total Apprehensions of 14-16 year olds in New Zealand from 2004-2009*



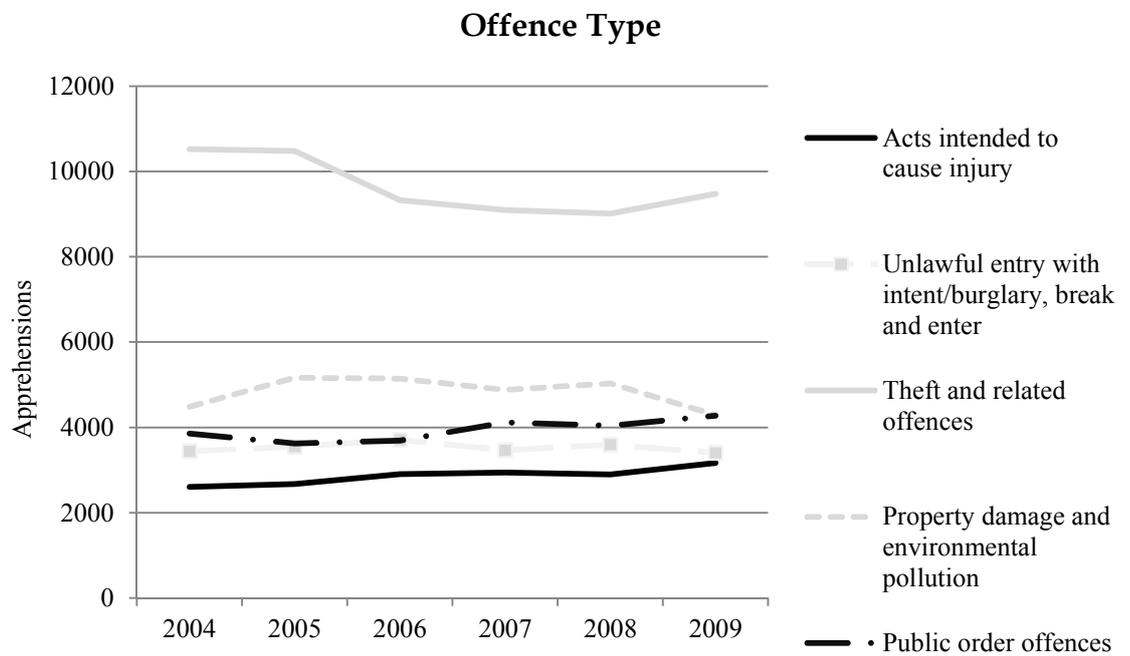
Source: Statistics New Zealand (2010)

different trends. Figure 1.3 below provides an indication of how the rate of apprehensions for the 5 most common offences have varied across time.

The ethnic makeup of youth offenders has remained reasonably constant since 2004. In 2009, Maori were the most represented ethnic group, comprising 48% of youth apprehensions. Youth of European decent were the next largest group, making up 41% of total apprehensions. The third most represented group were youth of Pacific Island decent, who comprised 7% of total apprehension in 2009. Figure 1.4, below, provides a graphical representation of the ethnic makeup of youth apprehensions between 2004 and 2009.

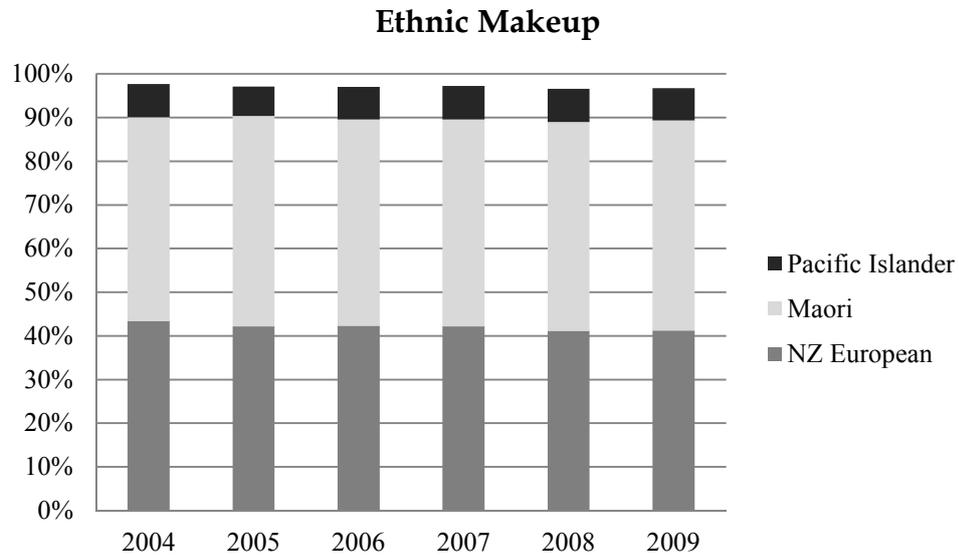
The over representation of ethnic minorities in crime statistics is a worldwide phenomenon (Marie, 2010). In New Zealand, a range of theories have been proposed to explain this pattern, particularly in relation to Maori (Marie, 2010). New Zealand based research has determined that ethnic minorities, in particular Maori

Figure 1.3  
*Apprehension Rates of 14-16 year olds for the 5 most common Offence Types from 2004-2009*



Source: Statistics New Zealand (2010).

Figure 1.4  
*Ethnicity of 14-16 year olds Apprehended by the Police from 2004-2009*



Source: Statistics New Zealand (2010).

and Pacific Islanders, are more likely to experience social and contextual risk factors of ASB, such as a lower socioeconomic status, poorer family living conditions, and other early childhood environmental factors (Fergusson, Horwood, & Lynskey, 1993) (the risk factors of ASB will be explored in greater depth shortly). After adjustment for these social and contextual factors, no significant differences are found in the rates of ASB between Pakeha (NZ European), Maori, and Pacific Islanders (Fergusson et al., 1993). Researchers have also suggested that the residual difference between the crime rates of different ethnic groups may be the result of ethnic bias in the arrest/conviction process (Fergusson, Horwood, & Swain-Campbell, 2003).

#### *Self-reported ASB.*

Although apprehension rates provide a general view of the prevalence of youth ASB, they do not provide a complete picture. Police are largely a reactive

force, and, as such, rely largely on public reporting of crimes. As a result, crimes which are unreported do not feature in apprehension rates (Junger-Tas & Marshall, 1999). Furthermore, some crimes may not be solved, and thus not be counted as part of these statistics. Also, the definition of youth ASB encompasses behaviour which may not be illegal. In order to avoid these issues, researchers have suggested using self-report techniques, such as interviews or surveys, in order to gauge an estimate of the prevalence ASB (Junger-Tas & Marshall, 1999; Thornberry & Krohn, 2000; Webb, Katz, & Decker, 2006). In fact, after police statistics, self-report methods are the most widely used measure of youth ASB (Jensen & Rojek, 2009). A self-report measure used in New Zealand to gauge various youth related phenomena is the youth 2000 survey. Most recently completed in 2007, it found that 36% of 14-16 year olds had hit or physically harmed another individual over the past year. Of the total sample, 8% reported having assaulted someone with a weapon over the same time period (Clark et al., 2009). This indicates that a large portion of young people report engaging in ASB.

#### *Antisocial behaviour in schools.*

With young people spending a considerable amount of time in school, youth ASB can also be investigated within the school context. As mentioned, ASB encompasses a wide range of behaviour, which can vary depending on its context, and the explanations provided by witnesses. As such, it is not possible to provide a list of behaviours which would be deemed antisocial within the school context. It is possible, however, to investigate the likely outcomes of school based ASB. When ASB occurs within a school, and comes to the attention of staff, some form of disciplinary action occurs. If the behaviour is severe enough, three

disciplinary actions can occur: a stand down, a suspension, or an expulsion/exclusion. A stand down is the formal removal of a student from school for a specified period (Ministry of Education, 2009b). A suspension involves the student being excluded from school, pending the result of an appearance before the schools' board of trustees (Ministry of Education, 2009c). If the board decides to terminate a student's enrolment, the student is either excluded or expelled depending on their age (Ministry of Education, 2009a). The stand down, suspension, exclusion and expulsion rates for all school aged (5-18 years) students for 2008 are presented in Table 1.1, below, and give an indication of the prevalence of antisocial behaviour in schools.

Truancy rates are a further indicator of youth antisocial behaviour in schools. Persistent absenteeism has been described by some researchers as 'the kindergarten of crime' (McCluskey, Bynum, & Patchin, 2004), and has been found to correlate with a range of negative outcomes. These negative outcomes will be investigated more thoroughly shortly. In 2009, it was estimated that 2.2% of New Zealand students were truant on any given day, with a further 2% absent for a portion of the school day without reason (Loader & Ryan, 2010). A similar rate of absenteeism was found in an earlier study which was undertaken during the 2006 school year (Ng, 2007).

Table 1.1  
*Stand Down, Suspension, Exclusion and Expulsion rate per 1000 Students*

	Total rate	10-14 years	15+ years
Stand Downs	28.5	45.4	40.3
Suspensions	6.1	9.9	9.7
Exclusions	2.2	3.1	6.2
Expulsions	1.7	N/A	N/A

N/A = not applicable as a student must be over 16 years of age to be expelled

Source: Ministry of Education (2009a, 2009b, 2009c)

### *The Relationship between Antisocial Behaviour and Age*

Adolescence has been identified as the most criminogenic period of one's life (Moffitt, 1993). In fact, ASB during this life period is described as "normative adaptational social behaviour" (Moffitt, 2008, p. 290). In a study using the Dunedin birth cohort, less than 10% of adolescents were found to abstain from ASB (Moffitt, Caspi, Dickson, Silva, & Stanton, 1996). This relationship between age and ASB sees the incidence of ASB peak at around age 17. While a large proportion of youth are behaving antisocially during this life period, for the majority this behaviour will cease as they move into young adulthood. By age 28, 85% of individuals who behaved antisocially during their youth are no longer behaving in this manner (Moffitt, 1993). These individuals, whose ASB is confined to adolescence, are described in the literature as 'adolescence limited' offenders (Moffitt, 1993). The behaviour of this group of young people is usually of a minor level of seriousness.

While the majority of youth desist from behaving antisocially, 5-15% continue this pattern of behaviour into adulthood (Moffitt, 1993, 2008; Moffitt et

al., 1996; Moffitt, Caspi, Vagg, Harrington, & Milne, 2002; Odgers, Caspi, et al., 2007). These individuals are termed in the literature to be 'life-course persistent' offenders (Moffitt, 1993). While several other taxonomies have been suggested (such as adult-onset, or childhood-limited), individuals have been found to generally fall into one of these two groups (Moffitt, 2008). It has also been found that when ASB begins at a young age, this behaviour is particularly stable and resistant to change (Moffitt, 1993) with approximately one half of this group of 'early starters' going on to a persistent and stable path of antisocial behaviour (Moffitt et al., 1996). It is believed that this group of life course persistent offenders are subject to a range of dysfunctional family processes, where antisocial behaviour is seen as having an adaptive value from early on in their life (Fergusson, Horwood, & Nagin, 2000).

#### *The Role of Brain Development*

As mentioned, youth is a time of psychosocial and physical change. The peak of ASB occurring during this life stage is often attributed to physiological changes, in particular, the development of certain brain structures. Youth have been noted to take part in more risk taking behaviours, be impulsive, and have less ability to perceive the consequences of behaviour (Van Leijenhorst et al., 2010). All these attributes lead to a propensity towards antisocial acts. These behavioural markers of adolescence have been attributed to the development of the prefrontal cortex, which occurs during this life stage (Romer, 2010; Van Leijenhorst et al., 2010). As frontostriatal reward circuits involving the ventral striatum develop (which occurs early in adolescence), youth begin to seek out novel, adult-like activities, many of which involve risk (for example binge drinking or unsafe sex) (Romer, 2010). Concurrently, their prefrontal cortex has

not yet developed to a point where risk can be adequately assessed (Romer, 2010). It is believed that the combination of these two physiological factors results in impulsivity, and a deficiency in determining risk and the potential consequences of one's actions. In some youth, the interaction of these neurophysiological changes and other physical, social, and contextual factors, leads to risky, sometimes antisocial, behaviour.

### *Theories of the Aetiology of Youth Antisocial Behaviour*

The question of why some individuals behave antisocially has been the focus of a substantial amount of research (Agnew, 2009; Akers & Sellers, 2009). One could assume that as long as young people have acted against social norms, others have questioned their motivation to do so. As such, a wide range of theories have been developed in order to explain this phenomenon. Currently, no one theory has been able to thoroughly and comprehensively explain why some young people commit antisocial acts. The following section will outline some of the prominent theories in the area of the development of youth ASB. This will be by no means an expansive overview of criminological theories, but rather a brief investigation of the aetiological theories which have received the most attention in the literature. These theories will be divided into two broad categories, those who explain ASB from a social perspective, focusing on the development of ASB in terms of social relationships, and those who explain it from a biological perspective.

#### *Strain theory.*

Strain theory suggests that when a young person experiences stress or strain, they are more likely to engage in ASB (Agnew, 1992, 2001, 2009; Jensen

& Rojek, 2009). For example, a young person may be experiencing bullying (strain), and in order to alleviate this strain, retaliate against the bully. The basis for strain theory is attributed to the French sociologist Émile Durkheim, and the concept of anomie. Durkheim theorised that increases in suicide rates could sometimes be attributed to a readjustment to the social order, whereby an individual's standards were mismatched with those of wider society, and the individual no longer had the means to reach these new standards (Durkheim, 1951). Extending Durkheim's concept, Merton (1938) theorised that all forms of deviance could be attributed to this mismatch. Merton explained how one's goals, aspirations, and interests are socially constructed. Similarly, the acceptable means of achieving these goals are defined and regulated by society. When excessive emphasis is placed on social goals, for example, the accumulation of wealth, a discontinuation between these goals and the legitimate means of reaching them is created for some members of society: in other words, a state of anomie (Merton, 1938). Merton (1938) argued that this anomic state exerts pressure upon certain members of society to engage in ASB.

Given its age, several versions of strain theory exist, with each attempting to identify the key sources of strain which lead to ASB, as well as describe the circumstances under which such strain is likely to result in antisocial behaviour (Agnew, 2009). General strain theory, developed by Robert Agnew, pulls together various earlier theories, producing a generic strain theory of youth antisocial behaviour (Agnew, 2009). This theory argues that strain increases the likelihood of an individual experiencing negative emotions, which in some circumstances can lead to antisocial behaviour (Agnew, 1992, 2001, 2009).

Strain theory focuses primarily on the individual's negative relationships with others as a source of strain (Agnew, 1992, 2009; Cheung, Ngai, & Ngai, 2007). From his work in the area of general strain theory, and drawing upon the research of others in the area, Agnew (1992, 2001, 2009) identifies three sources of strain which are more likely to lead to ASB, these include: failure to achieve goals; loss of positive stimuli; and the presentation of negative stimuli. The failure to achieve goals, or goal blockage, has been the focus of strain theory since its inception (Agnew, 1992, 2009; Merton, 1938). Under this source of strain, the individual's ability to attain a desired goal is impeded by another person, group, or society (Agnew, 2009). A loss of positive stimuli has also been found to lead to antisocial behaviour. When a young person loses something they value, such as a close romantic relationship, or parental recognition, they are more likely to commit antisocial acts (Agnew, 1992, 2009; Cheung et al., 2007). Similarly, when adolescents are presented with negative stimuli, such as abusive peer relationships, they are more inclined to behave in an antisocial manner (Agnew, 1992, 2009).

Of course, not all strain results in antisocial behaviour. Although the nature and source of strain affects the likelihood of delinquency, individual factors moderate this relationship. Adolescents who have poor coping strategies, a lack of resources, fewer social supports, and who are predisposed to antisocial behaviour, are more likely to react to strain in an antisocial manner (Agnew, 2009).

*Social learning theory.*

One of the major contemporary theories of crime, social learning theory, is based on the assumption that antisocial behaviour is learnt (Akers, 1990; Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce, & Radosevich, 1979; Burgess & Akers, 1966; Pratt et al., 2009). Developed by Burgess and Akers (1966), social learning theory was originally named differential association-reinforcement theory, a name which reflects the theory's origins in the work of Sutherland (Sutherland & Cressey, 1970), and the differential association theory of crime. Sutherland theorised that delinquency could be attributed to the balance of associations individuals had with pro-social and antisocial associates (Sutherland & Cressey, 1970). These relationships, Sutherland believed, contributed to the development of an individual's attitudes and beliefs (called definitions) towards antisocial behaviour (Sutherland & Cressey, 1970). Burgess and Akers (1966) extended this theory, reformulating it to be more in line with the principals of behaviourism and operant conditioning (Jensen & Rojek, 2009). Key changes included the addition of the concepts of differential reinforcement and modelling as a means by which individuals learnt antisocial behaviour. As a result, the four key components of Burgess and Akers social learning theory include: differential association, definitions, modelling and differential reinforcement (Akers, 1990; Akers et al., 1979; Burgess & Akers, 1966; Pratt et al., 2009).

Given the theory's close links with behaviourism, Akers (1979) identifies operant conditioning as the primary mechanism in social learning theory. This theory proposes that whether an antisocial behaviour endures is dependent on whether the behaviour is rewarded or punished. Describing the concept of differential reinforcement, Akers states that "whether deviant or conforming

behaviour is acquired and persists depends on past and present rewards or punishments for the behaviour and the rewards and punishment attached to alternative behaviour” (Akers et al., 1979, p. 638).

Empirical support for social learning theory has largely been gathered through research into the relationship between its key components and criminal behaviour. In a recent meta-analysis based on 133 studies, it was concluded that “the empirical support for social learning theory stacks up well” (Pratt et al., 2009, p. 23). Specifically, differential association and definitions were found to be the strongest of the predictors specified by social learning theory. Differential reinforcement and modelling, on the other hand, were found to be weaker predictors of antisocial behaviour.

Further support for social learning theory has been generated through research into the predictors of crime and recidivism. Several meta-analyses have found variables associated with social learning theory (antisocial peer associations and antisocial attitudes) to be among the strongest predictors of antisocial behaviour (Pratt et al., 2009).

#### *Control theory.*

Unlike the previous theories which focus on why young people behave antisocially, control theories ask ‘why do individuals conform?’ (Agnew, 2009; Hirschi, 1969). For control theorists, crime is taken as granted. They argue that antisocial behaviour provides quicker and easier achievement of one’s goals (Hirschi, 1969). For example, it is much easier to steal money, than to work for it. As such, rather than examining the motivation for antisocial behaviour, control theorists focus on the constraints or controls which prevent individuals from behaving antisocially (Hirschi, 1969). Although Hirschi is credited as being the

leader in control theories, several other major versions have been developed, most notably by Reiss (1951), Jackson (1957), Reckless (1961), Matza (1964), Briar and Piliavin (1965), and Sampson and Laub (1995). In essence, these theories attempt to describe the major types of control, or the major restraints to antisocial behaviour (Agnew, 2009). From these theories, four key areas of control may be observed. The first of these is direct control. This refers to the control exerted by the justice system, parents, schools or anyone who has the ability to sanction an individual's antisocial behaviour. An individual's stake in conformity (or as Hirschi called it 'commitment' (Hirschi, 1969)) can also impact on the likelihood of them committing antisocial acts (Hirschi, 1969). If an individual stands to lose a considerable amount from behaving antisocially, they are less likely to partake in nonconformist, antisocial acts. Further forms of control include an individual's beliefs and self-control (Hirschi, 1969).

#### *Biological theories.*

The birth of biological theories of crime is often credited to the work of Cesare Lombroso. Lombroso claimed that criminals were less-evolved, and that their physical make up, mental capabilities, and instincts were a reflection of primitive man (Akers & Sellers, 2009; Anderson, 2007). Over time, the methodological flaws, lack of empirical evidence, and the tautological reasoning of such theories were exposed, and by the 1950s, biological theories of crime had been discredited (Akers & Sellers, 2009). With recent technological advances in the areas of genetics, neurology, and biochemistry, biological theories of crime have experienced something of a resurgence (Akers & Sellers, 2009). These newer biological theories centre around three areas: biochemistry, genetics, and neurophysiology. Unlike their predecessors, today's biological theorists, rather

than arguing that individuals are 'born criminals', believe that antisocial behaviour is the result of interactions between biology, behaviour, and the individual's environment (Akers & Sellers, 2009).

Genetics and the heritability of antisocial behaviour.

Family, twin, and adoption studies have investigated the heritability of antisocial behaviour. In order to determine the familial transmission of such behaviour, several researchers have investigated the arrest and conviction records of family groups, with the common conclusion being that antisocial parents tend to have antisocial offspring (Curran & Renzetti, 2001; J. Johnson, Smailes, Cohen, Kasen, & Brook, 2004; Rowe & Farrington, 1997; van de Rakt, Nieuwbeerta, & Apel, 2009; Van de Rakt, Nieuwbeerta, & De Graaf, 2008). However, such findings do not indicate a genetic cause, as one cannot differentiate the contributions of genetic and environmental factors (Curran & Renzetti, 2001).

In an attempt to disentangle these two factors, researchers have investigated the concordance of antisocial behaviour in monozygotic (identical) twins in comparison to dizygotic (fraternal) twins. Several large scale studies have identified higher rates of concordance in monozygotic twins (Christiansen, 1974; Rowe, 1986; Verweij, Zietsch, Bailey, & Martin, 2009). However, these researchers still recognised the importance of environmental factors. An issue with twin studies is that one must assume environmental equality. However, it is likely that monozygotic twins have different life experiences to dizygotic twins; for example, being mistaken for each other, dressing alike, and so on (Curran & Renzetti, 2001). Rather than pointing to genetic reasons, Jones and Jones (2000)

argued that a concordance of antisocial behaviour in identical twins was due to the fact they tend to associate with each other more.

In reaction to the difficulties in distinguishing between biological and environmental factors in both familial and twin studies, some researchers have turned to studying adoption, by comparing the criminal behaviour of adopted children to their biological and adoptive parents (Jensen & Rojek, 2009). The most frequently cited of these studies was carried out by Mednick, Gabrielli, and Hutchings (1984) with a Danish sample of 14,427 adoptees. They found that adopted sons who had a biological parent with a criminal record were more likely to have a conviction than those who had an adoptive parent with a criminal record, or neither and adoptive nor a biological parent with a criminal record (Mednick et al., 1984). Although this study suggests a biological cause for of antisocial behaviour, the differences between groups were small. Furthermore, the authors themselves made clear that the data did not prove a genetic basis for antisocial behaviour, as they did not investigate the nature of the individual's environment (Curran & Renzetti, 2001; Mednick et al., 1984).

The role of hormones.

The role of hormones, neurotransmitters, and the autonomic nervous system in the development of antisocial behaviour has also been investigated. The sex hormones, particularly testosterone, have received the most attention from criminological theorists. Levels of testosterone have long been used to explain the higher crime rates among males, the age-crime curve, and even racial differences in crime rates (Rafter, 2008). In one of the largest research projects ( $n=3928$ ) investigating the link between testosterone and delinquency, Booth and Osgood (1993) observed "a significant and moderately strong relationship between

testosterone and adult deviance” (p. 114). A meta-analysis investigating this relationship supported the notion of a link between testosterone and aggression in humans, but disputed the strength of the relationship, concluding a “weak, positive correlation” (Book, Starzyk, & Quinsey, 2001, p. 593). However, research in this area makes note of the fact that this link is not causal, but rather that high levels of testosterone facilitate antisocial behaviour, and interacts with social factors (Alan Booth, Granger, Mazur, & Kivlighan, 2006; Jensen & Rojek, 2009; Walsh, 2000). Like other biological theories of the aetiology of antisocial behaviour, the study of hormones is often criticised due to methodological issues (Curran & Renzetti, 2001). Some research has suggested that testosterone levels are the product of aggressive behaviour, rather than the cause (Archer, 1991; Alan Booth, Shelley, Mazur, Tharp, & Kittok, 1989). Furthermore, given the complex nature of the body’s chemicals and their interactions, it is difficult to distil what behaviour is the result of testosterone, and what is influenced by other chemicals (Curran & Renzetti, 2001).

Neurotransmitters.

The serotonin metabolite 5-hydroxyindoleacetic acid (5-HIAA) has received particular attention in criminological research due to its links with impulsivity and violence (Anderson, 2007; Jokinen, Nordström, & Nordström, 2010). In a meta-analysis, Moore, Scarpa, and Raine (2002) found a moderate relationship between 5-HIAA concentrations and antisocial behaviour, with the 5-HIAA concentrations of antisocial groups falling half a standard deviation below those of non-antisocial groups. Recent research has also heightened this link, finding low 5-HIAA levels to be related to violent suicide (Jokinen et al., 2010).

This brief overview of the predominant theories of the development of antisocial behaviour indicates the complexity of this phenomenon, and the multitude of factors which may be involved. While there is no single, universally agreed upon theory of the aetiology of ASB, each provides a differing perspective as to the potential mechanisms which lead to youth behaving in an antisocial manner. The development and investigation of these theories has also contributed to the identification and highlighting of important risk and protective factors of youth ASB.

MAO-A gene.

Experiencing maltreatment as a child has long been identified as a considerable risk factor for future antisocial behaviour. However, the majority of children who experience childhood maltreatment do not become adult criminals (Caspi et al., 2002). In investigating the role of biology in moderating the relationship between maltreatment as a child and future antisocial behaviour, researchers have identified a functional polymorphism in the promoter region of the Monoamine oxidase A gene (MOA-A). It has been found that individuals who have experienced abuse as a child, and who possess the genotype conferring high levels of MOA-A activity, are more likely to behave antisocially in the future (Caspi et al., 2002). It has also been found that such individuals have a heightened risk of experiencing mental health problems in later life (Kim-Cohen et al., 2006).

#### *Risk and Protective Factors of Youth Antisocial Behaviour*

In an attempt to understand what makes an individual more likely to commit antisocial acts, and to continue to do so, a considerable amount of

research into the risk and protective factors of antisocial behaviour has been generated (Farrington, 2007; Farrington, Ttofi, & Coid, 2009; Hawkins et al., 1998; Koegl, Farrington, & Augimeri, 2009). While this research recognises that a young person's antisocial behaviour is interrelated with their environmental context (Farrington, 2007), literature reviews have identified similar risk and protective factors across research undertaken in western countries (Farrington, 2007; Hawkins et al., 1998). A risk factor can be thought of as a variable which increases the likelihood of subsequent antisocial behaviour (Kazdin, Kraemer, Kessler, Kupfer, & Offord, 1997), while protective factors either reduce the likelihood of future ASB, or moderate the relationship between risk factors and ASB (Farrington, 2007).

#### *Risk factors.*

Research about the risk factors associated with youth ASB has identified a range of variables, relating to a number of different domains (Farrington, 2007; Farrington et al., 2009; Fergusson, Horwood, & Lynskey, 1994; Fergusson, Horwood, & Ridder, 2007; Fergusson & Lynskey, 1996; Fergusson & Lynskey, 1998; Hawkins et al., 1998; Koegl et al., 2009). Table 1.2, below, provides a summary of the key risk factors identified in the research: these are grouped into individual, family, and environmental categories. This will be followed by a brief outline of some of the risk factors which have received research attention in New Zealand.

Table 1.2  
*Risk Factors of Youth ASB*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Individual</b>	<b>Family</b>	<b>Environment</b>
Risk Factor	Low intelligence	Antisocial parents	Antisocial peers
	Low empathy	Antisocial siblings	Poverty
	Attention problems	Large family size	Community disorganisation (presents of crime, drugs etc.)
	Impulsivity	Poor supervision	Exposure to violence and racial Prejudice
		Harsh discipline	
		Parental coldness and rejection	
		Low parental involvement	
		Disrupted family	
	Low socio-economic status		
	Abuse and neglect		

Source: (Farrington, 2007; Farrington et al., 2009; Fergusson et al., 1994; Fergusson et al., 2007; Fergusson & Lynskey, 1996; Fergusson & Lynskey, 1998; Hawkins et al., 1998; Koegl et al., 2009)

*Risk factors and New Zealand based research.*

Antisocial affiliation.

Affiliation with antisocial peers has been identified as one of the strongest predictors of adolescent ASB (Farrington, 2007; Moffitt, 1993). In fact, Moffitt (1993) suggested that a young person's desire to impress their peers is the main driver of ASB during this developmental period. An adolescent's peer group can often play an important role in reinforcing and sustaining ASB (Fergusson & Horwood, 1996). Deviant peer affiliations have also been found to accelerate the onset of offending behaviour in young people from moderate risk backgrounds (Fergusson, Swain-Campbell, & Horwood, 2002). New Zealand based literature

has found antisocial peer affiliation to be significantly associated with violent crime, property crime, alcohol abuse, cannabis abuse, and nicotine dependence (Fergusson et al., 2000; Fergusson, Swain-Campbell, et al., 2002).

#### Abuse and neglect.

Childhood abuse and neglect have been identified as a prominent risk factor for adolescent ASB in New Zealand based research (Caspi et al., 2002; Farrington, 2005). When investigating the link between abuse and latter ASB, one must keep in mind the social and contextual factors that often accompany abusive early life experiences, such as a lower socioeconomic status and other family problems (Fergusson & Lynskey, 1997). In research using the Christchurch birth cohort, Fergusson and Lynskey (1997) found that after controlling for these factors, individuals who reported abusive childhood experiences experienced increased rates of youth offending, substance abuse, and violent crime. This implies that exposure to abuse and trauma in early childhood has a significant impact on an individual's propensity toward ASB in later life.

#### Intelligence.

A child's performance on measures of intelligence has been found to be a reliable risk factor for ASB during adolescence. However, a child's cognitive abilities are also closely related to other risk factors, such as school achievement, and early substance use (Fergusson & Horwood, 1995). Using a New Zealand based sample, Fergusson, Horwood, and Ridder (2005) investigated the relationship between the IQ scores of children on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children and ASB over 25 years. The authors found that while the relationship between IQ and ASB was strong, this relationship was mediated by

social and contextual factors, such as childhood conduct problems and family social circumstances.

Social disadvantage.

Using data from the Christchurch birth cohort, Fergusson, Horwood, and Nagin (2000) found that individuals who experienced social disadvantage, such as coming from a single-parent family, a low socio-economic level, experiencing poor living standards, or having low levels of parental education, were more likely to exhibit antisocial behaviour prior to the age of 18. This relationship was particularly pronounced in individuals who had been behaving antisocially from a young age ('life-course persistent' offenders).

Family dysfunction.

The same study also identified indicators of family dysfunction to be related to the antisocial behaviour of children. Parental criminality, marital conflict, alcohol problems, and illicit drug use were all found to increase the likelihood of a child being involved in offending behaviour. Again, young people who were highly involved in antisocial behaviour were found to come from families with a high level of dysfunction (Fergusson et al., 2000).

Risk factors stated by the Ministry of Justice.

Based primarily on the longitudinal studies from the Christchurch and Dunedin birth cohorts mentioned above, the Ministry of Justice compiled a list of the top ten risk factors for future offending for children and adolescents and rated these risks in an approximate order of importance. These risk factors are presented in Table 1.3, below (Ministry of Justice, 2008).

Table 1.3  
*Risk Factors for Future Offending (in order of importance)*

- 
1. Contact with antisocial peers
  2. Number of prior offences, with more offences indicating a greater risk
  3. History of violent offences
  4. Impulsivity and low self-control
  5. Hyperactivity and attention problems
  6. Poor supervision by parents/caregivers
  7. Low levels of warmth, affection, and closeness from parents
  8. Tendency towards anxiety and stress
  9. Lack of friends and recreational activities
  10. Length of first incarceration, with a longer period indicating a greater risk.
- 

Source: Ministry of Justice (2008)

It is important to note that both the number of risk factors present and the severity of an individual factor escalate the risk of ASB occurring (Farrington, 2002). This relationship has also been identified in New Zealand based longitudinal studies (Fergusson et al., 1994; Fergusson & Lynskey, 1996; Fergusson & Lynskey, 1998). A study based on data from the Christchurch birth cohort found that children from families where 19 or more risk factors were present were 100 times more likely to develop multiple problem behaviours as teenagers (Fergusson et al., 1994). For the same birth cohort, it was found that the severity of each risk factor also influenced the likelihood of ASB in the future (Fergusson & Lynskey, 1998).

*Protective factors.*

As mentioned above, factors that either reduce the likelihood of future ASB occurring or moderate the relationship between risk factors and ASB,

known as protective factors, have also been investigated in the literature (Carr & Vandiver, 2001; Farrington, 2007; Hawkins et al., 1998). The identification of these factors can help inform interventions and prevention techniques, whereby protective factors can be enhanced in an attempt to elevate the risk of future ASB (Carr & Vandiver, 2001; Farrington, 2007). In New Zealand, the Ministry of Justice (2008) compiled the following table of protective factors. This list was informed primarily by research from the Christchurch and Dunedin birth cohorts (Fergusson & Lynskey, 1996; Ministry of Justice, 2008; Odgers, Milne, et al., 2007).

As Table 1.4 indicates, a range of factors can contribute to elevating the risk of youth ASB. The vast body of literature surrounding the questions of why some young people behave antisocially, and what factors make them more likely to do so, is a testament to the importance placed on this phenomenon globally. Researchers investigating theories of ASB, as well as risk and protective factors, stress the importance of understanding this phenomenon in order to inform the development of interventions to combat the wide range of negative outcomes associated with youth ASB. These negative outcomes will be investigated in the section below.

#### *Negative Outcomes of Youth Antisocial Behaviour*

Adolescent antisocial behaviour is a phenomenon that has been associated with an array of negative outcomes (Samuelson, Hodgins, Larsson, Larm, & Tengstrom, 2010). These pertain to the individual, their families, their peers, wider social groups, and society as a whole. They can also be proximal, occurring at the time of or directly after the behaviour has occurred, or occur after months,

Table 1.4  
*Protective factors for ASB*

<b>Protective Factors</b>	
Individual factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Higher self-esteem</li> <li>▪ Lower need for excitement and novelty-seeking behaviours</li> </ul>
Family factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Greater parental supervision</li> <li>▪ Consistent parental rules and consequences</li> <li>▪ Greater emotional attachment and closeness</li> <li>▪ Greater levels of ties and associations with parents (more involved with them, living with them more, etc.)</li> <li>▪ Lower levels of family adversity, such as economic and social disadvantage, family dysfunction, and marital conflict</li> </ul>
Peer Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Greater associations with pro-social peers</li> <li>▪ Low levels of associations with delinquent peers</li> </ul>
School/work factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Good level of academic performance</li> <li>▪ On-the-job training and educational opportunities</li> <li>▪ Staying at secondary school</li> <li>▪ Single sex schools (for girls who mature early)</li> <li>▪ Greater ties with school and work</li> </ul>
Community factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Higher level of pro-social ties with family, partner, education</li> <li>▪ State support in housing and life-skills training for adult women</li> <li>▪ Mixing with models of pro-social behaviour</li> <li>▪ Parental supervision based on authoritative parenting models</li> <li>▪ Positive adult youth relationships</li> </ul>

Source: Ministry of Justice (2008)

or years have elapsed. Negative outcomes can also occur as a consequence of a single antisocial behaviour, or as the result of a longer pattern of behaviour. The following section presents an overview of the negative outcomes of ASB that have received the most focus in the literature. It begins by looking at the outcomes related to the individual, and then moves on to consider wider social

groups, with a particular focus on the outcomes of school-based ASB. Although the specific antisocial behaviours that have been linked to particular outcomes, and the persistence and strength of ASB required to experience these outcomes, will not be explored in great depth, it is important to note that research suggests that the severity of ASB (Moffitt et al., 2002), the age of its onset (Fergusson et al., 2000; Moffitt, 1993; Odgers, Caspi, et al., 2007), and the persistence of these patterns of behaviour (Moffitt et al., 2002; Odgers, Caspi, et al., 2007; Tremblay, 2000) all impact on the strength of the relationship between ASB and negative outcomes.

*Negative outcomes for the individual.*

A large number of behaviours which can be deemed antisocial have some form of negative outcome for the individual. These include health-related outcomes, long-term substance use issues, future criminality, and poor socio-economic outcomes.

The definition of ASB encompasses a range of behaviours which are often detrimental to an individual's health. Corollary, longitudinal research has linked adolescent ASB to a range of negative health outcomes later in life. In terms of physical health, youth who engage in ASB are more likely to suffer from physical illness (Samuelson et al., 2010) including injury (Thuen & Bendixen, 1996), suffer disabilities (Shepherd, Shepherd, Newcombe, & Farrington, 2009), and die prematurely (Samuelson et al., 2010; Shepherd et al., 2009). Antisocial youth are also at a greater risk of developing mental health problems such as depression (Corneau & Lanctôt, 2004; McGue & Iacono, 2005; Ritakallio, Luukkaala, Marttunen, Pelkonen, & Kaltiala-Heino, 2010; Siennick, 2007), anxiety disorders (Odgers, Caspi, et al., 2007), and antisocial personality disorder (McGue &

Iacono, 2005). Young people who behave antisocially also experience higher rates of psychiatric hospitalisation (Corneau & Lanctôt, 2004), suicide (Corneau & Lanctôt, 2004), and self-harm (Samuelson et al., 2010).

As mentioned previously, when ASB persists from a young age, the risk that an individual will experience negative outcomes is heightened. It is, therefore, not surprising that the specific nature of behaviours undertaken during adolescence have been found to be associated with similar problems later in life. The use of alcohol prior to age 15 predicts alcohol dependence later in life (Grant, Stinson, & Harford, 2001); youth ASB predicts adult criminality (Moffitt, 1993; Samuelson et al., 2010); and adolescent drug use predicts adult drug dependence (Chen, Storr, & Anthony, 2009). Many of these specific behaviours have also been linked to an array of negative outcomes. Adolescent drug use, for example, has been found to predict a range of psychosocial adjustment issues in youth including crime, depression, suicidal behaviours, and other illicit drug use (Fergusson, Horwood, & Swain-Campbell, 2002).

Negative educational, employment, and financial outcomes have also been associated with youth ASB. Youth who behave antisocially have been found to spend less time in education, and to have poorer scholastic achievement than their conventional counterparts (Moffitt et al., 2002; Siennick & Staff, 2008). A likely flow on effect from this is employment-related difficulties (Healey, Knapp, & Farrington, 2004). Using longitudinal data from the Cambridge Study of delinquency development, Healey, Knapp, and Farrington (2004) found that individuals who were identified by their peers and teachers as troublesome at a young age, and who engaged in antisocial behaviour throughout their youth, were more likely to experience long periods of unemployment prior to age 32. Because

antisocial young people are more likely to be unemployed, it is not surprising that financial problems, including poverty (Samuelson et al., 2010), have also been found to be more prevalent amongst this group (Moffitt et al., 2002).

While the majority of studies are derived from male antisocial youth, investigations into the negative outcomes experienced by girls who have conduct problems during youth have reached similar conclusions. In a New Zealand based study, Fergusson and Woodward (2000) found that girls who presented with conduct problems at age 13 were more likely to experience “educational failure, juvenile crime, substance abuse, mental health problems, and adverse sexual outcomes” (p. 779).

*Negative outcomes for wider social groups.*

Taken literally, the word “antisocial” suggests some form of negative outcome for society. Such societal outcomes can be hypothesised when looking at the negative outcomes presented above. Short term, the most obvious societal impact is that incurred by victims or targets of youth antisocial behaviour. Long term, wider societal impacts are likely. With antisocial youth being more likely to be unemployed, have mental health issues, and require medical attention, it is probable that these individuals will place a greater burden on social services. Similarly, because youth ASB is a strong predictor of future ASB, antisocial youth are more likely to put a greater strain on judicial and correctional services.

Although it is difficult to economically quantify what is a complex social problem (McCollister, French, Sheidow, Henggeler, & Halliday-Boykins, 2009), researchers have found that children who are persistently antisocial at age ten cost society ten times more than controls by the age of twenty eight (Romeo, Knapp, & Scott, 2006). In a recent attempt to investigate the potential financial benefits

of early intervention, Cohen and Piquero (2009) profiled the monetary cost of crime in individuals from age 8 to age 26. They determined that intervening and preventing a high-risk 14-year-old from continuing offending into adulthood would save society between \$2.6 and \$5.3 million US per individual. On this basis, it was concluded that interventions targeted at high-risk youth had the potential to not only avoid the range of negative outcomes which come with a life of crime, but also produce considerable monetary savings for society. It is, however, important to note that the negative societal outcomes of youth ASB are not only financial. The impact of such behaviour on others is depended on the context within which the behaviour occurs. One context where youth ASB has received research attention is in schools.

*Negative outcomes of school-based antisocial behaviour.*

Schools have a significant influence on the lives of young people, providing not only a learning environment but also a socialising context. When antisocial behaviour occurs at school it is disruptive to both the learning of the young person and the learning of other students. Researchers have long identified the link between behaviours such as bullying, truancy, violence and theft and poor educational outcomes (W. Johnson, Matt McGue, & Iacono, 2009; Ma, Phelps, Lerner, & Lerner, 2009; P. L. Morgan, Farkas, Tufis, & Sperling, 2008). Unsurprisingly, school based antisocial behaviour has been linked to similar negative outcomes as youth antisocial behaviour occurring outside of schools (Hemphill, Toumbourou, Herrenkohl, McMorris, & Catalano, 2006; Rushton, Forcier, & Schectman, 2002). An indicator of youth antisocial behaviour in schools is suspension and expulsion rates. Longitudinal studies have linked these indicators with problems later in life. Students who have been suspended or

excluded have been found to be more likely to suffer from depression (Rushton et al., 2002), unemployment (Attwood & Croll, 2006), and are more likely to be involved in crime as adults (Hemphill et al., 2006).

As mentioned previously, school-based ASB can have an impact on other students, with other students' learning being affected by the behaviour of antisocial individuals (Gresham, 2008; Ma et al., 2009). Victims of bullying are more likely to perform poorly academically, be absent from school, have lower self-esteem, and have greater levels of depression (Ma et al., 2009). Similar results have been found in research relating to students' perceived feeling of safety at school, with those who feel unsafe performing worse on standardised achievement tests (Gresham, 2008). There is also the potential for antisocial behaviour to encourage similar behaviour in others: research has identified deviant peer association to predict a range of negative outcomes, from academic failure and substance use (Ary, Duncan, Duncan, & Hops, 1999; K. Greene & Banerjee, 2009) to risky sexual behaviours and theft (Ary et al., 1999).

It has been indicated that the negative outcomes relating to youth ASB are numerous and substantial. Research into these outcomes has also suggested that if interventions can be targeted towards combating such behaviour as early as possible, the long-term issues associated with youth ASB can potentially be avoided. As a result, a considerable amount of energy has gone into developing and implementing programmes which focus on reducing youth ASB. The following section provides an overview of the nature of some of these interventions. It looks first at the range of intervention types, and then focuses specifically on school-based interventions, including police-school partnerships. These interventions are largely based around the risk and protective factors

mentioned earlier, with each programme focusing on suppressing risk factors and enhancing protective factors (Farrington, 2010). The effectiveness of such programmes is explored in the following section. A particular focus given to programmes based in New Zealand where possible. The interventions presented will be categorised in accordance with several recent review articles and chapters which focus on intervention types (Farrington, 2010; Kurtz, 2002; van der Merwe & Dawes, 2007; Welsh & Farrington, 2007). The intervention types which will be focused on will include: family-based, skill-based, pro-social relationship focused, criminal justice prevention, and school-based interventions. It is important to note that while these approaches will be presented individually, they rarely occur in isolation, and are typically combined with other types of interventions.

### *Inventions Aimed at Combating Youth ASB*

#### *Family-based interventions.*

##### Home Visits.

As has been highlighted throughout the current chapter, there is evidence that chronic disruptive behaviour, which leads to more serious ASB, can appear during childhood (Moffitt et al., 1996; Odgers, Caspi, et al., 2007), and that as time progresses, this pattern of behaviour can become more engrained, and resistant to treatment (Tremblay, 2000). These considerations indicate the importance of early intervention. Home-visit programmes are one form of intervention that can take place prior to the birth of a child, or very early on in life.

Home-visit programmes generally consist of nurses visiting the homes of expectant mothers to provide advice and support, both prior to the child's birth

and for a period of time afterwards (Farrington, 2010). Given the varying nature of parenting programmes, reviews of the effectiveness of these interventions have found it difficult to draw conclusions (Farrington, 2010; Olds, Sadler, & Kitzman, 2007). It has been found, however, that programmes that are intensive and delivered by professionals, such as nurses, can have positive effects on children's health and development (Olds et al., 2007). One specific programme that has received a considerable amount of research focus, including randomised clinical trials, and long-term follow ups, was developed by David Olds and his colleagues in Elmira, New York (Farrington, 2010; Olds, Henderson, Chamberlin, & Tatelbaum, 1986; Olds et al., 1998). This programme was targeted at mothers who were at highest risk of care-giving dysfunction, and having children who would behave antisocially. The programme provided education on child development, enhanced social support, and connected mothers with community health agencies. Initial results showed that children whose mothers were involved in the programme were less likely to experience abuse and neglect (Olds et al., 1986). After a fifteen-year period, children of mothers who received pre and postnatal nurse visits were found to have fewer arrests, fewer violent convictions, fewer sexual partners, and a lower usage of alcohol, cigarettes and drugs (Olds et al., 1998).

#### Parenting training.

As mentioned above, home visits generally include a parental education or training component. Researchers have focused on this component, not only in the home setting, but also in community-based programmes. While over short-term follow up many parenting programmes have been found to reduce children's

antisocial behaviour, few studies have investigated the long-term effects of these programmes (Bernazzani & Tremblay, 2007; Farrington, 2010).

A review of the effectiveness of early parenting training on child disruptive behaviours produced mixed results (Bernazzani & Tremblay, 2007). Ultimately, the researchers suggested caution when interpreting the long-term effectiveness of early parenting programmes in preventing disruptive behaviour, due, primarily, to the lack of studies, the mixed results of completed studies, and the wide ranging goals of early parenting programmes (Bernazzani & Tremblay, 2007; Farrington, 2010). The authors did note, however, that positive change in children's problem behaviour was found reasonably consistently over short follow up periods.

Some specific programmes have been shown to be successful in relation to some of the risk factors of ASB. Children whose parents partake in the US-based 'Early Head Start' programme have been found to have significantly higher cognitive outcomes at age three (Chang, Park, & Kim, 2009). A number of programmes around the world have also been shown to be effective at reducing problem behaviour when compared to a non-treatment control group over the short term (Griffin, Guerin, Sharry, & Drumm, 2010; O'Neill, McGilloway, Donnelly, Bywater, & Kelly, 2010). The Triple-P parenting programme is a "multilevel parenting and family support strategy designed to reduce the prevalence of behavioural and emotional problems in preadolescent children" (Sanders, 1999, p. 71). Originally developed in Brisbane Australia, the programme has since been undertaken in a number of countries, including New Zealand, and is one of the world's most studied parenting programmes, with over 30 years of clinical and empirical research (Triple P, 2010). Although no

evaluations have been undertaken using a New Zealand sample yet (a triple P research group is operating at the University of Auckland), a recent meta-analysis which included evaluations from Australia, Switzerland, China, and Germany concluded that children's behaviour was improved for the year following the programme (de Graaf, Speetjens, Smit, de Wolff, & Tavecchio, 2008). This meta-analysis focused on level 4 of the programme which is an intensive 8-10 week parental training programme for children aged 2-12 with severe behavioural difficulties.

*Skills-based interventions.*

Child social skills training.

Another type of intervention employed during early childhood is social skills training. The premise of child social skills training is that deficits in social skills, such as empathy and problem solving, are reliable risk factors for youth ASB (Crick & Dodge, 1994). As such, child social skills training programmes aim at improving the social skills of young children through the use of the cognitive-behavioural concepts of social learning and problem solving (Lösel & Beelmann, 2007).

In recent meta-analyses, child social skills training programmes have been found to be effective at reducing antisocial behaviour in children and youth (Lösel & Beelmann, 2003; 2007). However, the majority of the studies which comprised these meta-analyses had very short-term follow up periods, making it difficult to draw conclusions about the longer-term effects of such programmes at reducing youth ASB.

Cognitive behavioural skills-based interventions.

Cognitive-behavioural skills-based interventions have become one of the most widely used, and one of the most promising, rehabilitative treatment techniques for antisocial individuals (Lipsey & Landenberger, 2007). As mentioned above, the majority of social skills training programs incorporate strategies and concepts derived from cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT). However, CBT has not been used exclusively in this area, with CBT based techniques also being targeted at a wide range of ASB risk factors, including self-esteem, impulsivity, and assertiveness (Farrington, 2010; Lipsey & Landenberger, 2007). Although CBT programmes differ in their focus, large-scale reviews have generally concluded that interventions which utilise cognitive behavioural techniques are successful in reducing ASB (Farrington, 2010; Lipsey & Landenberger, 2007; Tong & Farrington, 2008). However, like many other intervention techniques, research on the long-term outcomes of cognitive behaviour based treatments for youth ASB is lacking. Those who have followed individuals over longer periods of time have shown promising results (Farrington, 2010). CBT has also been found to be an effective treatment for various mental health issues which increase the likelihood of ASB occurring (Townsend, 2007).

*Criminal justice prevention.*

Boot camps.

Military style boot camps are an intervention strategy that has received a considerable amount of attention over recent years. The nostalgic, romantic view that young offenders who complete such programmes will learn discipline and be reformed has proliferated into the youth correctional strategies of many Western countries (Wilson & MacKenzie, 2007). In New Zealand, the use of boot camps

has been endorsed at the governmental level, with a recent amendment of the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Bill which includes boot camps as a form of intervention for the “worst youth offenders” (“Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Amendment Bill,” 2010). Despite the support for these programmes by the New Zealand government, and governments around the world (Wilson & MacKenzie, 2007), several large scale meta-analyses have found no evidence to suggest that such interventions are successful (MacKenzie, Wilson, & Kider, 2001; Meade & Steiner, 2010; Wilson, MacKenzie, & Mitchell, 2003; Wilson & MacKenzie, 2007). In the most recent of these reviews, Meade and Steiner (2010) concluded that “boot camps have no effect on recidivism” (p.850). Furthermore, some researchers have argued that boot camps may in fact lead to negative outcomes, with the structure of military style boot camps encouraging physical abuse, neglect, and bullying (Cullen, Blevins, Trager, & Gendreau, 2005).

#### Incarceration and punishment.

Punishment of youth ASB through incarceration has become increasingly popular, particularly in the United States of America (Howell, 2009; Nissenbaum, 2006). As a form of intervention, however, punishment has consistently been found to be ineffective at reducing youth recidivism rates (Andrews et al., 1990; Howell, 2009). Furthermore, neither the severity of sentencing nor the certainty of incarceration as an outcome has been found to reduce recidivism among the majority of antisocial youth (Nissenbaum, 2006; Schneider, 1990).

*Pro-social relationships focused interventions.*

Peer-focused interventions.

As mentioned in the risk factor section of the current chapter, antisocial peer association is one of the strongest risk factors associated with youth ASB. Although few interventions have targeted peer risk factors, some programmes have attempted to increase antisocial youth's associations with pro-social peers (Farrington, 2010; Feldman, 1992). This has been achieved primarily through placing antisocial individuals in activity groups dominated by pro-social adolescents (Feldman, 1992). Programmes which have employed this method have shown some success in reducing antisocial behaviour and delinquent peer association (Feldman, 1992; Harrell, Cavanagh, & Sridharan, 1999).

Positive adult role models.

Positive adult relationships, mentors, and pro-social ties are of particular note, as these are the protective factors focused on by the Manukau Police CIS programme. Given the substantial physical, psychological, and social changes experienced during adolescence, researchers have suggested that having a positive adult role model with whom youth can discuss their issues is very important (McGinnis-Garner, 2003; Werner, 1995). Researchers have thus become increasingly interested in the effects of positive role models on youth outcomes. In a longitudinal study of children's resilience, Werner (1995) found that having a positive role model in a child's life had considerable strength as a protective factor, leading young people away from ASB and other negative outcomes despite the presence of numerous risk factors. Having a positive role model has also been associated with adolescents being less involved in violence (Aspy et al., 2004; Hurd, Zimmerman, & Reischl, 2010; Parker & Maggard,

2009), underage sex (Vesely et al., 2004), and substance use (Oman et al., 2004). In a recent systematic review and meta-analysis of mentoring programs, Jolliffe and Farrington (2008) concluded that the mentoring programmes were an effective means of reducing youth ASB, producing a 4-10% reduction in delinquency. Many of these studies, however, produced non-significant results and employed short-term follow up periods (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2008). As a result, the authors suggested that more research was required to investigate the effectiveness of interventions which used mentoring over a longer study period (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2008).

Using structural equation modelling to understand how having a role model who behaved pro-socially reduces the risk of young people engaging in ASB, Hurd, Zimmerman and Reischl (2010) suggested that having such role models influenced a young person's beliefs relating to antisocial behaviour, which, in turn, reduced ASB.

#### *School-based interventions for youth ASB.*

With youth being the most criminogenic period of one's life, and school being the only community facility where youth spend a considerable amount of their time, this context has been recognised as an effective medium to present interventions to this population (Hayden, Williamson, & Webber, 2007).

Interventions which take place in schools come in many forms, and focus on a range of ASB. Accordingly, the following section will not provide an overview of all school-based intervention programmes, but rather a general summary with a spotlight on those particularly relevant to the current research.

Focusing generally on school-based ASB, programmes which have employed a multi-component approach (combining several types of intervention;

for example, child skills training, teacher training, and parent training, through a school-based medium) have been largely found to be successful at reducing ASB over long term follow up periods (Kolvin, Garside, & Nicol, 1981; Petras et al., 2008). School-based programmes have also been found to be an effective means of targeting specific types of ASB, such as bullying (Ttofi & Farrington, 2009) and drug use (Soole, Mazerolle, & Rombouts, 2008). While school-based programmes are often facilitated by teachers, police officers are occasionally used to deliver programmes.

*Police-school partnerships.*

As the name suggests, programmes which involve a police-school partnership are developed and operated collaboratively between schools and their local police force. These partnerships were originally based upon the notion that increased contact with young people would improve relationships between the police and the youth community, and help prevent ASB (Barnes, 2009). This union can take many forms, ranging from police-run intervention programmes undertaken on school grounds, to police officers being stationed on school campuses (the latter of which will be discussed in greater depth shortly).

An international police-school partnership programme which has received a considerable amount of research attention is the Drug Abuse Resistance Education Programme, or D.A.R.E. Currently operating in 43 countries including New Zealand, D.A.R.E programmes aim not only at drug abuse prevention, but at combating a range of youth related issues, including violence, gang involvement, and other types of antisocial behaviour (D.A.R.E America, 2010). As of 2009, 36 million students around the world had participated in some form of D.A.R.E programme (Pan & Bai, 2009). It is important to note, however, that while

D.A.R.E programmes originated in the United States of America (USA), and share the common thread of collaboration between police and schools, the nature of the individual programmes in each country varies considerably (Hallmark, 2004). United States based D.A.R.E programmes are targeted primarily at reducing adolescent drug abuse (including tobacco and alcohol), and encouraging youth to make healthy decisions (Pan & Bai, 2009). In a recent meta-analysis of the effectiveness of the USA based programmes at reducing drug use and improving psychosocial behaviour, the researchers concluded that the D.A.R.E programme had a “less than small overall effect” (Pan & Bai, 2009, p. 274) on both of these variables. It was also noted that there were considerable differences and inconsistencies between individual evaluations, with several finding no, or even negative, outcomes (Pan & Bai, 2009).

D.A.R.E based programmes in New Zealand have a different focus to their USA counterparts (Hallmark, 2004). Run by the New Zealand Police Youth Education Services (YES), the Dare Foundation provide a range of programmes primarily aimed at youth-related issues such as drug use, driving, self-esteem, problem solving, and other social skills (The Dare Foundation, 2007). Although no long-term investigation of the success of these programmes has been completed, a recent evaluation suggested that the theoretical model, and specific methods of the programme were sound, and that evaluations from those involved in the programmes were largely positive (Evans, 2009). Other YES programmes are targeted at youth-related issues such as tagging, bullying, road safety, and violence (New Zealand Police, 2010). Like the Dare Foundation programme, no long-term follow up evaluations of the effectiveness of these programmes have currently been completed.

*Possible positive outcomes of police-administered programmes.*

Hansen (1992) suggested that the delivery of police-administered programmes may play an important role in the effectiveness of interventions. Some researchers have suggested that having police officers administer programmes, while improving the success of an intervention, may produce other positive outcomes. It has been found that police officers are seen by students as more credible sources of some information (Coggans, Evans, & O'Connor, 1999; O'Connor, 2010). Furthermore, researchers have indicated that developing a relationship between police officers and young people can provide students with pro-social, positive role models (Coggans et al., 1999). Although you would expect these factors to result in police-delivered programmes being more successful, a meta-analysis focusing on substance abuse programmes has found that such programmes produce similar outcomes to those run by teachers or peers (Gottfredson & Wilson, 2003).

A further possible positive effect of having police administer programmes is an improvement in students' perception of police (Hammond et al., 2008; O'Connor, 2010; Rosenbaum & Hanson, 1998). Studies have consistently shown that younger people view police less favourably (Brown & Benedict, 2002). Furthermore, individuals who hold negative attitudes toward the police are less likely to cooperate with police, or comply with the law (J. Jackson & Bradford, 2010). While several authors have identified improvements in students' perceptions of police as a result of police run programmes (Hammond et al., 2008; O'Connor, 2010; Rosenbaum & Hanson, 1998), this has not been found across all studies (A. Jackson, 2002). Furthermore, it has been suggested that this improvement in the perception of police may only relate to officers who are in

contact with students, rather than the wider police force (Hopkins, 1994). While it is accepted that the nature of an individual's interactions with the police shape their perception of the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002), it is currently unclear whether school-based programmes run by police officers can improve students' attitudes towards the police.

Advocates of police-run programmes have also suggested that the presence of uniformed police officers on school campuses may act as a deterrent to school-based ASB, and improve feelings of safety within schools (I. Johnson, 1999; Kipper, 1996)

### *Police Officers in Schools*

As noted earlier, youth has been identified as the most criminogenic period of one's life (Moffitt, 1993, 2008). As a consequence, a range of interventions have been developed and implemented in the hope of discouraging youth antisocial behaviour, and steering young people away from future criminal behaviour. Schools have been recognised as an effective medium through which interventions can be presented to this population (Hayden et al., 2007).

Furthermore, a student's sense of safety at school has a considerable impact on their ability to learn and achieve (Tatum, 2009). Additionally, there is also evidence to suggest that police-run programmes can be both effective, and help foster positive relationships with young people (Coggans et al., 1999).

Interventions based collaborations between the police and schools thus continue to be undertaken.

One such model of school-based interventions is Police-School Partnerships (PSP), specifically programmes which see police officers stationed on school grounds. Currently, such programmes are operating in many western

countries, including the United States of America, Canada, The United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. Despite the popularity and global proliferation of these programmes, very little research has been undertaken into their effectiveness. With police departments continuing to develop and implement their own programmes, it is important to provide a base from which these programmes can be developed, and an indication of which elements have been found to be effective.

The following section provides a brief overview of the findings of the evaluative studies that have been completed to date. Firstly, the roles and duties of a school-based police officer will be broadly outlined. Following this, the ethical issues associated with having police in schools will be discussed. Next, what the literature has identified as successful aspects of police-school partnerships broadly (not programmes which see officers stationed in schools specifically) will be outlined. Some of the advantageous personal characteristics of an officer working in schools will be briefly discussed next. Finally, evaluative studies of the North American based ‘School Resource Officer (SRO) programmes’ and the United Kingdom based ‘Safer Schools Partnership’ will be presented.

*Who are they, and what do they do?*

While the specifics of programmes vary a considerable amount between police jurisdictions, they do share aspects in common. In essence, the school-based officer is the same as any other police officer, with the same duties and powers, but as they are working in schools rather than communities, they also have aspects of their jobs which are unique or heightened. While their roles include the traditional elements of law enforcement, they also act as coaches,

mentors, liaisons between schools and police, sources of legal information, and members of the school community. The amount of time an individual officer devotes to each of these roles also varies, with some performing law enforcement duties 100 per cent of the time, and others as little as 10 per cent of the time (instead spending more time mentoring students or teaching law-related classes) (Finn, McDevitt, Lassiter, Shively, & Rich, 2005; Ivey, 2012). These varied roles reflect the different motivations behind implementing these programmes. While providing a safe learning environment and reducing antisocial behaviour is the most commonly stated goal, other goals include improving students' perception of police, reducing truancy, and for police recruitment purposes. The types of schools and level of the officers' involvement also varies between programmes. While some see one officer dividing their time between a number of primary (elementary), intermediate (middle), and secondary (high) schools within their district, others see a single officer based at one or two schools. Most often, programmes focus on older students. The amount of time an officer spends on campus varies, as does the level of involvement they have in the day-to-day operations of the school, particularly in terms of monitoring and correcting student behaviour. For example, while some officers perform arrests for any illegal behaviour, others deal with the majority of issues through more traditional school-based means.

*Police in schools: An ethical dilemma.*

The reality of school-based police performing arrests in schools produces a range of ethical and moral dilemmas, and has led to a considerable amount of controversy. This debate is occurring primarily in the United States of America (USA) where the number of police in schools has seen a rapid increase since the

1990s (Mukherjee & Karpatkin, 2007). Cases in the media of students being arrested for minor infractions have further fuelled this debate (Price, 2009; Theriot, 2009). For example, one incident saw a 12-year-old Louisiana student detained for two weeks and charged with making terror threats after informing classmates while waiting in the lunch line that he would “get them” if they ate all the potatoes (Theriot, 2009). There is also an argument that such programmes will lead to an increase in the number of young people involved with the justice system, as behaviours which would have historically been dealt with within schools may be reported to police (Theriot, 2009). This trend has also been referred to as the “school to prison pipeline” (Price, 2009), where an increasing number of young people in the USA are going straight from school into prison. While this is a complex phenomenon and the culmination of a range of policy decisions, educational, and social factors, some see having police officers based in schools as being a fundamental component in maintaining this “pipeline” (Price, 2009). While the examples above are likely the extreme, and may not reflect the majority of programmes, they highlight the importance of developing programmes that are established with the interests of students in mind, and are empirically supported and evaluated regularly. The following section will outline several programmes that have received evaluative attention. The specifics of each programme will be explained as well as how they were evaluated. This will be concluded by a section outlining what has, and what has not, seemed to work. First, however, research investigating effective elements of police-school partnerships, as well as the personal attributes required to work as a police officer in a school, will be presented.

*Elements of successful police-school partnerships.*

Previous research investigating police-school partnerships has identified several factors required for their success. Programmes need to be evidence based, interactive, multifaceted, and age appropriate (O'Connor, 2010). Community and parent support for the programme is important (O'Connor, 2010), as is parental recognition that their child's behaviour is unacceptable, and an active involvement in discouraging such behaviour (White, Fyfe, Campbell, & Goldkamp, 2001). An increased police presence at school also needs to be accompanied by increased counselling, monitoring, and collaboration with the community (Brady, Balmer, & Phenix, 2007). Utilising research on the effective elements of police-school partnerships, Brady, Balmer, & Phenix (2007) identified three key factors of successful programmes: "successful partnerships with the local community, supportive counselling services for students, and adequate support services for teachers and school administrators" (p.474). Adequate resourcing, training, and regular evaluation are also elements of successful police-school partnerships (O'Connor, 2010).

Focusing on the important characteristics of police officers who work in schools, Lambert and McGinty (2002) investigated the perspectives of principals, SROs, and law-enforcement administrators. They found a wide range of responses, which suggested that the specific role of an SRO needed to be clarified. The authors did, however, identify important personal attributes such as honesty, reliability, and being a positive role model. Given the varying responses, Lambert and McGinty (2002) recommended that the roles and responsibilities of the SRO should be collaboratively determined by the school principal and law-

enforcement agencies. They also recommended an open, honest relationship with clear communication and where each party's expectations are outlined.

Having broadly outlined the factors that lead to the success of PSP, the following section will focus on evaluative studies of programmes which see police officers stationed in schools.

*School resource officer based programmes.*

The USA has seen a long history of cooperation between local police departments and schools, with police officers having had a presence in New York schools as far back as 1918 (Gulen, 2010). However, it was not until the 1990s when, in response to several high profile school shootings, police began to take a more active role in promoting school safety. Today, approximately 35% of schools in the USA have police officers stationed on campus (Weiler & Cray, 2011). Such programmes are referred to as 'School Resource Officer based' (SRO) programmes. These involve the assignment of a sworn police officer (known as the School Resource Officer) to one or more public schools full time (Kim & Geronimo, 2010). While there is no shared definition of a SROs goals and duties, several elements remain consistent. While their primary role is to provide a full policing service, they are also seen as part of the school community, attending sports events, providing mentoring, and teaching law-related classes (Ivey, 2012). Despite the increasing popularity of SRO programmes, very few have been formally evaluated (Weiler & Cray, 2011).

It is also important to highlight that the specifics of each programme (discussed further below) vary considerably between police jurisdictions. The goals, level of police involvement, and the role or function of the officer differ

between each. Furthermore, the outcome measures and research methods used to investigate the 'success' of each programme vary, ranging from crime statistics, to direct observation and self-report. Specifics of each programme and evaluation method will be discussed as they are presented. First, however, broader studies of multiple programmes will be discussed.

Three recent research articles have analysed the data from the 'school survey on crime and safety', an annual survey completed by a nationally representative sample of about 3500 US public schools to investigate aspects of SRO programmes (Jennings, Khey, Maskaly, & Donner, 2011; Maskaly, Donner, Lanterman, & Jennings, 2011; Na & Gottfredson, 2011). Each study reached somewhat different conclusions. Jennings and colleagues (2011) determined that the presence and number of SROs was significantly related to lower levels of serious school violence; however, the number of these instances was very small. A further study by Maskaly and colleagues (2011) also focused on the impact of characteristics of the schools themselves, determining that larger schools had higher rates of school crime. They reported some evidence that the presence of SROs may mediate this relationship, and also that SROs may have an impact on gang-related activities in schools. It is important to note that both of these studies were cross sectional, and as such, they cannot show a causal relationship. In contrast, a study by Na and Gottfredson (2011) found "no evidence suggesting that SRO or other sworn law-enforcement officers contribute to school safety" (p.24). The authors noted an increase in crimes involving weapons and the possession of drugs, and also commented that behaviours which would have been dealt with in-house in the past were being escalated to the criminal justice system.

In a recent book titled *Schools under Surveillance: Cultures of Control in Public Education*, Kupchik and Bracy (2010) describe the results of an investigation into SRO programmes in four public high schools. The study relied largely on observational methods, with the researchers spending over one hundred hours in each of the schools. The researchers also interviewed more than one hundred stake holders, including the SROs, principals, assistant principals, security guards, teachers, students, and parents. Benefits for school administration were determined in relation to legal advice, legitimising safety initiatives, and access to harsher forms of punishment. Similarly, benefits were found for local police departments. These included: building stronger links with youth and the community, and access to new forms of information (for example, one SRO would frequently monitor students' 'MySpace' accounts). The positive outcomes of SRO programmes for students, however, were less clear. While students reported liking having an officer present, the researchers found that the rights of students were eroded somewhat, that punishments were escalated, and that the surveillance of students was increased. This degradation of student rights was noted in a recent investigation into the vast increase of police numbers in New York schools by the American Civil Liberties Union, with researchers finding arrests over minor infractions, intrusive searches, physical abuse, inappropriate sexual attention, and unauthorised confiscation of personal items (Mukherjee & Karpatkin, 2007).

In one of the larger evaluations (240 schools), Barnes (2009) investigated the impact of the North Carolina SRO programme on school safety and criminal behaviour. In this programme, officers were assigned to either one school, or a group of schools. Their primary goals were to increase knowledge and respect for

the law and law enforcement, respond to illegal activities, provide traffic control, and be active members of the school community. Other roles beyond the stated goals also included law-related counselling and teaching law-related classes. In order to evaluate the success of the programme, the researcher compared the number and nature of reported crimes occurring within the schools two years prior, and one year following, the implementation of the SRO programme. This information was supplemented by qualitative data including interviews and surveys of principals and SROs. Although both principals and SRO's reported a change in student behaviour, neither indicated that the schools had become safer. Similarly, the investigation of 'in school crime' before and after the implementation of the programme found no change, and concluded that the programme was not an effective means of reducing antisocial behaviour (ASB) in schools. Key criticism from both principals and the SROs focused on poor organisation, unclear role definition, and confusion about the officer's function.

In a nationally representative, large-scale study which utilised data from 2772 schools, Dogutas (2007) investigated whether SRO programmes had an impact on the number of non-violent, violent, and serious violent incidents within schools. These included offences such as theft, physical assaults, weapon related incidents, and sexual assaults. The results indicated that having an SRO was associated with a greater number of incidents and the research concluded that this may indicate that SRO programmes are not successful at reducing such incidents. It was also found that in schools where the officer's role was primarily law enforcement, there were a greater number of incidents. Similarly, a greater use of reactive punishments such as suspension and removals were associated with a higher number of incidents. On the other hand, when officers were also involved

in counselling and teaching the number of incidents was less. A possible explanation for this difference provided by the author was that having an officer in school that focuses on punishment may have a negative impact on school climate, and thus increase the number of incidents. The results indicate the importance of positive interaction between police and students as part of a successful programme.

In New York City, SRO based programmes have been targeted at schools with higher rates of suspension, more police incidents, lower student attendance rates, and a higher number of safety- related student transfers. Known as the 'Impact Schools Initiative' (Brady, Balmer & Phenix, 2007), the goal of the programme is to provide a climate of order and safety within these schools. Specifically, the programme saw schools receiving more security guards and double the number of police officers. The programme also gave greater powers to these personnel to remove and transfer students. In an evaluation of the success of this programme, Brady, Balmer, and Phenix (2007) compared measures of student ASB, including rates of suspension and criminal incidences, in these schools to comparison schools over two-and-a-half year period (both pre- and post intervention). Over the study period, the suspension rates of schools receiving the programme increased significantly (from 78.5 per 1000 students, to 114.1 per 1000 students). Although similar increases were seen in comparison schools, these were not as pronounced. The rate of major crimes in the study schools did, however, drop slightly (from 3.3 per 1000 to 2.8 per 1000). While the authors did not draw conclusions about the success of the programme, they did note several shortcomings. They highlighted a lack of input from students and families, and a lack of partnership between stakeholder groups. They also noted

the complexities of these schools, including overcrowding, poor attendance, large roll sizes, and a lack of funding.

The Charlotte School Safety programme (Kenny & Watson, 1998) has been the focus of two separate evaluations, with each reaching very different conclusions. Unlike other SRO based projects, the Charlotte School programme incorporated a greater amount of student input. This was achieved by holding regular problem solving classes which focused on building a student-police-teacher partnership. Classes were held one or two days a week in which students, teachers, and the SRO would identify and discuss the problems facing the school, with a particular focus on school safety. Students would be taught problem solving techniques and, as time went on, take a larger role in the classes. The rationale behind this approach was that as students took on more responsibility for the school environment, the school climate would improve and crime and disorder would decrease.

Furthermore, relations between students and police would be improved. The first evaluation, undertaken by Kenny and Watson (1998) found reductions in student and teacher fear, lower suspension rates, and significant changes in positive peer association, positive self-concepts and social integration. In a re-evaluation of the data, Miller, Gibson, Ventura and Schreck (2005) took pre-existing differences between the study school and control school into account. They concluded that the effects of the Charlotte School Safety programme could only be described as inconclusive.

In 2005, Finn and McDevitt (2005) completed a national assessment of SRO programmes. This consisted of a large scale survey-based study of 322 law enforcement agencies (each of which served an average of 5 schools). From

these, 19 programmes were selected for a more in-depth analysis (Finn et al., 2005). While the authors originally intended to complete a pre/post-test longitudinal investigation, methodological and ethical issues meant that this was not feasible, and, instead, more of a case study, descriptive approach was used. The authors utilised a range of methods including surveys, interviews, focus groups, and direct observations with the aim of providing a description of the programmes, investigating how they were implemented, and determining any positive outcomes. Overall, the authors found qualitative and anecdotal evidence that suggested an improvement in student perception of police and a reduction in instances of ASB. They also found that when students felt safe, had a positive opinion of the SRO, and had conversations with the SRO on a regular basis, they were more likely to report crimes. Also, a positive opinion of the SRO was related to an increased sense of safety, even when environmental factors such as student victimisation and the level of neighbourhood crime were taken into account. The authors also outlined the important steps which successful programmes seemed to follow. These included: choosing a programme model (usually enforce the law, teach, mentor); determining how to allocate SRO time between these functions; developing a definition of their role; recruiting the officer with input from the school; providing training; collaborating with teachers so that each party understands their roles within the programme working with students and parents to develop a supportive yet authoritative relationship; and, finally, regularly evaluating the programme. This final point, the authors found, was not completed very often, with a significant lack of evaluations across all programmes.

Johnson (1999) examined the impact of the SRO programme in Birmingham, Alabama on providing a safe school environment by reducing school violence, criminal activity, and disciplinary problems. The author also wished to determine whether the programme supported school teachers and administrators, and provided a counselling service for students. Like other programmes, the 18 SROs allocated to the 17 schools divided their time between police services and student support services such as mentoring. To determine the programme's success, the researcher interviewed 17 SRO's, 17 school officials, and 46 students from the schools involved in the programme. The information from these interviews was supplemented by an investigation of school disciplinary records before and after the intervention. On the whole, SROs, school officials, and students reported a reduction in school violence. These reports were also mirrored by a reduction in the overall number of suspensions. The number of suspensions for serious offences (defined as behaviour which breaks local state laws) was, however, found to increase. Based on these findings, the author concluded that the programme was successful at reducing school violence and disciplinary problems. Johnson (1999) also stated that the reduction in school violence, counselling services, the visibility of the SRO, support from the programme to school staff, dealing with trespasses, and overtime services (choosing to work overtime), were aspects of the programme which were "working smoothly" (p. 190). The research has, however, received criticism due to the short length of the follow up period, the small sample size, and lack of random sampling procedures (Barnes, 2009).

Combining information from staff, student and SRO surveys on school safety, incident reports, and field reports, the Virginia Department of Criminal

Justice Services completed an overall evaluation of the 78 local SRO programmes (Schuiteman, 2001). SROs were found to divide their time between a range of activities including law enforcement, teaching law related classes, crime prevention, and acting as a liaison between the school and community. It was concluded that “Virginia's state-assisted SRO programmes are reducing school violence and increasing the feeling of safety among school staff and students” (p.24). While an increased sense of safety is supported by the research, the conclusion that school violence is reducing seems to go well beyond the data gathered by the researchers. The research design did not include a pre/post-test, or longitudinal component. As such, the finding that violence was decreasing is substantiated only by self-reports from students, staff, and SROs, rather than any measures of violence.

Rather than focusing on indicators of ASB, Jackson (2002) investigated the effect of SRO programmes on student perception of police and offending. In order to achieve this, students’ perception of police, their SRO, offending in general, and their perceived likelihood of identification if one was to break the law at school were measured. These results were compared to the findings in two comparison schools. In this programme, the SRO was only performing traditional policing services. The study determined that the use of an SRO did not significantly affect any of the variables being investigated. The author concluded that this result may be attributable to negative interactions students may have with the SRO. He also suggested that the effects of bringing a police officer, who may be perceived as a threatening presence, into what is designed to be a non-threatening learning environment may explain the findings. Given these results, Jackson (2002) advised that funding would be better utilised on counselling

services and student-faculty crime prevention programmes. This study, however, had methodological limitations. While from the same region, little effort was made to match the study and control groups. For example, while the study school had a student population of 1373 with 86.6 per cent of these students being White, the comparison schools had 328 and 329 students, all of which were White.

A recent article focused on SROs' role in crisis intervention (James, Logan, & Davis, 2011). Using a handful of case-study examples, the authors highlighted how SROs could take proactive steps to prevent crises, deescalate situations when they arose, and work post-crisis. These examples reflected the varied rolls of an SRO, ranging from providing knowledge on police procedures and skills in crisis intervention, to acting as a role model and mentor.

In a Canadian study into the impact of the Toronto SRO programme, the authors reported largely positive results (Toronto Police, 2009). In the Toronto programme, SROs were tasked with developing positive relationships with students, parents and teachers. While being involved in traditional law enforcement activities, officers were also required to co-coordinate and participate in school lectures and school-based crime prevention programmes. The evaluation focused on 28 schools that were receiving the programme, and was made up of two components. Firstly, surveys were used to gauge students', teachers', parents' and SROs' views of the programme at two points in time; shortly after the programme was initiated, and after the program had been operating for a year. Although improvements were seen in relation to feelings and perceptions of safety, and to the perceived relationship between students and the police between the two time periods, the lack of a baseline measure or control

sample makes it impossible to determine a causal relationship. Furthermore, an improvement over this time period would be expected, as reservations individuals may have had earlier on in the programme would have time to subside or be proved wrong. The second component of the evaluation consisted of an investigation into reported offences, both in the year prior to the programme, and after it had been operating for a year. The number of reported offences was found to decrease both within the school, and within 200m of the school. Some of these numbers were, however, extremely low (for example, the number of reported offences during school hours in all 28 schools dropped from three to none).

*Safer schools partnership programme.*

Similar police-school partnerships have been operating in the UK since 2002 through the 'Safer Schools Partnership' (SSP) programme (Bowles, Reyes, & Pradipto, 2005). At present, the programme is targeted towards schools with the most significant levels of problem behaviour. Like their American counterparts, these programmes differ across police jurisdictions as a result of varying funding provisions. Generally speaking, the key variation across the SSP programmes is the intensity of police presence, with some schools having an officer assigned to their school full time and others having less contact. All these programmes, however, share the common objectives of reducing crime and victimisation, addressing antisocial behaviour, decreasing the reliance on student exclusion, and providing a safe learning environment (Bowles et al., 2005; O'Connor, 2010). The duties of the officer include corridor patrols, classroom checks, truancy sweeps, restorative justice, and monitoring holiday programmes. In an evaluation of 15 schools with SSP programmes, researchers utilised a range of data including records of suspensions and exclusions, levels of self-reported

offending, fear of crime, exam results, numbers of incidents, and recorded offending. When available, the data was investigated longitudinally (Bowles et al., 2005). It was concluded that the programmes were effective in achieving some of their target goals: truancy levels were found to have decreased, and student perception of safety had improved. In relation to other objectives, findings were inconclusive, with both program and comparison schools seeing decreases in exclusions and improvements in exam results over the study period.

*Conclusions based on the current literature.*

Based on the current literature, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of programmes which see police officers in schools. While there is limited evidence that suggests having police officers present can improve school safety, reduce antisocial behaviour, improve students' perception of police, and improve links between young people and the police, there are also studies which conclude that such programmes have no effect. This is supported by Petrosino, Guckenberger, and Fronius (2012), who in reviewing a number of non-educational policing programmes in schools in the USA, UK, and Canada, concluded that a lack of evaluative studies made it impossible to conclude the effectiveness of such programmes. However, from the studies presented above, several elements of what can help or hinder the effectiveness of these programmes can be observed.

Firstly, it seems that when the police officer takes a purely authoritarian, punitive, more traditional law enforcement approach, positive outcomes are less likely (Barnes, 2009; Dogutas, 2007; Jackson, 2002). On the other hand, programmes which coupled these roles with more positive interactions, which encouraged the development of positive relationships between the students and

police, were more successful (Finn et al., 2005; Johnson, 1999). This would suggest that these two functions of officers in schools need to be carefully balanced.

Several studies commented on the unclear definitions of the roles and expectations of the officers in schools (Barnes, 2009; Finn et al., 2005; Lambert & McGinty, 2002). This lack of clarity would likely impact on the efficiency and effectiveness of programmes. Determining the roles and expectations of each party collaboratively may therefore increase the likelihood of a programme's success (Finn & McDevitt, 2005). It was also identified that teachers, school staff, parents, and students all need to have an understanding and vested interest in the programme (Finn & McDevitt, 2005; O'Connor, 2010) for it to succeed. A lack of comprehensive evaluation of programmes was also a consistent theme within the literature, with methodological flaws present in several studies (Kupchik & Bracy, 2010; Petrosino et al., 2012).

While some criminologists have categorised SRO-based programmes as an intervention for youth ASB which does not work (Howell, 2009), such conclusions seem to be premature. While producing a largely unclear picture, the studies outlined above do indicate some benefits from these programmes. Further research and evaluation of programmes which see police officers assigned to schools is, however, required before any definitive conclusions about their effectiveness can be reached. Despite this, many countries, including New Zealand have developed their own programmes which see police officers placed in schools. Manukau City, Auckland, was the first police jurisdiction in New Zealand to implement such a programme.

*The importance of perception for success of programmes.*

Some authors have discussed the importance of students' perceptions of the success of programmes on the measurable outcomes of programmes. Bracy (2011) discussed how excessive punishment and inconsistent rule enforcement can be counterproductive in developing a safe school climate. In other words, Bracy identified a link between perceived fairness and the effectiveness of the programmes. This has implications for programmes which see officers in schools. Superficially, if students do not perceive the programmes as effective, fair, and reasonable, the programme may not serve as a deterrent for student ASB.

*The Manukau Police 'Cops in Schools' Programme*

As mentioned above, programmes which see police officers placed in schools are becoming increasingly common, and while there is currently limited empirical support for the effectiveness of such programmes, some have been shown to produce positive outcomes. Furthermore, the concept of having police run programmes in schools has received some support in the literature and has a long history of usage, both in New Zealand and internationally. From this context, the Manukau police launched the 'cops in schools' project in reaction to several social phenomena occurring within their region.

Manukau City (also referred to as South Auckland) is a collection of suburbs located to the south of the Auckland metropolitan area. It is an ethnically diverse area, with a large proportion of the population identifying as Pacific Islander (28%) and Maori (15%) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). With a recent increase in youth violent crime in this region (Ministry of Justice, 2009), a growing concern of youth gang problems (Ministry of Social Development,

2006), and a public perception that youth crime was becoming uncontrollable, the Manukau police launched the 'Cops in Schools' initiative at the beginning of the 2008 school year. Aimed primarily at preventing and responding to youth ASB, the programme shares similarities with the overseas-based police school partnerships mentioned earlier. Like its international counterparts, the programme sees the stationing of a full time police officer on school campuses. The programme is currently based in twelve schools in the South Auckland suburbs of Manurewa, Otara, Papatoetoe, Otahuhu, and Mangere, with six officers devoting their time to two schools each.

As mentioned previously, the programme is aimed primarily at preventing, and responding to youth ASB. The overarching goals of the programme are: to work collaboratively with school staff to address ASB in schools; to act as a preventive measure to reduce the incidents of ASB; to improve students' perception of police, and to showcase the police as a possible employment option for students (Browning, 2007; Fulcher & Browning, 2009).

Given this range of goals, the role of the 'Cop in School' is varied. The role combines elements of youth aid work, and a community focus, with officers undertaking activities such as student mentoring, providing advice on legal issues, coaching sports teams, and following up on complaints relating to student behaviour in the community. The officers are primarily tasked with improving perception of police through the development of positive relationships with students, parents, staff, and other school professionals.

#### *Need for Current Research*

As has been indicated throughout the current chapter, youth ASB is a social issue which has considerable ramifications for individuals, families, and

communities. While a range of programmes have been developed in order to combat this social issue, no single intervention technique is seen as a panacea for this complex social phenomenon. Given the broadness of this issue, and the array of potential responses, each intervention technique requires empirical investigation and research in order to determine its success and viability. This is particularly true for programmes which see police officers stationed in schools: while these are becoming more prevalent around the world, very few investigations of their effectiveness have been completed. Investigations which have been completed have provided mixed results, with several possessing methodological flaws or clear ideological bias. When compiling the current research that has been completed in this area, there is insufficient information to provide a conclusion about the impact of such programmes on youth ASB. Despite this, this incomplete, inconclusive body of research is frequently cited by police departments as a basis upon which to undertake programmes in their jurisdictions (further accelerating the proliferation of an intervention technique which may not be effective). Given these issues, the current research project will add to the small body of research surrounding programmes which see police officers in schools, and provide greater clarity about the effectiveness of such programmes. It will also provide an insight into the success of these programmes in a New Zealand context, where youth crime is becoming an issue of public debate and concern.

The current research will investigate the effectiveness of the Manukau 'Cops in Schools' programme in relation to indicators of youth antisocial behaviour and perception of police. It will also provide an insight into teachers' views of the programme, and provide recommendations about the future direction

of 'Cops in Schools'. Having run for over a year, this programme is yet to be fully evaluated. The aims of the proposed research (outlined further below) are: to determine the effects of the 'Cops in Schools' programme on the number of suspensions, stand downs, exclusions, and rates of truancy in two South Auckland schools; to describe students' perception of the 'Cops in School' programme, and provide recommendations about the future direction of the programme. By achieving these aims, and providing a perspective external to the police, the limitations of the present literature will be acknowledged, and a considerable contribution will be made to what is a very small research base.

## CHAPTER 2

### Method

In the following section, the methodology used in the current study will be outlined. The research employed a concurrent mixed method design, utilising both qualitative and quantitative techniques to gain an overall understanding the study aims (Creswell, 2009). For this reason, the following discussion will be presented primarily in two parts: qualitative methods, and quantitative methods. Each part will be divided into four subsections: (i) a description of the specific methods used; (ii) a presentation of the procedure undertaken and instruments used; (iii) a description of participants and sampling procedures; and (iv) an outline of the data analysis techniques employed. Prior to this, detailed explanation of the specific research methods, ethics process and ethical approval for the study will be briefly discussed. This will be followed by an explanation of the theoretical underpinnings of the mixed methods research design, and an outline of the hypotheses of the study.

#### *Aims of the Study*

The overarching aim of the research was to determine the effects of the ‘Cops in Schools’ programme on youth antisocial behaviour in two South Auckland schools. Specifically, the research aimed:

1. to investigate the number of suspensions, stand downs, and exclusions/expulsions in each school in the two years prior to, and two years following, the introduction of the programme and to determine whether these figures differ from regional averages;

2. to describe student and teacher perception of the 'Cops in School programme' (what they see to be the purpose of the programme and roles of the officer);
3. to determine to what extent students and teachers see the programme as effective at reducing antisocial behaviour;
4. to describe the positive and negative aspects of the 'Cops in Schools' programme from the perspective of students and teachers;
5. to develop an understanding of what factors influence how students or teachers view the programme;
6. to determine how student perception of police is affected by the programme;
7. to determine what makes an effective 'cop in school'; and
8. to provide recommendations about the future direction of the programme based on both the literature and the findings of the study.

### *Ethics*

Prior to the research taking place, an application for ethical approval was placed with the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee. Ethical approval was granted on 8 September 2010 for a period of three years. Ethics approval was also sort and granted from the New Zealand Police Research and Evaluation Steering Committee for the duration of the project.

### *Explanation of Mixed Methods Research*

Mixed methods research combines qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis in order to add meaning to results (Hesse-Biber, 2010). In other words, numerical findings are expanded, generalised, and supported by information from interviews, focus groups, observation, or other qualitative methods (or vice versa). This has become an increasingly popular approach to research, particularly within social research, health care research, and policy design (Doyle, Brady, & Byrne, 2009; Hesse-Biber, 2010).

Historically, researchers and theorists have suggested that a combination of these approaches is not possible, as they reflect incompatible paradigms (Doyle et al., 2009). Some have argued that as quantitative research has its foundation in a positivist world view, and qualitative within a constructionist paradigm, the two approaches to research are mutually exclusive and thus incompatible (Doyle et al., 2009). To overcome this theoretical issue, theorists have proposed that mixed-methods research falls within a third paradigm; pragmatism (R. B. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In essence, pragmatism follows the notion that the consequences and findings of research are more important than the process through which they reached (Doyle et al., 2009; R. B. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Therefore, researchers working under this paradigm are free to utilise the data collection and analysis techniques which will best answer research questions.

There are a range of designs available under a mixed methods research approach (Doyle et al., 2009). In general, they vary in terms of: (i) whether the methods are undertaken concurrently or sequentially; (ii) the priority and weight given to each approach; and (iii) where the mixing of the methods will occur, during the analysis of the results or during interpretation (Doyle et al., 2009).

Recently, Cerswell and Clark (2007) developed a clarification system for mixed method research designs. Using their categorisations, the current research can be described as having an embedded design, as the qualitative data is being supplemented by quantitative findings. The phases, qualitative and quantitative, will be undertaken sequentially, and the mixing of the methods will occur during the interpretation phase.

Researchers and theorists have provided a range of rationale for mixed methods research. Through an analysis of 57 empirical mixed-method evaluations, Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989) identified five strengths relating to a mixed methods design. These included:

1. Triangulation: increasing the validity of findings through seeking corroboration between qualitative and quantitative data;
2. Complementarity: increasing the validity and meaningfulness of results by clarifying the findings of one method with those of the other, and counteracting the inherent weaknesses of one approach with the strengths of the other;
3. Development: the ability to use the results of one method to develop and implement the subsequent method;
4. Initiation: using various methods can result in the discovery of paradox and contradiction; and
5. Expansion: using multiple methods extends the breath and range of enquiry.

While positive aspects of mixed methods research have been identified, the approach has also been found to have drawbacks. As mentioned above, the majority of criticism of a mixed methods approach centres around the

incompatibility thesis (Doyle et al., 2009). Many theorists believe in a dichotomy of research approaches, with overlap between quantitative and qualitative techniques being theoretically impossible (Doyle et al., 2009). Concerns have also arisen around the pragmatist philosophy on which the approach is based, with authors suggesting that simply selecting methods that work in relation to research questions does not address the question of ‘what works when and for whom’ (Doyle et al., 2009). However, there have also been more practical criticisms. Mixed method research can be time consuming, particularly when both parts are undertaken concurrently and requires that the researcher has knowledge of both qualitative and quantitative techniques (Doyle et al., 2009).

The rationale for utilising a mixed methods design for the current research was to provide triangulation and foster a deeper understanding of the findings. Also, having statistics to support the findings of the focus group data was seen as important in relation to policy-making decisions.

Having provided an overview of mixed methods research and a brief rationale of its use in the current study, the remainder of the chapter will focus on the specific research design and hypotheses of the study. Firstly, the hypotheses which relate to the aims of the study will be presented. This will be followed by a detailed description of the research design utilised in the current study. As noted above, this will be presented in two parts, beginning with the qualitative methods, and concluding with the quantitative methods.

### *Hypotheses*

As the majority of aims of the research are based on investigating, identifying, and describing the perspectives of different groups, finite hypotheses cannot be generated in relation to these aims. Null and alternative hypotheses can,

however, be made in relation to the quantitative elements of the study.

Specifically, the following hypotheses can be made:

*Aim:* To investigate the number of suspensions, stand downs, and exclusions/expulsions in each school in the two years prior to and two years following the introduction of the programme, and to determine whether any change differs from regional averages.

*Ho:* The rates of suspension, stand down, and exclusion/expulsion will remain constant pre and post intervention with any changes being accounted for by changes in regional statistics.

*Ha:* The rates of suspension, stand down, and exclusion/expulsion will change pre and post intervention with these changes not being reflected in regional changes.

*Aim:* To determine how students' perception of police is affected by the programme.

*Ho:* The programme will have no effect on students' perception of police, with both study and control school students having similar views.

*Ha:* The programme will have an effect on students' perception of police, with study and control school students having differing views.

## *Research Design*

### *Qualitative methods.*

Generally speaking, qualitative research methods involve the collection, organisation, and interpretation of data collected from participants through talk or observation (Creswell, 2009; Flick, 2009; Kirsti, 2001). Such methods can be valuable tools for exploring, and understanding the subjective views and beliefs of a population of interest (Flick, 2009). They provide a means of discovering how individuals or groups make sense of certain phenomena (Creswell, 2009). From this methodological perspective, a range of specific techniques are available. In the current research, focus groups were used.

A focus group is a research technique which collects data through group discussion and interaction on a topic predetermined by the researcher (Kitzinger, 1995; D. L. Morgan, 1996). They provide a flexible, interactive means of obtaining data from a group of participants based on their subjective understanding of a certain phenomenon (Kitzinger, 1995; D. L. Morgan, 1996). They also provide an insight into group interaction and group processes. These processes can aid group members in exploring, explaining, and clarifying their views (D. L. Morgan, 1996). Focus groups generally consist of between six to ten members, and, as such, provide an efficient means of data collection (Kitzinger, 1995).

### *Procedure and instruments.*

A total of five students and two teacher focus groups were conducted across both study schools, with 3 student and 1 teacher group from school A, and 2 student and 1 teacher focus group in School B. These groups consisted of between 4 and 7 members. They were held on school grounds and took

approximately one hour. A semi-structured technique was used, with 9 questions being presented to the student groups and 6 to the teacher groups. This approach encouraged participants to describe and discuss their views in relation to the ‘Cops in School’ programme while also providing room to explore unanticipated topics. The specific questions used can be seen below in Table 2.1. These were

Table 2.1  
*Teacher and Student Focus Group Questions*

<b>Teacher focus group question</b>	<b>Student focus group questions</b>
1. From your perspective, what is the role of the police officer assigned to your school?	1. Can you tell me about what the police officer does at your school?
2. Can you tell me the good things about having a police officer at school?	2. How do you feel about having a police officer at your school?
3. Can you tell me the not so good things relating to having a police officer at your school?	3. What are some of the good things about having a police officer at your school?
4. What do you think has changed within the school since the introduction of the programme?	4. Do you see any negative things about having a police officer at school?
5. What do you think would be different if the programme had never been undertaken in your school?	5. Do you feel like the police officer is someone you can talk to?
6. How do you think the ‘Cops in Schools’ programme could be improved?	6. Do you think that having a police officer in your school has helped you in anyway? If so, how?
	7. Has it changed how you think about miss behaving?
	8. Has it changed how you think about police?
	9. Has it made you consider police as a future job choice?

based on concepts which have been shown to be related to students’ perception of police, and antisocial behaviour and its outcomes in the literature, as well as areas

that the Manukau police wished to have investigated. In general, questions the Manukau police wished to have asked fit with the overall aims of the research.

Focus groups were held on three separate occasions from late 2010 to mid-2011. Each Group was audio recorded and transcribed verbatim by a transcriber.

#### Participants and sampling procedure.

Student focus group participants were recruited from two Manukau City high schools. Given the practical constraints of conducting the research within schools and with the police, these two schools were not randomly selected. Rather they were selected based on the fact that they were both large, and had varied opinions of the programme when it first began. School A had a total student population of 1462, with the largest ethnic group being Pacific Islander (77%), followed by Maori (15%). School B was slightly smaller, with 1056 students. Again, the majority of these students were of Pacific Island descent (81%), with the second largest ethnic group being Maori (14%). Both schools comprised of year 9-13 students (age 13-18 years) and both are decile 1 (the lowest socio-economic rating for New Zealand schools).

Individual participants were recruited from this population by the deputy principal of each school. Three focus groups were held, one consisting of junior students (age 13-14), and two consisting of senior students (age 16-17). In order to ensure that the groups were representative and have sufficient knowledge of the programme to have formed beliefs, thoughts, and opinions relating to it, the following sampling criteria were provided to the deputy principals:

- Students will be either between the ages of 13 and 14, or 16 and 17 at the time of the focus group.
- Students who take part in the focus groups will be required to have had a reasonable amount of contact with the officer assigned to their school (having some form of contact on a weekly basis for the past month: this contact can range from one-on-one discussions to seeing the officer patrolling the school).
- Half the participants will be female.

A number of suitable students were selected and approached by the school's deputy principal, and asked if they would like to take part in the research. Parental consent was then obtained from students under the age of 16 who indicated they were willing to participate in the research. This sampling approach was used as it was the most practical, pragmatic means of recruiting participants. The possible implications of this will be discussed further in the 'discussion' chapter.

In total, 28 students took part in the focus groups. 16 of these came from School A, while the remaining 12 were from School B. The demographic characteristics of these students are presented in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 below.

Table 2.2  
*Demographics of Sample based on School*

	<b>School A</b>	<b>School B</b>
<i>Average age</i>	15.75	15.55
<i>Gender</i>	Male: 25%	Male: 42%
<i>Ethnicity</i>	Pacific Islander: 69%	Pacific Islander: 50%
	Maori: 6%	Maori: 42%
	Pacific Islander + Maori : 12.5%	Pacific Islander + Other : 8%
	Pacific Islander + Other: 12.5%	

Table 2.3  
*Demographics of Total Sample*

	<b>Total</b>
<i>Average age</i>	15.64
<i>Gender</i>	Male: 31%
<i>Ethnicity</i>	Pacific Islander: 61%
	Maori: 21%
	Pacific Islander + Maori : 7%
	Pacific Islander + Other: 11%

Teacher focus groups were self-selected, with teachers being offered the opportunity to participate during a staff meeting. Six staff members from School A and five from School B took part in the focus group. All from School A were teaching staff, while the focus group from School B included the school's assistant principal and security guard.

### *Qualitative Analysis Techniques*

As mentioned previously, the audio recording of each focus group was transcribed verbatim. These transcripts were analysed using the technique suggested by Braun and Clark (2006); thematic analysis. It is important to note that this process was completed twice; once using the student focus group data, and once using data from the teacher group. Thematic analysis provides a means of identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns within data. Braun and Clark (2006) suggest using the following six phases to achieve this.

#### *Phase 1: Data familiarisation.*

The first phase of the thematic analysis involved becoming familiar with the data. Practically, this involved the repeated reading of focus group transcripts, and an initial search for patterns within the data. To achieve this, each of the 5 student and 2 teacher focus groups were audio recorded. These were then transcribed verbatim by a transcriber. Once received, the transcripts were checked for accuracy, providing an initial read through of each. This was followed by a more focused, active reading of the transcripts. During this process, the main feature of each paragraph of dialogue was summarised, as well as any initial impressions on the patterns emerging within the paragraph. These were recorded in the margin of the transcripts.

*Phase 2: Initial codes.*

Each segment of text was systematically analysed and evaluated until broad ideas or themes became evident. Each broad theme was recorded (coded) and placed in an electronic document. At this point, the initial codes determined by the researcher were evaluated by the research supervisor, as well as another doctoral student who was using thematic analysis as part of their research. This ensured inter-rater reliability, and combated the inherently subjective nature of qualitative research.

*Phase 3: Searching for themes.*

This phase involved the synthesis of the codes gleaned from the transcripts in the previous phase into potential themes. This was done using a technique suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) of thematic mapping, whereby an electronic mind map was created showing possible overarching themes, sub-themes, and any relationships between these. This process indicated an initial 9 main themes from the student focus groups, and 6 from the teacher groups.

*Phase 4: Reviewing themes.*

Next, a refinement of the themes through a two level review was undertaken. The first involved reviewing the groups of coded data extracts to ensure that they were consistent in producing a meaningful, coherent pattern. This process was repeated several times until the researcher felt that the dual criteria for categorises suggested by Patton (1990) were met; namely that the coded data extracts within themes seemed to be both internally homogeneous, and externally heterogeneous. Following this, the whole data set was re-read to test the validity of the themes, as well as code any data which may have been missed. This

produced a more refined thematic map. Again, these themes were checked with the project supervisor to ensure reliability.

*Phase 5: Naming the themes.*

This stage involved determining the essence of each of the themes, and prescribing them with a label. Sub-themes within each major theme were also named.

*Phase 6: Reporting.*

Upon completion of the thematic analysis process, along with the other components of the research, a report which included the findings of the research was compiled and provided to the Manukau Police. A presentation of the findings was also given to the police on two occasions, and each of the schools.

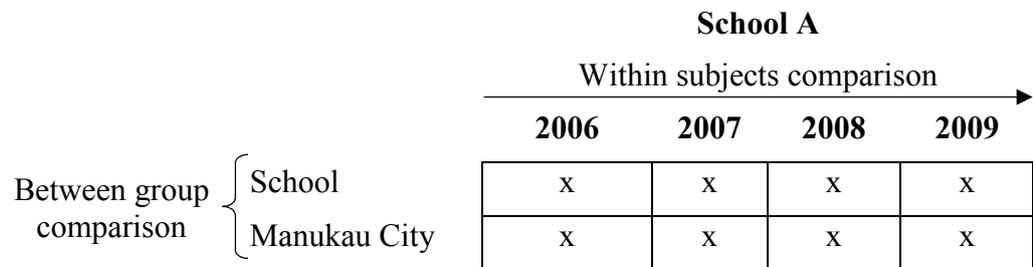
*Quantitative Approaches*

To help explain and provide generalizability to the findings of the focus groups, quantitative methods were also utilised. Two elements of the current study used quantitative approaches. The first was an investigation of indicators of antisocial behaviour (suspension, stand down, exclusion/expulsion statistics) over time in comparison to regional averages. The second was a comparison of students' perception of police between students at the study school and those who attended a control school who did not have an officer. Each of these will be discussed in detail below.

*Procedures and instruments.*

Indicators of student antisocial behaviour (number of suspensions, stand downs, and exclusions/expulsions) were investigated using a two by four mixed factorial design with the independent variables being time and school/South Auckland averages, and the dependent variable being the number of each indicator in school antisocial behaviour. This design allowed both a within subject comparison (indicating whether the number of suspensions, stand downs, exclusion/expulsions, and truancy statistics within the schools have changed overtime) as well as a between group comparison (indicating whether any change observed in the schools is beyond what would be expected given the trend occurring in wider South Auckland). Figure 2.1 provides a representation of this research design.

Figure 2.1  
*Representation of Research Design*



The rate of each of the indicators of student antisocial behaviour for South Auckland Schools was provided by the New Zealand Ministry of Education. Suspension, stand down, and exclusion/expulsion statistics for the study schools were attained through the schools’ principals for the years prior to the program (2006/2007) and the years following the introduction of the program (2008-

2009). These were transformed into a rate per 1000 students in order to control for fluctuations in the role size of the schools.

This design was the most appropriate: because the whole schools were receiving the intervention, students could not be assigned to a control and experimental group. Using another school who is not receiving the program as a control school would also have been problematic and produced a considerable number of extraneous variables. For these reasons, the schools were compared to both themselves post intervention, and the statistics of the rate of suspension, stand down, and exclusion/expulsion in all South Auckland schools. Doing this ensured that any change found within each school was more likely to be the result of the programme, rather than wider trends.

#### *Students' perception of police.*

Data relating to students' perception of police was collected using a measure developed by Taylor, Turner, Esbensen and Winfree (2001). Largely based on an earlier questionnaire (see Webb & Marshall (1995)), the scale consists of seven items which assess young people's attitudes towards the police. Each item is likert-based, with five response options ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Six demographic questions were presented at the beginning of the measure including age, sex, ethnicity, behaviour at school, level of achievement at school, and parental education level. Based on a large sample ( $n=5477$ ), this scale has been found to be both internally consistent (with an alpha value of 0.85) and to be a unidimensional measure of global attitudes towards police (Taylor et al., 2001). In the current study, the internal consistency of the measure was found to be 0.803. Averaging an individual's score across the seven items gives an indication of whether they hold the police in a positive or negative

regard (with a score of 1 representing a very negative perception). These surveys took 5 minutes to complete and were given to each student focus group participant prior to the group discussion. A control group were recruited from a nearby school which did not have a police officer to provide a comparison to the study group scores (this process will be further explained shortly).

#### *Participants.*

With suspension, stand down, expulsion, exclusion, and truancy statistics being based on the whole school, no sampling plan was needed. As the students who took part in the focus groups also completed the questionnaires, the sampling procedure and demographics of this group have already been presented.

As mentioned previously, a control sample was used to compare students' perception of police in the study schools to that of students who did not have an officer patrolling their school. This control sample was taken from a school with similar demographics to the study schools, and had a decile rating of 3 (both study schools had a rating of 1). This school was located approximately 5 kilometres from the study schools and had a student population of 1806. At the control school, a class of junior students (aged 13-14) and a class of senior students (aged 16-18) completed the survey. This produced a total control sample of 46.

#### *Quantitative analysis techniques.*

##### *Suspension, stand down, expulsion, and exclusion data.*

To account for variations in the population size of the school over this time, the rate of stand downs, suspensions, and expulsions/exclusions were used rather than totals. A 3x4 Chi square goodness of fit test was used across each of

the three variables (i.e. stand-down, suspension, exclusion/expulsion). This indicated that the values in the Chi-square matrices produced either differed significantly from expected values, or did not. Once this was determined, the specific values were investigated to look for any patterns or trends within the data.

*Perception of police questionnaire.*

In order to determine whether student perceptions' of police differed significantly between the study schools and the matched control group, an independent sample t-test was used. This determined whether there was a significant difference between the means of the survey scores at the control school in comparison to the study school. To ensure that any difference between the means of the two groups was more likely due to differences in perception of police rather than other variables, the first step in this process required ensuring that each group were demographically similar. Chi-square tests were carried out on each of the demographic questions in order to ensure that the groups did not differ significantly. In relation to the ethnicity question, many students selected more than one ethnic group. Furthermore, the number of choices (9) meant that a large number of variations were selected. In order to compare the two groups, the ethnicity variable was first transformed into a single variable with the following categories: Maori, Pacific Islander, Pacific Islander/Maori, Pacific Islander/Other, Pacific Islander/Pakeha, Maori/Other, Pakeha, Asian, Pacific Islander/Maori/Pakeha, and other. Given the low number of individuals in these groups, some groups needed to be pooled or removed. Firstly, the ethnic groups who only appeared in the control group were removed from the sample. This reduced the size of the control group to 21. Following this, several other

demographic variables were pooled and Chi-square tests were completed, indicating that the study and control samples did not differ significantly. Following this preliminary analysis, an independent sample t-test was completed.

## CHAPTER 3

### Results

The first part of this chapter outlines the results of the qualitative components of the research, specifically the findings of the student and teacher focus groups.

#### *Student Focus Group Results.*

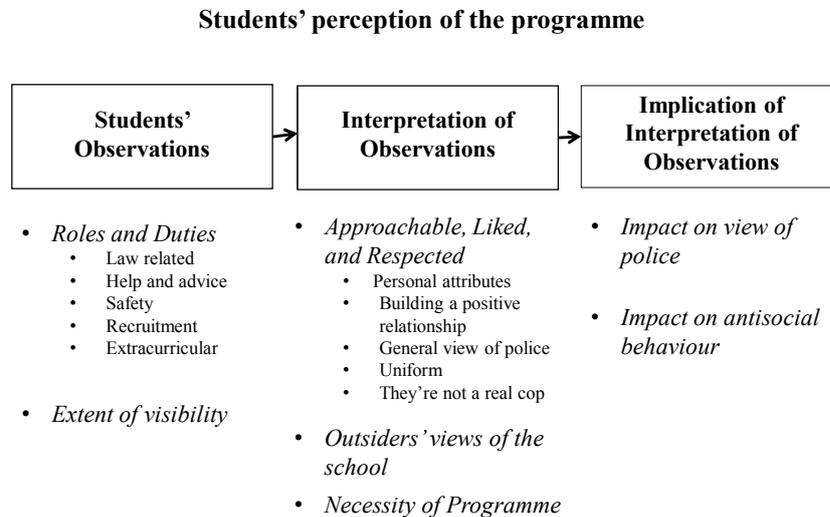
Through a process of thematic analysis (outlined in the previous chapter), participants' responses were categorised into three overarching categories: students' observations, interpretation of observations, and implications of interpretation of observations. Each category comprised of between two and three themes. Of these themes, two were divided further into subthemes. Figure 3.1, below, provides a graphical representation of this thematic structure

#### *Students' Observations.*

##### Theme 1: Officers role.

Students often commented on the roles, duties, and day-to-day functions of the school's officer. A range of perceived roles were discussed, and five subthemes were identified: law-related, safety, help and advice, recruitment, and extra-curricular duties. In general, when asked about the role of the officer, students would first respond with functions relating to law enforcement such as monitoring or punishing behaviour. As the discussion progressed, and with further questioning, other roles would begin to be identified and discussed. As such, the subthemes outlined below are presented in an order which reflects their prevalence within the focus group discussions.

Figure 3.1  
Thematic Map of Student Focus Group Data



*The officer has roles and duties which are the same as any other police officer:* The students explained how they would often see the officer undertaking roles associated with their position as a law enforcement agent. These included monitoring behaviour, reacting to issues, crime prevention, and acting as a deterrent. When asked directly what the officer in the schools did, all five student focus groups first identified these law related roles.

*"They just walk around and see if you are breaking the law."*

*"He takes care of the naughty kids."*

*"Just having a presence. Just being there. You don't really want to do something when a cop is there, eh?"*

*The officer's role is to support a safe school environment:* While relating to the previous subtheme, a number of responses referred directly to safety,

warranting the inclusion of this subtheme. Students indicated that they saw the role of the police officer as one of maintaining a safe school environment and ensuring their personal safety whilst at school.

*“He’s mostly here for our protection, yeah protection.”*

The students also described how the officer would intervene in situations when they or other students were at risk:

*“If people try to step you out, he will just tell them to take a walk.”*

*The officer is someone who can provide help and advice:* The officer was also seen as someone who could provide help and advice across a range of situations. The participants indicated that while this was largely related to their function as a police officer, they would also approach the officer for advice in other areas:

*“You need help in some area of your personal life or something you can connect with that person.”*

However, the majority of responses in relation to the help and advice provided by the officer were in relation to matters associated with the police, such as violence and theft, both in and out of school:

*“I’ve been through some things and cops help when you’re in trouble with family like me ... because being involved in hidings and everything. They help a lot sometimes.”*

*The officer encourages students to join the police:* Students also indicated how part of the officer's role was to be involved in recruitment. They reported how the police would organise events for students who were interested in policing to attend, and discussed how the officer would provide information to those who wanted to pursue a career with the police:

*“If there are students that like want to become a cop, like it's good to have a police officer at school so you can ask like how they got there and stuff.”*

*“They host like, it's kind of like an Expo, at the Hub in Manukau.”*

While the programme did not seem to change students' views in relation to joining the police, those who wished to do so prior to the programme found the officer to be a valuable resource:

*“It was one of my options to become a police officer and he's helped by like mentoring us, the students, the group, and now it's like one of my second options. It's alright.”*

*The officer is involved in extracurricular activities:* A final component of the officer's role which was discussed was their involvement in extracurricular activities. At one of the schools, School A, the officer coached the girl's rugby team.

Theme 2: Extent of visibility.

A further theme identified in the data was labelled 'extent of visibility'. This related to responses that referred to the visibility of the officer, and how this impacted on students' knowledge of the programme and/or officer. The majority of responses indicated that students would rarely see the officer:

*“I don’t really see him to be honest.”*

*“I’ve only seen him like three times ever.”*

This lack of visibility seemed to generate confusion around the identity of the officer:

*“I think we have three ... we only have one ... yeah, long black hair.”*

*“What’s his name ... is he our constable?”*

Confusion about the roles of the officer and specific aspects of the programme was also noted. Students reported being unsure about what the officer did, and stated incorrect information about the programme, such as the number of officers assigned to their school:

*“We don’t see him that much. We don’t know what he does.”*

*“Does he carry a gun?”*

*“Have we only got one cop?”*

*Students’ interpretation of their observations.*

Theme 3: Approachable, liked, and respected.

This theme comprised of responses which related to the extent to which students found the officer to be approachable and likeable, and the factors which influenced this view. Within this theme, five subthemes were identified. These will be explained further shortly. A variety of perspectives relating to this theme were voiced, ranging from those who indicated that they would never approach the cop, did not like him, and showed little respect towards him:

*“I don’t even look at them, don’t even come in contact with them ...*

*They are all pigs in my eyes.”*

to those who would approach the officer about certain situations or under specific circumstances:

*“Like if it’s like child abuse, or if I get a hiding, I would talk to him if that was happening. Yeah I’d talk to him if that was happening, but anything else, no.”*

and, finally, to those who found the officer to be approachable, likeable, and would talk to him openly:

*“I talk to him, he’s my friend. I reckon our cops are cool.”*

Five specific factors or subthemes that impacted on the extent to which students described the officer as approachable and/or likeable were identified within the data. These included the officer’s personal attributes, their uniform, seeing the school’s officer as not a real police officer, the extent to which the officer built positive relationships with the students, and the students’ general view of the police.

*The personal qualities of the officer determine whether students see him as approachable and likeable:* A range of perceived personal attributes which impacted on students’ view of the officer were discussed in the focus groups. Both negative and positive personal qualities were highlighted, ranging from being talkative, friendly, and getting to know the students, to being judgmental, unfair, scary, shy, and quiet. The quotations below reflect some of the personal attributes discussed.

*“He doesn’t ever speak. He is quite a quiet person.”*

*“He looks angry.”*

*“He does nothing. Like, he just stands around looking good.”*

*An officer who balances being ‘a cop’ with building positive relationships with students is more likeable:* A further factor relating to students’ perception of the officer as likeable and approachable was the extent to which the officer was proactive in building a positive relationship with students.

*“Our police officer is really cool. He goes around and talks to students. He’s not snobby and just stays in his office, so that’s good.”*

*“I see him sometimes at (rugby) training and he talks about sports and stuff.”*

On the other hand, at School B, one group reported that the officer made no effort to get to know them:

*“He hangs around all the good people. He doesn’t get to know all the naughty people.”*

The existence of this factor within the data was supported by the way in which students viewed the school’s police officer as opposed to the security guard, who they felt spent more time getting to know them.

*“She (the security guard) knows us. She knows everyone at school so she knows what we’re like and what we do.”*

It was noted that officers who balanced their law-related duties with building positive relationships with students were seen as more approachable and likeable. For example, both student groups from School B focused primarily on the officer’s law-related duties:

*“Students that fight and they do drugs things like that and like if they see students around wagging they like collect them and take you home, or take you to the station and meet your parents.”*

*“Yeah they just walk around and see if you’re breaking the law, like tagging or I don’t know.”*

The majority of students in these two groups also described the officer as unlikeable and not approachable:

*“I don’t even look at them.”*

On the other hand, the groups which saw the officer in relation to more positive roles such as safety and support held more positive views of the officer, reporting him to be approachable and likeable. While also highlighting the law-related functions of the officer, two of the three School A groups focused primarily on these more positive roles:

*“If like students have any problem, like even if it’s like family problems or something like we can talk to them about it.”*

*“He has our backs when we are in trouble.”*

In terms of approachability and likeableness, these two groups gave the most positive accounts of the officer:

*“I reckon our cops are cool.”*

*“I talk to him, he’s my friend.”*

*The officer’s uniform can affect how approachable and likeable they are:*

While the officer’s uniform acted as a barrier for the majority of participants,

some found that it acted as a symbol of trust, thus increasing the officer's approachability:

*"Trusting because they have a uniform on. You tend to trust someone that's got a uniform."*

However, others found the uniform excessive or intimidating:

*"He's always wearing that vest thing. What does he wear it for, we don't have guns."*

*The cop in school is not a real cop:* A further factor which altered the students' propensity to see the officer as likeable and approachable was not affording the school officer the same respect they would an officer outside school:

*"He's probably one of them just became a cop."*

*"If I was a cop I wouldn't work in school though. I've got better things to do than keeping my eye on naughty kids."*

Theme 4: Necessity.

A further theme identified in the student focus group transcripts related to whether the students saw the officer at their school as being needed. As with other themes, opinions ranged from those who saw it as necessary, and in some cases thought that more officers were needed, to those who saw the programme as excessive and unnecessary. Those who stated that the programme was needed believed the level of antisocial behaviour occurring at the school warranted the officer's presence:

*“It’s good having cops at school, because some of our students sell, smoke weed and stuff.”*

*“I reckon they need police officers at the school, not that our school is bad or anything, it’s just for the students that teachers can’t control.”*

Students who indicated that the programme was necessary went on to state that a greater police presence at school would also be warranted:

*“Can we have like extra cops in our school? Yeah the more cops the more students will stop to act, and show their true colours.”*

While a number of students saw the programme as necessary, a similar proportion found the presence of the police officer to be excessive. Of these students, some said the programme was unnecessary due to the fact that there were no crime or behavioural issues in the school:

*“Nothing bad is ever going on anyway.”*

While conceding that there were issues with antisocial behaviour at school, others saw the programme as an overreaction when coupled with the other measures taken by the school:

*“I don’t reckon we should have a cop in the school ... There’s just too much.”*

*“We have security guards too ... Take the cameras away and leave the security guards and take the pigs away.”*

Within this theme, it was noted that those who saw the officer as excessive and unnecessary came predominantly from School B, the same students who had a negative perception of their officer (as presented under the approachability and

likeableness theme). While these students said the cop was unnecessary and should be taken away, when questioned further they stated:

*“Oh they should replace them. It’s good to have liked some cops that are involved.”*

This indicates that the students’ perception of the officer had an impact on whether or not they thought the programme was necessary.

Theme 5: Outsider’s views of the school.

The students from three of the focus groups also identified that having a police officer stationed at their school reflected badly on both themselves and the school as a whole. They reported feelings of embarrassment and unfair judgment in relation to how they believed others would interpret the fact that an officer patrolled their school:

*“It embarrasses our school. We bought (another school) over, when they came they were like, ‘Oh my gosh, what’s happening in your school?’”*

*“When we tell others, they think of us as hories. Like we, it’s like they’re better than us.”*

How having an officer at the school led to a perception that the school had been unfairly labelled as a ‘bad school’ was also discussed:

*“People from other schools think this is a bad school, but it’s not, it’s good, it just has cops.”*

*“Yeah when you hear the name (name of the school) they think ‘That’s a bad school’.”*

*Implications of students' interpretations.*

Theme 6: Impact on antisocial behaviour.

This theme comprised of responses that related to the students' perceptions of the programme's effectiveness at reducing both antisocial behaviour at school, and their personal propensity towards antisocial behaviour. Responses ranged from those who thought the programme was effective at reducing such behaviour, to those who saw some impact, and, finally, those who saw no impact. The students also provided some indications of how or why they held their beliefs. About half students reported a reduction in antisocial behaviour:

*"Yeah, I reckon it's different because like at school, like I reckon before like students when these the situation where they're going to fight each other they like fight. But now it's like they just make a big scene but there is no fight."*

Some students saw the officer as having some effect, but still witnessed antisocial behaviour occurring at school:

*"He's fixed a little bit. He can't be everywhere."*

A small number of the students who took part in the focus groups saw the officer as having no effect on the behaviour of students at school:

*"We're safe without cops."*

*"It's like they might as well take him away. It makes no difference."*

In terms of a personal propensity towards antisocial behaviour, some students reported that the officer's presence had little impact, and that they would just wait until the officer was not around before misbehaving:

*"Just wait till he walks round the corner to do your mischief."*

*"I think better than getting caught. Planning ways for not getting caught."*

Others indicated that because they thought the officer at their school was incompetent, they would continue to misbehave:

*"When we are smoking, like I smoke, yeah I smoke, and I just smoke over there and I see him and he just looks at me and that's it, so he doesn't do anything."*

A small group of students indicated that they saw having an officer at the school as a kind of 'game', which added to the excitement of misbehaving:

*"It makes it more fun if you see a policeman."*

*"Yeah and you get away from the police and it's more fun."*

It was also evident that students who liked the officer were more likely to see them as effective at reducing antisocial behaviour. Two of the three School A focus groups reported a positive perception of the officer. These groups were the most positive about the impact of the officer on antisocial behaviour:

*"Gangs don't come to the school, like before they'd just show up outside school and then fight."*

*"Before ... students when there's the situation where they're going to fight each other they like fight, but now it's like they just make a big*

*scene but there's no fight. Because they know they will just go straight into his office."*

Similarly, the groups which saw the officer as lazy, incompetent, and not as important as a normal police officer, saw the officer as ineffectual at reducing antisocial behaviour. In particular, the two groups from School B and one of the School A groups reported little to no effect on student antisocial behaviour:

*"No it makes no difference."*

*"Might as well take him away, it makes no difference."*

Theme 7: Effect of programme on students' view of the police.

One group of students reported that their experiences and perceptions of their school's officer had an impact on their view of the police. Some participants identified that a positive view of their school's officer had generalised to their wider views of the police force.

*"I used to think that cops were like, I just used to think that they were useless but now it's like I've got a different perspective on them, it's positive."*

However, not all generalised views were positive. Some students who had negative experiences and views of the school's officer also discussed how these views had impacted on their perception of the police:

*"He gave me the impression that some cops were useless."*

*"I used to respect them, but I don't anymore."*

Others found that contact with their school's officer, whether it was positive or negative, did not generalise to their perception of the police in general:

*Interviewer: "So do you think having a cop here has changed how you think about cops?"*

*Response: "No not really, they're all the same to me."*

In general, however, students did not see the police force as homogenous, stating that individual officers could be quite different:

*"Some cops are like different. Some of them are cool as and some of them are like got an attitude with us."*

*"Some police are you know you just don't like them."*

#### *Teacher Focus Group Results*

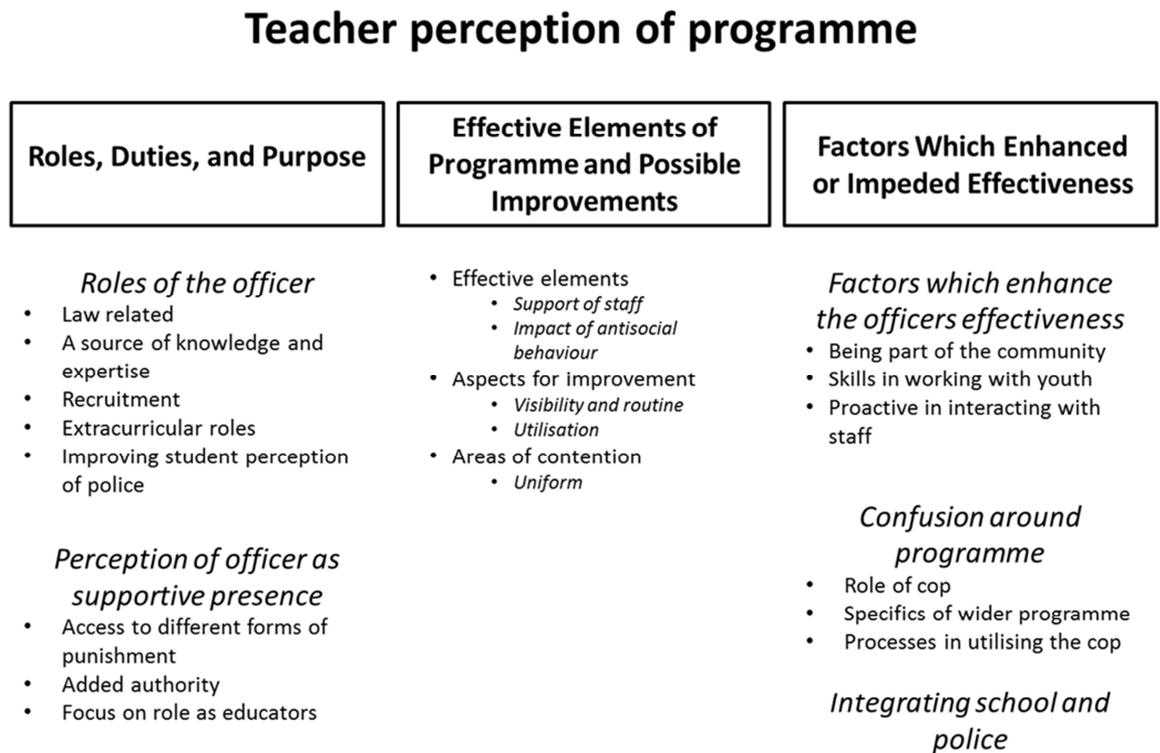
Below, the data gleaned from the teacher focus groups transcripts will be presented. The analysis uncovered three categories of themes, and six themes. Five of these also had identifiable subthemes. Figure 3.2 below provides a graphical representation of these themes.

#### *Roles, duties, and purpose.*

Theme 1: Roles of the officer.

Both teacher focus groups highlighted the varied roles of the officer. These roles were categorised into five different subthemes including: law-related roles, a source of knowledge and expertise, recruitment, extracurricular roles, and improving perception of police. This wide range of roles was reflected in how the staff from School A collectively described the officer:

Figure 3.2  
 Thematic Map of Teacher Focus Group Data



\* effective elements of programme and possible improvements is both a thematic category and a theme.

*“In a way he’s a social worker really. Yeah, a social worker with a radio and a blue uniform. He’s just a bit gruffer than your normal cuddly social worker.”*

*The officer has some of the same roles and duties as any other officer:*

One of the key roles identified in both groups was the more traditional law enforcement related duties which the officer undertook. Both groups highlighted the officer’s role as a law enforcer, and their ability to impose sanctions:

*“I think also, what has certainly been of benefit to us too is that enforcement element.”*

*“And having that PD (police detention) as well ... the ones that are being punished and they have to attend this PD where they have to do a massive fitness run where by the end of it they just crash.”*

Both groups also described how part of the officer’s role was to act as a deterrent for antisocial behaviour:

*“Nothing happened, but just having him there so they might have turned and saw the cop and, ‘oh lets go’. He does help in that situation.”*

Each group also outlined how the officer was involved in various proactive measures to combat antisocial behaviour; in particular, truancy. One teacher at School B outlined this aspect of the officer’s role:

*“Part of his remit was to visit houses of some of our students ... so a knock on the door and ask them why they’re not at school. I believe that the idea behind that was to hopefully try to prevent some of the crimes that were going on during the day by young people who weren’t at school ... so he was given that remit in order to do that.”*

*Part of the officer’s job is to provide specific knowledge and expertise to the school:* Related to their role as a law enforcement agent, the staff of both schools described how the officer was a valuable source of law-related knowledge and expertise. The staff of School A indicated that the officer would take part in multi-disciplinary teams focusing on various issues around the school:

*“But, yeah, totally positive outcome by having (the cop) at school and being part of the multidisciplinary team here at school he attends that*

*as well and we get to get his side of the story, his feedback on how things are running.”*

The staff also outlined how the officer would provide support and access to specific programmes for students who had been stood down from school for illegal activities:

*“Well they get stood down and then (the cop) will speak to them about the consequences of it if they were whatever age, we’ll invite parents in, we’ll put them into rehab.”*

*The officer is also tasked at encouraging students to join the police:*

Encouraging police recruitment was identified as a further aspect of the officer’s role. Both groups discussed this, with a teacher from School A stating:

*“Having him here, a lot of them want to have a career in the police and it’s very popular. You have some students who just say it because they don’t want to do it and then you’ve got those who actually genuinely want to do it and he can say go and see this guy and organise a meeting.”*

*Part of the officer’s role is to be involved in extracurricular activities:*

Roles that moved beyond traditional policing duties were also identified as aspects of a school police officer’s position. Students from School A discussed the officer’s role as a rugby coach:

*“I also know that he does, the positive side of having a cop in school, is that he’s active in rugby, with the girls’ rugby across the road ... so that’s hours that he doesn’t have to but he wants to help out so he*

*does that as well. And he's quite supportive of our rugby games as well when he gets time off."*

*The officer is tasked at improving students' perception of the police:* A final role identified by the staff at School B was for the police officer to work at improving student perception of the wider police force. The assistant principal stated:

*"Certainly, I mean there are obvious things like improving the profile of the police in the eyes and the minds of teenage children, many of whom are obviously in quite a disaffected mode at times and already have got into trouble with police. I think there's a very valid purpose because it's obviously quite important that households have experienced interactions with the police on a largely negative basis, also get the opportunity to work with the more human side, the less law enforcement elements of the police's work as well."*

Theme 2: Perception of the officer as a supportive presence.

When describing how they saw the officer's role, both groups indicated that the officer was a supportive presence:

*"I see him as a presence, a supportive presence."*

*"He is a resource that I can pull on if appropriate and I do and it makes life a lot easier and there would be a hole there if there wasn't."*

Three ways in which the officer reflected this perception were discussed in both staff focus groups. These included: having access to different forms of punishment; the officer bringing added authority to situations; and the presence of the officer allowing teachers to focus on their role as teachers.

*The officer gives staff access to different forms of punishment:* Staff from School A highlighted how, by supporting school-based sanctions with those available to the officer, more effective consequences would be created:

*“Once we’ve done our consequences at school and we get (the cop) onto the students and let them know if they need to be doing PD (police detention) or paying parents back with whatever they’ve stolen to the equivalent amount, things like that. It puts the seriousness into what they’ve actually done.”*

*The officer adds authority to certain situations:* Both groups identified how the authoritative nature of the police could be helpful in certain situations. It was discussed how having the officer involved could give greater weight to discussions with students and parents:

*“Sometimes if we got out, a gross non-attender then you know, having the police knocking on your door carried a lot more weight than just having say myself or (another staff member) going and knocking on the door.”*

*“Though I can recall one or two interviews that I had with (the cop) where we agreed, he and I agreed ... that we would be there doing the interview with the students together to help give it an extra authoritative air.”*

*Having an officer means teachers can focus on being teachers:* A final area of support identified in both focus group transcripts was the officer’s presence meaning staff could focus more on their roles as teachers. Prior to the programme staff reported filling the roles of educators, and, when required, the roles relating to correcting student behaviour: afterwards staff from both groups stated how they could now focus more on the primary roles of their occupation:

*“It’s been a huge eye opener for me especially being a dean, just a dean and not a cop. It’s been brilliant.”*

*Effective elements of the programme and improvements.*

Theme 3: Effective elements of the programme and improvements.

This theme was the largest identified during analysis of the data. It encompassed responses alluding to aspects of the programme that the staff perceived as positive and effective, those that they saw could be improved, and aspects which the group members could not agree on the value of. Accordingly, this theme was comprised of three subthemes: effective elements, aspects for improvement, and areas of contention. Generally speaking, the staff of each group saw the programme as bringing some form of positive change to the school:

*“Well it’s all good, eh. It’s something positive and really good for the school.”*

*“I do think there is definite value (of having a cop at school) for me in my work.”*

However, it was also identified that it was difficult to draw causal links between the programme and these improvements:

*“The whole tone of the school has improved and it’s hard to gauge how much cops in schools has contributed to that.”*

*A decrease in student antisocial behaviour, and the support provided to staff are effective aspects of the programme:* Firstly, the staff members identified that having the officer present provided support for them to operate as educationalists. It was stated that having an officer who had the authority to intervene in situations meant that staff could worry less about getting involved:

*“As staff at school we realistically have to stand back a little bit if they really want to go at one another, because we haven’t got the authority or the power to separate these issues. These fights are happening and if we get dragged into it we could then be assaulted ... If we know that we’ve got the police present at those key points, times of the day, it makes sense to have a little bit of relief towards the staff out there to know that there is some backup.”*

A further perceived area of positive gains relating to the programme was the impact the officer had on antisocial behaviour in the school. Both groups provided numerous insights into and anecdotes about the effect the officer was having on a range of issues including truancy, violence, and drug use. The staff members indicated that this impact was due to the varied consequences the officer had access to, as well as the officer’s presence acting as a deterrent:

*“Having (the cop) at school for the past four years has made a huge difference in how the students treat the consequences that they get especially to do with stealing or dope smoking, drugs in school.”*  
*“I think them being there is actually a deterrent.”*

Truancy was an issue which received a particular attention in both focus groups. Each provided specific instances of how the officer was proactively attempting to improve student attendance. One teacher from School A provided the following anecdote:

*“One time the cop brought in a kid, (a staff member) goes no you’ve got to take him home, he’s got to come back with his parents the next day so (the officer) took him home, that kid kept coming to school every day after that because they didn’t want the cop going home. So it sorted out his wagging issues.”*

As mentioned previously, both groups identified that while they perceived that the programme had brought positive gains to the school, they were difficult to quantify:

*“But just having him around you don’t know what kind of deterrent effect that is, or even if deterrent is the right language. But so it’s kind of hard to quantify.”*

*A lack of visibility and an underutilisation of the officer are aspects of the programme that need to be improved.* These included: increased visibility and routine; better utilisation; and taking care not to reinforce students’ negative views of the police. For each of these areas, the staff members also provided potential solutions. A common concern raised in both groups was the lack of visibility and routine of the officer.

*“I think the only time I saw him was on duty standing there talking with a girl. That’s the only time.”*

*“I may see them for 15-20 minutes at the end of the day on the park. I may have an interaction that typically is likely to be pretty short.”*

Staff members also stated that the days the officer was rostered to be working at the school would often change, and that they would get called away during large investigations or court cases. This created a sense of not knowing when the officer was going to be available:

*“I don’t think it’s anyone’s fault, but one negative thing is the lack of routine.”*

*“Also they were called off. There were a number of times when they were called off. If there was a high profile inquiry into something they would be called off.”*

Both groups discussed the means by which they would like to see the visibility of the officer improved. These included providing the officer with office space at the school, increasing their hours, and having one officer per school:

*“Why did they do away with his desk? When (the previous cop) started in that office ... I thought that was quite sensible. Like it was a physical space where you might find him sometimes.”*

*“I would really like it if (the cop) had increased hours at our school instead, I’m being greedy. Just when it comes time and we’re having meetings and we really like it when he’s here for his feedback on certain students then he’ll have to go because he has to do his hours.”*

*“Because we have to share, and it’s not that I don’t want to share him, but I think it would be best utilised if there was one cop for one school.”*

However, the staff from each school did understand the constraints of the police in providing a full time, visible police presence in school:

*“I think the Cops in School is, personally I think it’s a good idea but as usual with the government it’s not resourced enough. I think one or two days isn’t enough.”*

*“I think that (the officer having limited, varied hours) is more a reality of the situation rather than a major negative because I’m not sure if there’s a solution to that.”*

The second broad area of improvement related to the utilisation of the officer.

Both staff groups identified a need to better utilise the skills and expertise of the officer:

*“I don’t think we’ve utilised him enough amongst the staff as a resource person from the community ... I suspect that we could have used him a lot more.”*

Ways of combating this issue were discussed with both groups. This included developing a greater knowledge of the role of the officer, so that staff knew in what situations he could be utilised, and improving communication between the officer and staff, so staff could contact the officer when required:

*“It would be quite good to know what he does and when he does it and how he does it ... Yeah, and the procedures we’ve got to go through.”*

*It is unclear whether the officer’s uniform is good or bad:* While some believed that the uniform may act as a barrier between the officer and students, others saw it as essential in establishing the officer’s identity as a member of the police:

*“People mention about the uniform and how, the police uniform in itself they wear the stab vests, they’ve got the cuffs, the truncheons. Would it be any value in having something a little less official for him to wear, maybe just a jumper and trousers just to mingle and walk around in that sort of context rather than a full on ....”*

*“I think uniform is ideal in the sense that it helps kids bridge the gap and realise that a uniform is a uniform.”*

*“Because that’s the part with most of the kids. Most of the kids look at the uniform first. They don’t look at the person, they don’t get to know the person, because they look at the uniform and think, oh, it’s another cop.”*

*Factors which enhanced or impeded effectiveness.*

Theme 4: Personal factors which enhance the officer’s effectiveness.

Both groups discussed the personal characteristics and skills they saw as being advantageous in the officer’s work. Each study school had experienced two different officers since the programme began, employed security guards, and had social workers involved in the school. This gave them a unique perspective about what skills and approaches the individuals who held these roles utilised, and whether these made them more or less effective. The factors discussed fell around three subthemes: being a member of the community; skills in working with young people; and proactively interacting with staff.

*An officer who is an active member of the school and local community is more effective:* This subtheme comprised of responses which reflected that it was advantageous for the officer to be a member of both the school and the local community. Both groups spoke extensively about how knowing the students, having knowledge of the community, and proactively building positive relationships with students, parents, and the wider community were important aspects of a successful school-based cop:

*“It’s the knowledge isn’t it? So much down to people knowledge.”*

*“Local knowledge is quite significant isn’t it? ... I can think of times when it was quite helpful that (the cop) knew who some of the outsiders were.”*

Beyond knowledge of students and the community, it was also identified that the officer needed to build and foster positive relationships with students.

*“(The previous cop) had a great relationship with our youth and, I think, to be a cop in school, that needs to be the utmost keys.”*

How building these positive relationships could challenge young people’s view of the police was also discussed. Staff from School B indicated that many of their students saw the police as the enemy. They stated that having an officer who could build positive relationships with students could begin to challenge these beliefs, and potentially change students’ perceptions of the police.

*“I think that young people, they might actually feel like there’s a bit of a war going on ... they’ve got this idea that cops are the enemy. And what I’d like to see as far as a youth worker point of view is, the police force sending in a cop to break down those barriers, to let youth know that they’re not actually against you, they’re just against actions.”*

*“I think that having a cop the kids can relate to. A number of our kids are probably either fearful or they don’t like figures of authority. Having someone here who can relate to the kids and just appears to be a normal sort of person, just another member of the school community, I think that’s a good thing.”*

It was identified that having these connections with students and the community made the officer more effective, as they garnered more respect from students, and knew how to react to certain situations. Two anecdotes from the School B group highlighted this:

*“I remember (the cop) telling me he went to a disturbance one evening and he got there and there was one of our young people, a big fight, about eight people all scrapping it out and (the cop) went up to get hold of one of them and the lad turned around screaming and pounding, and this lad turned around and went hi there (cops name) you alright. Yeah. And off he went. And because he had built up that relationship with him at school.”*

*“I’ve seen situations where cops have arrived, outside cops, and they’ve just come in without any knowledge or without any like care, and really, really, really turned up the heat on what was actually happening, when a more caring approach could have worked better.”*

Staff indicated that this process of developing relationships required time and effort. They suggested that the current model of the programme, where the officer is on campus two days a week, made this process more difficult.

*“Even three days a week would be better than two days a week or an hour here and an hour there, because that way they play the role where they get to know the kids inside and out. They build a relationship with them and the staff and things like that.”*

*“As with any community situation, if you are only dipping in for part of the time, two days out of five, there’s an awful lot going on in the meantime that you miss the tail end of or the front end of or whatever. It doesn’t help.”*

One way of fostering the officer’s position as a member of the school community was through involvement in extracurricular activities.

*“I also know that he does the positive side of having a cop in school is that he’s active in rugby, with the girls’ rugby across the road, so that’s hours that he doesn’t have to but he wants to help out so he does that as well. And he’s quite supportive of our rugby games as*

*well when he gets time off, if he has spare time he'll come and support our kids with sports and that so not only do the kids see him as the cop at school, all scared kind of thing, but they also see him as being a positive role model in the school as well."*

*Officers who have skills in working with young people are more effective:*

While the importance of building relationships was discussed, it was also recognised that in order to develop and foster these, the officer needed to have skills in working with young people. Having the ability to engage with and relate to students was seen as an advantage when working as a police officer in a school environment:

*"But I would say it's one of the key issues that when you're working within a school that the students, they do relate to you and they will come to you. It's going to be an advantageous bonus."*

*An officer is more effective when they liaise and interact with staff:* A

final aspect which the staff perceived as enhancing the officers effectiveness was an officer's ability to interact with staff. While not referenced to the same extent as the previous subthemes, the School A group discussed how a previous cop had been more proactive in interacting with staff.

*"(The previous cop) was more interactive with the teachers I would say, much as I do like (the current cop), but (the previous cop) was a bit more interactive."*

*"(The current cop) has been a lot more, I mean (the old cop) was approachable but (the new cop) has been more proactive in interacting with the deans."*

Theme 5: Confusion about the programme.

A dominant theme that was evident on several occasions throughout both focus groups was a sense of confusion about many aspects of the programme. Staff members were confused about the role of the officer, the specifics of the wider programme, and the processes involved in utilising the officer. During the focus groups, teachers would regularly ask senior members of staff and the researcher questions about aspects of the programme. For example:

*“What do they deal with (name of dean), you’re the dean. How often do you use them?”*

*Most staff members are not sure what the officer’s role involves:* The most common area of confusion across both groups was in relation to the specific roles and duties of the officer. The level of confusion ranged from those who had little to no knowledge of the officer’s role:

*“We actually don’t know what he does.”*

to more senior staff members who had greater knowledge of the officer’s roll, but were still somewhat confused about certain aspects of it:

*“Does he have set hours? Yeah, I can’t remember what they are.”*

On many occasions, members of both groups stated that they did not possess a great deal of knowledge about the specific roles of the officer. The excerpts below generally reflect this confusion:

*“I’m not really sure what (the cop’s) full sort of, what his purpose is, how much involvement or interaction he’s meant to have, or what his mission statement or his job description exactly is.”*

*“Perhaps part of the problem here is the role for the present incumbent, and the previous incumbent ... from my perspective it might have been a little ambiguous at times. There were times when I wasn’t quite sure what he was doing.”*

Staff were confused about specific elements of the programme. Beyond the roles of the officer, this subtheme reflected staff members’ uncertainty about elements of the programme. Many questions were directed towards staff members who had more involvement with the officer regarding how the programme operated in relation to specific issues such as truancy, theft, and other instances of law breaking:

*“Just a question (other staff member), you know when the kids are breaking the law, how come they bring them back to school? ... Shouldn’t they take them home to their parents? Why bring them back to school?”*

There was also confusion about the programme in a wider, general sense. For example, staff members at School A were unsure about the reach of the programme:

*“Do all school have cops in schools now?”*

*Many staff members were unaware of when and how they should contact the officer:* Again, questions were directed towards the members of staff who had a greater amount of contact with the officer, usually senior staff members:

*“Well if I had a problem, what problems can we go to him for?”*

*“So if I wanted him and he’s not here, can you ring his mobile?”*

When discussing this confusion about the circumstances in which the officer could be utilised, staff from both schools indicated that the officer had been underutilised. This will be explored further when presenting the ‘effective elements of the programme and improvements’ theme.

Theme 6: Integrating school and police.

Although only discussed on three occasions in the School B focus group, some staff members indicated the difficulty of integrating an educational institution with the police. This was identified on both a practical and ethical level, as the following excerpts reflect:

*“Schools, because we do work differently, and we deal with different sort of issues. Sometimes the school deals with them in-house and puts the sanctions through in a school-based format. Whether it be with stand downs or exclusions. Whereas the police, if they were dealing with the same thing, might mean a court appearances and charges being drawn.”*

*“There’s a very interesting line and distinction here between educationalists doing their job within the education institution and an outsider who is not an educationalist coming in to assist in the doing of that job. And I have, I would need to sit and reflect on the value of any police officer being in school full time and what that would mean to the institution as an educational institution.”*

### *Quantitative Results*

#### *Suspensions, stand downs, and exclusions/expulsions results.*

This aspect of the study aimed to determine whether the number of suspensions, stand downs, and exclusions/expulsions were affected by the programme. The following hypotheses were offered in relation to his aim:

Ho: The rates of suspension, stand down, and exclusion/expulsion will remain constant pre and post intervention, with any changes being accounted for by changes in regional statistics.

Ha: The rates of suspension, stand down, and exclusion/expulsion will change pre and post intervention but these changes will not be reflected in regional changes.

Based on the empirical evidence, the null hypothesis was accepted, as no significant difference was found between the study and control group across all variables. All three chi-square matrices indicated no significant differences ( $p=0.1$ ,  $p=0.197$ ,  $p=0.369$ ). Figures 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 below provide a graphical representation of the data, and give an indication of the trends within the data. To investigate the data further, chi-square statistics were calculated for each of the three variables. This created three 3x4 matrices. As mentioned above, none of these provided statically significant results. This data is shown in Tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 below.

#### *Perception of police survey results.*

As stated in the methods section, this aspect of the study aimed to determine how students' perception of police was affected by the programme using the measure

described in the previous chapter. The following hypotheses were offered in relation to his aim:

Ho: The programme will have no effect on students' perception of police, with both study and control school students having similar views.

Ha: The programme will have an effect on students' perception of police, with study school students having more positive views than control school students.

Based on the empirical evidence, the null hypothesis was accepted, as no significant difference was found between the study and control group ( $p=0.746$ ).

Figure 3.3  
*Rates of Stand Downs from 2006-2009 per 1000 students*

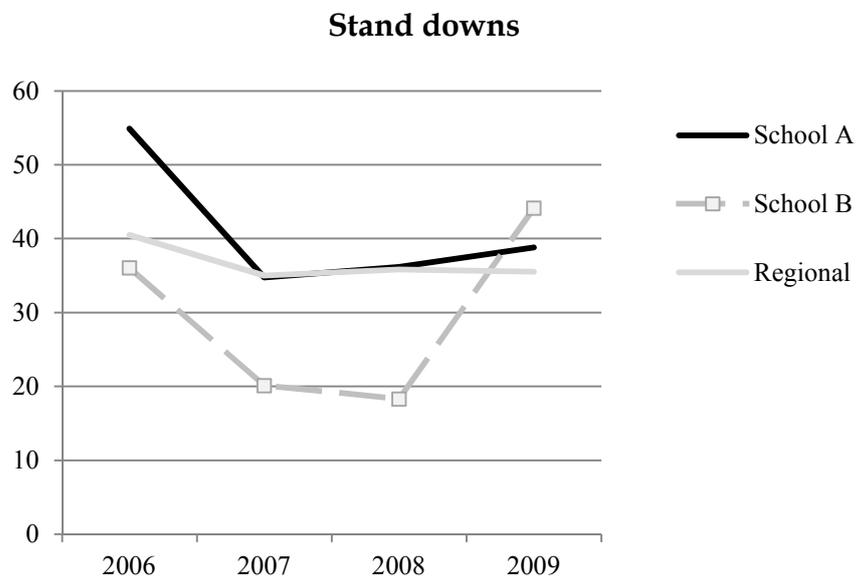


Figure 3.4  
Rates of Suspensions from 2006-2009 per 1000 students

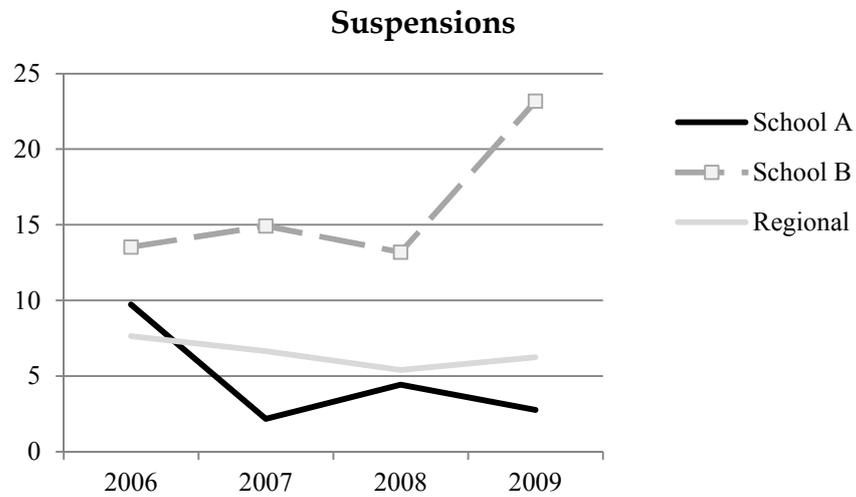


Figure 3.5  
Rates of Exclusions/Expulsions from 2006-2009 per 1000 students

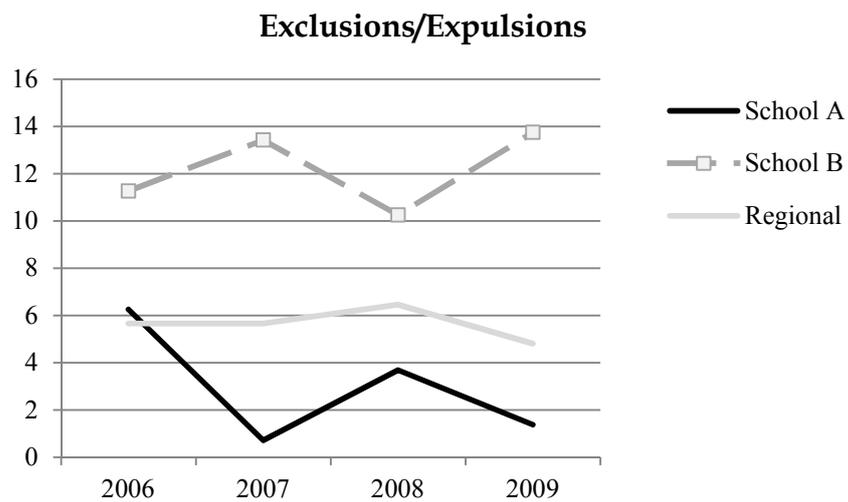


Table 3.1  
*Chi-Square Matrix of Stand Downs*

<b>School</b>		<b>Year</b>				<b>Total</b>
		2006	2007	2008	2009	
<b><i>School A</i></b>	Count	55	35	36	39	165
	Expected Count	50.3	34.5	34.5	45.7	165.0
	% within School	33.3%	21.2%	21.8%	23.6%	100.0%
	% within Year	42.0%	38.9%	40.0%	32.8%	38.4%
	% of Total	12.8%	8.1%	8.4%	9.1%	38.4%
<b><i>School B</i></b>	Count	36	20	18	44	118
	Expected Count	35.9	24.7	24.7	32.7	118.0
	% within School	30.5%	16.9%	15.3%	37.3%	100.0%
	% within Year	27.5%	22.2%	20.0%	37.0%	27.4%
	% of Total	8.4%	4.7%	4.2%	10.2%	27.4%
<b><i>Control</i></b>	Count	40	35	36	36	147
	Expected Count	44.8	30.8	30.8	40.7	147.0
	% within School	27.2%	23.8%	24.5%	24.5%	100.0%
	% within Year	30.5%	38.9%	40.0%	30.3%	34.2%
	% of Total	9.3%	8.1%	8.4%	8.4%	34.2%
<b><i>Total</i></b>	Count	131	90	90	119	430
	Expected Count	131.0	90.0	90.0	119.0	430.0
	% within School	30.5%	20.9%	20.9%	27.7%	100.0%
	% within Year	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	30.5%	20.9%	20.9%	27.7%	100.0%

**Chi-Square Tests Stand Downs**

	Value	<i>df</i>	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.659 <sup>a</sup>	6	.100
Likelihood Ratio	10.528	6	.104
Linear-by-Linear Association	.676	1	.411
N of Valid Cases	430		

<sup>a</sup> 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 24.70.

Table 3.2  
*Chi-Square Matrix of Suspensions*

<b>School</b>		<b>Year</b>				<b>Total</b>
		2006	2007	2008	2009	
<b><i>School A</i></b>	Count	10	2	4	3	19
	Expected Count	5.5	4.1	3.8	5.5	19.0
	% within School	52.6%	10.5%	21.1%	15.8%	100.0%
	% within Year	31.3%	8.3%	18.2%	9.4%	17.3%
	% of Total	9.1%	1.8%	3.6%	2.7%	17.3%
<b><i>School B</i></b>	Count	14	15	13	23	65
	Expected Count	18.9	14.2	13.0	18.9	65.0
	% within School	21.5%	23.1%	20.0%	35.4%	100.0%
	% within Year	43.8%	62.5%	59.1%	71.9%	59.1%
	% of Total	12.7%	13.6%	11.8%	20.9%	59.1%
<b><i>Control</i></b>	Count	8	7	5	6	26
	Expected Count	7.6	5.7	5.2	7.6	26.0
	% within School	30.8%	26.9%	19.2%	23.1%	100.0%
	% within Year	25.0%	29.2%	22.7%	18.8%	23.6%
	% of Total	7.3%	6.4%	4.5%	5.5%	23.6%
<b><i>Total</i></b>	Count	32	24	22	32	110
	Expected Count	32.0	24.0	22.0	32.0	110.0
	% within School	29.1%	21.8%	20.0%	29.1%	100.0%
	% within Year	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	29.1%	21.8%	20.0%	29.1%	100.0%

**Chi-Square Tests Suspensions**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.769 <sup>a</sup>	6	.187
Likelihood Ratio	8.631	6	.195
Linear-by-Linear Association	.487	1	.485
N of Valid Cases	110		

<sup>a</sup> 2 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.80.

Table 3.3  
*Chi-Square Matrix of Exclusions/Expulsions*

<b>School</b>		<b>Year</b>				<b>Total</b>
		2006	2007	2008	2009	
<b><i>School A</i></b>	Count	6	1	4	1	12
	Expected Count	3.3	2.9	2.9	2.9	12.0
	% within School	50.0%	8.3%	33.3%	8.3%	100.0%
	% within Year	26.1%	5.0%	20.0%	5.0%	14.5%
	% of Total	7.2%	1.2%	4.8%	1.2%	14.5%
<b><i>School B</i></b>	Count	11	13	10	14	48
	Expected Count	13.3	11.6	11.6	11.6	48.0
	% within School	22.9%	27.1%	20.8%	29.2%	100.0%
	% within Year	47.8%	65.0%	50.0%	70.0%	57.8%
	% of Total	13.3%	15.7%	12.0%	16.9%	57.8%
<b><i>Control</i></b>	Count	6	6	6	5	23
	Expected Count	6.4	5.5	5.5	5.5	23.0
	% within School	26.1%	26.1%	26.1%	21.7%	100.0%
	% within Year	26.1%	30.0%	30.0%	25.0%	27.7%
	% of Total	7.2%	7.2%	7.2%	6.0%	27.7%
<b><i>Total</i></b>	Count	23	20	20	20	83
	Expected Count	23.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	83.0
	% within School	27.7%	24.1%	24.1%	24.1%	100.0%
	% within Year	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	27.7%	24.1%	24.1%	24.1%	100.0%

**Chi-Square Tests Exclusions/Expulsions**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.502 <sup>a</sup>	6	.369
Likelihood Ratio	6.878	6	.332
Linear-by-Linear Association	.596	1	.440
N of Valid Cases	83		

<sup>a</sup> 4 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.89.

*Ensuring the control group and study group were comparable.*

In order to ensure that any difference in scores between the study and control group could be attributed to a difference in perception of police, as opposed to underlying demographic differences, the demographic characteristics of each group were compared using a series of Chi-square tests. These demographic factors included factors which could be measured through self-report; ethnicity, sex, age, behaviour at school, achievement at school, and level of parental education. Given the number of response options and the relatively small total sample size ( $n=49$ ), several of these variables' response options needed to be pooled in order to complete the chi-square analysis.

The number of response options and the number of participants who selected multiple responses meant that the ethnicity variable could not be pooled to the point where a chi-square analysis could be completed. To ensure the samples were comparable in terms of ethnic makeup, ethnicity was transformed into a single variable; for example, if a participant had selected 'Samoan' and 'Niuean' this was coded as 'Pacific Islander'. Ethnic groups who were not represented in the study group were then removed from the sample to ensure comparability. The remaining numbers of each ethnic group in the study and control samples are shown in Table 3.4 below.

In order to complete the Chi-square analysis, the response options for the variables age, behaviour at school, and achievement at school were pooled. Table 3.5 indicates how this process was completed.

After pooling was completed, a series of Chi-square tests were run. Table 3.6 shows the findings of this analysis, and indicates that no significant difference was found between the study and control groups.

Table 3.4  
*Ethnic Background of Participants*

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Study group</b>	<b>Control group</b>
Maori	6	0
Pacific Islander	17	14
Pacific Islander/Other	3	3
Maori/Other	0	1
Maori/Pacific Islander	2	1
Maori/Pacific Islander/NZ European	0	2

Table 3.5  
*Pooled Categories for each Demographic Variable*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Response options</b>	<b>Pooled categories</b>
<i>Age</i>	14, 15,16,17,18	14-15, 16-18
<i>Behaviour at school</i>	Always good, Mostly Good, Sometimes good sometimes bad, mostly bad, always bad	Good, Sometimes good sometimes bad*
<i>Achievement at school</i>	Mostly not achieved, mostly archived, mostly merit, mostly excellence	Not achieved-achieved, Merit-Excellence
<i>Parents' level of education</i>	Less than school certificate, school certificate, sixth form, bursary, diploma/degree or higher	Less than school certificate, school certificate or greater

\* no respondents selected mostly or always bad.

Table 3.6  
*Chi-Square Statistic for each Demographic Variable*

<b>Variable</b>	<b><i>N</i></b>	<b><i>df</i></b>	<b><i>X<sup>2</sup></i></b>	<b><i>P</i></b>
Sex	49	1	0.593	0.441
Age	49	1	1.054	0.305
Achievement	49	1	0.458	0.498
Behaviour	49	1	3.675	0.055
Parents education	32	1		0.229*

\* using Fishers exact test

#### *Independent group T-test results.*

Three T-tests were completed, comparing the mean scores of the study group and control group, the mean scores of students at School A with the control group, and the mean scores of students at School B with the control group. Across all T-tests Levene's Test produced a non-significant value, indicating the equal variance could be assumed. After running the T-tests, no significant differences were found. The tables below present the groups' statistics and results from each of the T-tests (see Table 3.7, below).

#### *Summary of Results*

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the current research used a mixed method approach. The focus group component of the research provided broad data on the views of the participants, while the quantitative approaches gave an insight into the generalizability of the findings, and the success of the programme based on specific measures. A summary of the teacher and student focus groups yielded the themes presented in Table 3.8 below.

Table 3.7  
Independent Samples T-Tests

**Full sample (School A and B combined) mean score on perception of police survey in comparison to control group.**

**Group Statistics**

Study	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Study group	28	3.5204	.56104	.10603
Control group	21	3.5782	.67985	.14836

**Independent Samples Test**

T-test for Equality of Means						
<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% CI	
					Lower	Upper
-.326	47	.746	-.05782	.17736	-.41464	.29899

**School A mean score on perception of police survey in comparison to control group.**

**Group Statistics**

School	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
School A	16	3.5893	.64497	.16124
Control	21	3.5782	.67985	.14836

**Independent Samples Test**

T-test for Equality of Means						
<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% CI	
					Lower	Upper
.050	35	.960	.01105	.22072	-.43702	.45913

**School B mean score on perception of police survey in comparison to control group.**

**Group Statistics**

School	<i>N</i>	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
School B	12	3.4286	.43502	.12558
Control	21	3.5782	.67985	.14836

**Independent Samples Test**

T-test for Equality of Means						
<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% CI	
					Lower	Upper
-.684	31	.499	-.14966	.21873	-.59576	.29644

Table 3.8  
*Summary of Focus Group Themes*

Student Focus Groups	Teacher Focus groups
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Roles and Duties</li> <li>▪ Extent of Visibility</li> <li>▪ Approachable, Liked and Respected</li> <li>▪ Outsiders Views of the School</li> <li>▪ Necessity of Programme</li> <li>▪ Impact on View of Police</li> <li>▪ Impact on Antisocial Behaviour</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Roles and Duties</li> <li>▪ Perception of Officer as a Supportive Presence</li> <li>▪ Effective Elements of Programme and Possible Improvements</li> <li>▪ Factors which Enhance the Officers Effectiveness</li> <li>▪ Confusion About Programme</li> <li>▪ Integrating Schools and Police</li> </ul>

The quantitative elements of the study (presented above) produced no significant results. As such, the null hypotheses for each of the first two aims in the study could not be rejected. In other words, based purely on the quantitative components of the study, no change in relation to students' perception of police or rates of suspension, stand-down, and exclusion/expulsion was found. This is somewhat at odds with the findings of the focus groups. This will be further explored in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### Discussion

Having presented the relevant literature, explained the methodology, and outlined the findings of the current research, the following section discusses the results within the context of previous literature. This will be achieved by firstly restating the aims of the study, and providing a brief summary of the findings relating to each. This will be followed by a more in-depth exploration of notable findings, and how these related to the literature presented in Chapter 1. Next, the limitations of the current study will be outlined. Practical implications for the study programme based on the current research and literature will then be discussed. The chapter will be concluded by looking at possible future directions for research in this area, and what can be learnt from the current study in terms of an appropriate research methodology and approach.

#### *Aims of the study*

As presented earlier, the overarching aim of the research was to determine the effects of the ‘Cops in Schools’ programme on youth antisocial behaviour and perception of police in two South Auckland schools. To achieve this, a number of specific aims were outlined:

1. to investigate the number of suspensions, stand downs, and exclusions/expulsions in each school in the two years prior to and two years following the introduction of the programme, and to determine whether they differ from regional averages;

2. to describe students' and teachers' perception of the 'Cops in School' programme (what they see to be the purpose of the programme and roles of the officer);
3. to determine to what extent students and teachers see the programme as effective at reducing antisocial behaviour;
4. to describe the positive and negative aspects of the 'Cops in Schools' programme from the perspective of students and teachers;
5. to develop an understanding of what factors influence how students or teachers view the programme;
6. to determine how students' perception of police is effected by the programme;
7. to determine what makes an effective 'cop in school'; and
8. to provide recommendations about the future direction of the programme based on both the literature and the findings of the study.

### *Summary of Findings*

In terms of determining the effects of the programme on youth antisocial behaviour, the research does not provide a definitive answer. Similarly, the impact of the programme on students' perception of police is unclear. The quantitative components of the research indicated no significant differences between control and study groups, while the qualitative components suggested largely positive outcomes for students and teachers. Rather than providing a broad conclusion about the effectiveness of the whole programme, it may thus be more beneficial to focus on what was found to be effective, and what needs to be changed. This will be explored further in the current chapter. A brief summary of findings in relation to each aim are presented below.

*Aim 1:* To investigate the number of suspensions, stand downs, and exclusions/expulsions in each school in the two years prior to, and two years following, the introduction of the programme, and to determine whether they differ from regional averages.

As mentioned above, no significant differences were found between the study and control groups in relation to number of suspensions, stand downs, and exclusions/expulsions. This means that there was no significant difference in the three variables pre- and post intervention. While this may reflect the limited impact of the programme on student antisocial behaviour, there may also be other factors which could have influenced this finding. These will be explored in the limitations section of the current chapter.

*Aim 2:* To describe students' and teachers' perception of the 'Cops in School' programme (what they see to be the purpose of the programme and roles of the officer).

Using the focus data, a picture of how the students and teachers saw the programme was developed. This was presented in the previous chapter. For students, this included what they saw the officer doing, how they interpreted what they witnessed, and the impacts on their behaviour and perceptions of the police based on these interpretations. For teachers, their perception of the programme included the roles and responsibilities they believed the officer undertook, or should, undertake, positive and negative aspects of the programme, and factors which impacted on the effectiveness of the programme.

Focusing on the second part of this aim, the roles and purpose of the officer were described by both the teacher and student groups. Both discussed the importance of law-related roles similar to those of any police officer. Similarly,

roles relating to providing safety, and being a source of specific help, advice, knowledge, and expertise were identified. Duties which extended beyond these more traditional policing roles were also identified, including recruitment, extracurricular roles such as coaching sports teams, and improving students' perception of police. The teachers also described the officers as being a supportive presence, providing them with access to different sanctions, and allowing them to focus more on their roles as educators. The varied nature of the officer's role was consistent with the Manukau Police description of the role, as well as the previous literature.

*Aim 3:* To determine to what extent students and teachers see the programme as effective at reducing antisocial behaviour.

While being similar to Aim 1, this aim focused on people's perceptions, and was addressed using focus group data. As presented in the methods chapter, the impact of the programme on antisocial behaviour was discussed across all focus groups. In fact, the sub-theme of "impact on antisocial behaviour" was identified in both the student and teacher focus groups. Teachers were unanimous in their views that the programme had reduced ASB, citing perceived reductions in violence, drug use, and truancy. The student groups, however, provided a mixed view. While many saw the officer as being effective at reducing ASB, others reported that they were not. As mentioned in the previous chapter, whether or not a student saw the officer in a positive or negative light seemed to determine whether they saw them as effective. This finding will be further discussed in the 'specific findings' section below.

*Aim 4:* To describe the positive and negative aspects of the 'Cops in Schools' programme from the perspective of students and teachers.

This aim was also addressed by using the data gleaned from the focus groups. The teacher group, in particular, highlighted both positive and negative aspects of the programme, and provided a number of possible solutions to these. In terms of positives, teachers identified the support the officer provided, as well as the positive impact they had noticed on ASB in the school. Focusing on the students' perceptions, some spoke of having direct positive interactions with the officer through sports teams, and having being introduced to the possibility of a career in policing. An area of improvement identified by both students and teachers was the lack of visibility of the schools' officer. It was identified that this led to confusion about the specific roles of the officer and specifics of the programme. Teachers identified that this likely led to an underutilisation of the programme. A further negative outcome identified by some students was the impact that having an officer in the school had on the perceptions of outsiders. The officer's uniform was a particular area of discussion. This produced varied opinions, which will be explored further in the 'specific findings' section of the current chapter.

*Aim 5:* To develop an understanding of what factors influence how students or teachers view the programme.

An important finding in the current research was the factors which seemed to influence how people (stated they) saw the programme. This seemed to include reasons beyond the measured outputs of the programme. This was particularly relevant in the student groups, where groups from the same school would provide opposing views of the officers' effectiveness. This suggests that factors other than the officer's effectiveness were influencing the students' perspectives. Possible factors identified included the personal characteristics of the officer, being part of

the school- and wider community, and having skills in working with young people. These findings and their implications will be discussed later in the current chapter.

Possible factors which weren't explicitly investigated in the current research may have included group processes, such as previous relationships between students, or the polarisation which can occur in focus groups (Morgan, 1996) as well as previous dealings with the police.

*Aim 6:* To determine how students' perception of police is effected by the programme.

Like the first aim, no significant differences in relation to perception of police were found between the study and control groups. While this could be an indication of real differences, it could also be influenced by other extraneous variables. This will also be explored further later in the current chapter. Changes in students' perception of police were noted in the focus group data, with students reporting both positive and negative change.

*Aim 7:* To determine what makes an effective 'cop in school'.

A number of factors were identified which seemed to improve the school-based officer's effectiveness. Many of these will be described in depth later in the current chapter. These factors included:

1. balancing roles to not focus too heavily on law enforcement and punishment;
2. being proactive in interacting with staff;
3. possessing the skills to work with young people;
4. being part of the school- and local community;
5. building positive relationships with students; and

6. being liked and respected by students.

*Aim 8:* To provide recommendations about the future direction of the programme based on both the literature and the findings of the study.

The breadth of information provided by the focus groups, in conjunction with the quantitative findings and previous literature, provided a number of recommendations about how the current programme could be improved. These will be discussed in-depth later in the current chapter, and include key changes in relation to:

- assigning to the ‘cop in school’ role officers who have the skills and attributes required to work with young people, and build positive relationships with them;
- developing a job description which balances law enforcement roles with other roles which foster more positive interactions, such as coaching sports teams;
- ensuring all stake holders are aware of the roles of the officer, and how the officer can be utilised;
- improving the visibility of the officer; and
- evaluating the success of the programme on a regular basis.

### *Specific Findings*

While a number of findings were presented above, three specific findings are particularly noteworthy. These were identified by considering the current study and the literature in the area, and are expanded on below. These findings included: (i) the identification of factors which seemed to impact on whether or not participants saw the programme as effective; (ii) providing some clarity about whether or not police in schools should wear full uniform; and (iii) whether it is

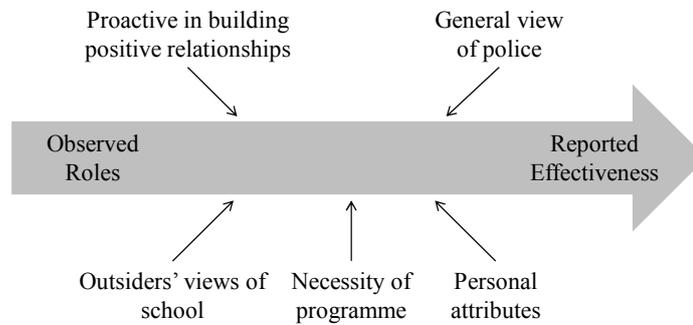
possible for a school-based officer to have any impact on students' perceptions of the police.

*Impact of factors on perceived effectiveness.*

Given that the quantitative components of the study found no significant differences before and after the initiation of the programme, it seems that factors other than an objective measure of the programme's effectiveness impacted on participants' perceptions of programme success. A key finding of the current research was the relationship between students' perceptions of the officer, and whether they saw the programme as effective at reducing ASB and improving students' perception of the police. In essence, police who were seen in a positive light were reported to be effective. Students reported witnessing the officer undertaking a number of roles. Based on these, they developed opinions of the officer. These opinions seemed to be based on the roles they saw the officer undertake, as well as any personal interactions they may have had with the officer. In general, students who saw the officer in more punitive roles held less positive views about the programme's effectiveness. However, other factors seemed to influence how students interpreted the roles of the officer. This included whether they liked the personal attributes of the officer, whether they were proactive in building positive relationships with students, how students felt outsiders might view their school, whether they felt the programme was necessary, and preconceived feelings or stereotypes relating to the police. Figure 4.1 below provides an indication of the factors identified in the focus groups that seemed to have impacted on student's view of the police.

From this process, students formed opinions about the effectiveness of the programme. This suggests that a number of factors impact on students'

Figure 4.1  
*Factors which influence Reported Effectiveness*



perception of the programme which are not directly related to the officer's ability to reduce ASB. While we cannot determine from the current study the relative importance of each of these factors, some were discussed at greater length, suggesting that they may have had greater influence on students' opinions. It seemed that the personal attributes of the officer were particularly important for students. For example, if two students see their schools' officer in a range of roles, but only one likes the officer, it is likely that this student will report that the programme has a positive impact on ASB and their perception of the police. This is similar to the findings of Finn, McDevitt, Lassiter, Shivel, and Rich (2005) who found that students who reported a positive opinion of the SRO identified an increased sense of safety. It is also in line with findings by Dogutas (2007). These similarities will be explored further in the "relationship between the current research and previous literature" section of the current chapter.

The importance of these factors raises a further question: what can be done to ensure that students have interactions with the officers which highlight the identified factors? The student and teacher focus group, as well as previous literature, can be looked to in order to provide an answer.

Firstly, officers with the required attributes and skills need to be recruited into the roles. This includes skills in working with young people in a school setting, personal qualities such as honesty and friendliness, an ability to liaise with staff, and ideally being part of the local community. The specific functions and duties of the officer also need to be such that students see them in more than just punitive roles. From here, students need to be given an opportunity to see the schools' officer in these varied roles. For example, seeing the officer interacting positively with students, speaking in assemblies, coaching sports teams, and generally being part of the school community may encourage more positive views. This will be explored further in the "practical implications of the current research on the study programme" section of the current chapter. Another factor which was debated in the school and teacher focus groups was whether the officer should be in full uniform.

#### *Uniform and perception of police.*

Past research has identified that having a school-based officer dressed in uniformed may act as a deterrent for antisocial behaviour, and improve feelings of safety within schools (I. Johnson, 1999; Kipper, 1996). While whether or not the officer should be in full uniform was an area of debate in the current study, there are potential benefits of having 'cops in schools' wearing standard police uniform. One benefit identified by Johnson (1999) was the uniforms ability to

“promote respect and a sense of understanding between police officers and students” (p.177).

Prior to discussing this further, it is important describe some aspects of a New Zealand police officers’ uniform. New Zealand police officers do not carry firearms. They do, however, routinely carry pepper spray, batons, and wear a stab resistant vest. In the current study, both students and staff were divided about whether the officer should be wearing standard police uniform. This was particularly true for students, with a number seeing it as excessive in the school environment. Based on data obtained from the focus group, the current research would support the officers being in standard uniform, on the basis that a goal of the programme is to improve perception of police.

The police uniform is a symbol that is universally recognised. When we see this uniform, we instantly identify the person wearing it as being part of the police force, and likely experience thoughts or emotions which relate to our perceptions of the police. If a school-based officer is to have an impact on a student’s perception of police, they must first identify them as being a representative of the police force. In other words, for any opinions a student may have of the officer to generalise to the wider police force, the student must see them as part of the police force. If not, students may see their officer as different or an exception. There is also the possibility of students identifying the officer as a lesser version of a normal police officer if they are not in police uniform. Therefore, it could be argued that having the officer uniformed is an essential component of a programme if the aim is to improve perceptions of the police.

*Can the 'cop in school' have an impact on perception of police?*

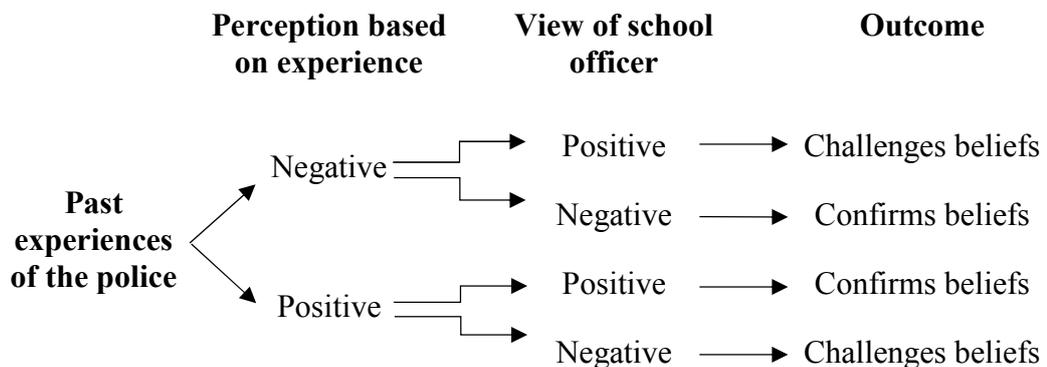
Past research has been divided about whether having an officer in schools can have an impact on students' perceptions of the police (Finn & McDevitt, 2005; A. Jackson, 2002; Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring, 2005). While the quantitative component of the current study found no difference in perception of police between control and study schools, data from the focus groups supported the assertion that the school-based officer can have an impact on students' opinions of police. This was described by students in both a positive and negative way. Despite these inconclusive results, the current research did indicate that it is possible for such programmes to have an impact on individuals' perceptions of the police.

While the differing conclusions of each component of the current study may be due to methodological flaws, it also needs to be considered that the programme may not have had a significant impact on improving students' views of the police. There are several possible explanations for this finding. It is possible that students have not had an opportunity to see their schools' officer undertaking a range of roles, or have seen them in a primarily negative light (e.g. undertaking punitive roles). This was an explanation provided by Jackson (2002), whose research also found no significant impact on students' perception of police. Ivey (2012) also highlighted the fact that when officers are primarily involved in law-enforcement roles, students may not be able to relate to them on other levels. A further explanation could be that students have perceived the officer as 'different', and that they do not reflect the wider police force, as was suggested by Hopkins (1994). It has been found in previous studies that the nature of an individual's interactions with the police shapes their perceptions of the police

(Brown & Benedict, 2002). A further explanation for the findings of the current study may be sought from Rosenbaum and colleagues (2005), who suggested that both past and vicarious experience create a strong belief that is difficult to shift even in the light of more recent positive experiences. While not explored in the current study, it is likely that an individual's past experiences with the police, and those of their families, had an impact on the extent to which the school-based officer could impact on their beliefs.

Given the socioeconomic status of the areas in which the study schools are located, it is likely that student's families have had past experiences of the police. Many of these may have been negative, and contributed to students developing beliefs about the police. There may also be an intergenerational component, with family members discussing negative experiences with the police (i.e. a vicarious experience, (Rosenbaum et al., 2005)). It is, therefore, possible that for some individuals, a negative perception of police is engrained and difficult to challenge. This would explain why in one school some students' beliefs could be altered, while others were not. A simplified representation of the process by which students' beliefs may be changed is represented in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2  
*How Perceptions of the Police may be Challenged*



As mentioned previously, rather than a dichotomous ‘negative’ or ‘positive’ view, perceptions of police fall on a continuum. It is likely that those at the extremes, or those who have more engrained views, are more difficult to shift. While the process can be hypothesised, it is important to note that it was not directly investigated in the current research. The impact preconceived beliefs and views of the police have on a programme’s ability to shift these beliefs would, however, be an interesting area of future research.

#### *Limitations of the Current Study*

While the study was effective in addressing its aims to some degree, improvements could have been made to the research design. The following section will focus on discussing the weaknesses of the study and how these could have been avoided.

Issues associated with evaluating a programme within a real-world context may have impacted on the findings of the current study. Firstly, the research was conducted after the programme had been implemented. This limited the measures which could be used, as well as the methods which could be undertaken. Only variables which were already being measured in the schools could be used to achieve a pre-test post-test design, with other variables having to be compared to a control group. Ideally, both variables (perception of police, and measures of student behaviour) would have been measured pre- and post intervention.

As a longitudinal investigation of perception of police could not be achieved in the current study, a control group was used. This group was made up of students from a school which was located close to each study school (within 5km). Finding a comparable school was difficult, as all the decile 1 and 2 schools

in the area already had the programme. For this reason, a decile 3 school needed to be used as a control school. While the study and control groups were matched as closely as possible across a number of variables, it is possible that underlying group differences, in particular socioeconomic status, impacted on the results. Furthermore, once individuals were excluded from the control group (based on their lack of match with the study group) a relatively small total sample was left ( $n=49$ ).

Focusing on the longitudinal component of the current study, methodological limitations also need to be taken into account when considering the results. Firstly, the data used may not have provided a true indication of the level of antisocial behaviour in schools. Numerous other factors impact on the number of suspensions, stand downs and exclusions/expulsions in schools. Furthermore, schools have other programmes and processes that are geared towards the reduction of antisocial behaviour. It would, therefore, be difficult to determine the success or failure of the programme based on these values. It would have been beneficial to include a wider range of variables which reflected student antisocial behaviour: however, in the current study, the focus group findings went some way to mitigate this limitation.

As was mentioned in the methods section, students were approached by their schools deputy principal and asked whether they wished to take part in the focus groups. While all practicable steps were taken to ensure the consent of students, and when applicable, their parents was fully informed, it is possible that for some students there was an element of coercion. While not ideal, this approach was seen as the most practical, pragmatic approach to recruit participants in the current study.

Regardless of the findings, it is difficult to attribute a causal link between the measures used and the programme. Firstly, officers were only in schools two days a week, and were often not very visible. Furthermore, the programme did not occur in isolation. All schools use a range of approaches to combat antisocial behaviour. These factors mean that attributing any causation is difficult at best.

#### *Relationship between Current Research and Previous Literature*

The following section will focus on how the current study related to previous literature in relation to programmes which see police officers in schools. In Chapter One, the possible added positive outcomes of having a police officer running programmes in schools were discussed. While it had been found in previous research that police-officer run programmes were no more effective at achieving outcomes (Gottfredson & Wilson, 2003), other advantages had been noted. These include providing a positive role model (Coggans et al., 1999), improving perception of police (Hammond et al., 2008; O'Connor, 2010; Rosenbaum & Hanson, 1998), increasing credibility of information (Coggans et al., 1999; O'Connor, 2010), giving schools access to different forms of punishment (Kupchik & Bracy, 2010), and improving students' feelings of safety (I. Johnson, 1999). In the current study, further advantages of having police-run programmes in schools were discussed by students and teachers. From the teachers' perspective, having the officer in the school supported their role as educators. Specifically, it provided access to different forms of punishment, added authority to certain situations, and had a positive impact on antisocial behaviour in the school. Some students reported that having the officer at school had highlighted the police as a career choice, and provide them with help and advice. The findings of the current study support the conclusions of earlier

research that having police-run programmes can have wider benefits which go beyond the mandated goals of such programmes.

Bracy (2011) discussed the importance of students perceiving programmes as effective, stating that “if students do not perceive these strategies to be effective, this could mean that they don’t serve as effective deterrents to student misbehaviour” (p.388). Using qualitative techniques similar to those used in the current study, she reported a range of opinions voiced by students, and concluded that the school was safe, and students felt safe, but that students did not see the officer as being important or even necessary in creating this environment. While these findings were echoed by the responses of some students, the majority saw the officer as having a role in fostering this safe environment. This was also supported by information gathered from teacher focus groups.

Ethical concerns have been highlighted in the research. It has been suggested that the presence of police officers in schools criminalises student behaviour (Na & Gottfredson, 2011; Theriot, 2009), leads to a “school to prison pipeline” (Price, 2009), and impacts on student rights (Kupchik & Bracy, 2010). Based on discussions with the school-based officers, time spent in the schools, and the teacher and student focus groups, this did not seem to be the case in the current study. In fact, police and staff indicated that school-based sanctions were usually the first step in reprimanding antisocial behaviour at school. It also seems that the underlying principles and purpose of the Manukau police ‘Cops in Schools’ programme differs from many of the USA-based programmes. The Manukau police programme focuses primarily on building positive relationships with young people, rather than being an exclusively reactionary response focusing on punishment. The flow on from this is likely that the rights of students

are held in a higher regard. While this seemed to be the case based on the observational and focus group data collected, no quantitative analysis of arrests on school grounds was investigated in the current study to support these findings.

As was presented in the first chapter, the research relating to the effectiveness of programmes that see police officers based in schools is largely inconclusive. Most research in the area has asked the question: 'does this programme work?' in relation to specific goals. This has led to a range of conclusions, with some authors determining that funding should be shifted away from such programmes (A. Jackson, 2002). However, when considering the literature and the current study, a more suitable question to ask is: 'can they work?'

As highlighted in the foregoing literature review, many studies aim to determine the impact of programmes on some kind of indicator of ASB. From here, they go on to determine whether the programme is successful or not. As this study has highlighted, this approach has limitations because it is difficult to select measures of ASB which are not influenced by other factors. All school-based programmes occur within unique, changeable contexts. It is, therefore, likely that the 'success' of programmes that see police officers in school cannot be determined in a general, global sense. Given the inconclusive nature of the research base, and the varied findings of the current research, it may be more beneficial to focus on the positive and negative aspects of programmes: these aspects need to be identified, and either supported or remedied accordingly. When all the quantitative and qualitative data is taken into account, it seems that the positive impacts outweighs the negative. The current research added to the research base by having a more descriptive focus, and providing practical examples of what seemed to work, what needs to be changed, and how these

lessons can be used in other settings. The current research also supported a number of findings of earlier studies. As mentioned in Chapter One, some authors have discussed the importance of the officer's role being more than just authoritarian and punitive (Dogutas, 2007; Finn et al., 2005). Jackson (2002) suggested that students seeing officers in only a negative light may mean that programmes are not able to achieve their goal of improving students' perception of police. Also, focusing on the impact of various roles, Dogutas (2007) found that officers who were involved in teaching and counselling, what he described as proactive roles, were more successful at reducing ASB in comparison to those who focused primarily on law enforcement or reactive roles. This finding was supported by the current study. Students who saw the officer in a wider range of roles generally reported more positive outcomes. This supports the assertion made in previous studies that school based officers should undertake a range of roles.

The current study also highlighted the importance of students having a positive perception of the officer. It was found that students who saw the officer in a positive light reported the programme to be successful at reducing ASB and improving their perception of the police. On the other hand, students who had negative opinions of the same officer reported the programme to be unsuccessful. A similar observation was made by Finn and colleagues (2005), who found that a positive opinion of the SRO was related to an increased sense of safety, even when environmental factors such as student victimisation and level of neighbourhood crime were taken into account.

The current research identified the importance of officers possessing personal attributes that were required to connect with, and develop positive

relationships with, young people. Lambert and McGinty (2002) identified a range of important personal attributes that a school-based officer should possess. Those rated most important by principals, SROs and law-enforcement administrators included honesty, reliability, and the ability to be a good role model. The current study expanded on these by highlighting what students saw as important positive qualities, including being friendly, talkative, and making an effort to get to know students. The current research also provided an indication of personal attributes which hindered the officer's performance, including being judgmental, unfair, shy, quiet, and scary. When combining these personal attributes, a picture of the qualities required to work as a police officer in schools can begin to be developed.

Lambert and McGinty (2002) also identified the important skills and background factors that a successful school-based officer should possess. The highest ranked skill was 'working with school administrators'. The importance of this was also identified by teachers in the current study. While Lambert and McGinty (2002) asked participants whether a willingness to work with young people, and past experience working with young people were skills the officer should possess, they did not ask whether skills in working with young people were important. This was identified in the current study as being a skill that enhanced an officer's effectiveness. Interestingly, being from and respected by the local community was not identified in Lambert and McGinty's (2002) study as being of a high importance. In contrast, the teacher groups in the current study identified being part of both the school- and wider community as being advantageous.

As was discussed earlier, confusion about the roles and duties of the officer, as well as aspects of the programme itself, were prevalent across all focus groups. Previous studies have also noted confusion about the roles and functions of the officer from school staff (Barnes, 2009). Clarifying and having a shared understanding between school staff, students, the police, and parents would thus likely improve the utilisation of programmes, and, potentially, the programmes' success.

Practical implications of the current research on the study programme

In combining the findings of the current research with previous literature, several recommendations can be made about how to improve the Manukau 'Cops in Schools' programme. The following section will outline these areas for improvement, and provide possible practical changes based on suggestions from students and staff, as well as the literature. While the focus is primarily on the study programme, it is likely that some of the improvements discussed would be generalizable to other programmes, and may serve as something of a blueprint for those developing programmes in other police jurisdictions.

*Assigning to the 'cop in school' role officers who have the skills and attributes required to work with young people, and build positive relationships with them.*

It was clear from the current study that the personal characteristics and attributes of the officer were very important. In fact, as has been discussed in the current chapter, it is likely one of the most important contributors to whether students see the impact of the programme in a positive or negative light. This has been identified in previous studies, with Lambert and McGinty (2002) identifying honesty, being a good role model, being willing to work with young people, and reliability as the four most important characteristics identified by school

principals, law-enforcement agencies, and school resource officers. In the current study, personal qualities such as being talkative and friendly, as well as skills and attributes such as the ability to work with youth and being part of the school and wider community, were identified by teachers and students. Based on these findings, a picture of the personal characteristics required to be successful in a ‘Cop in School’ role can begin to be developed. It would be advantageous to keep these attributes in mind when recruiting for such roles. Given that some of these personal characteristics are related to operating in a school context, including input from the schools themselves would be recommended. This approach has also been identified by Finn and colleagues (2005) as adding to the success of programmes. Practically, this may mean having school principals being involved in the recruitment-interview process.

*Developing a job description that balances law enforcement roles with other roles which foster more positive interactions, such as coaching sports teams.*

The current research identified the importance of officers balancing law enforcement roles, such as monitoring and punishment, with roles which lead to positive interactions with students. Investigating the effectiveness of reactive vs. proactive strategies of SRO programmes, Dogutas (2007) reached similar conclusions. Dogutas (2007) found that programmes that were less punitive, and utilised proactive strategies such as counselling and teaching, yielded lower rates of student ASB. In the current study, students at the school where the officer coached sports teams generally held a more positive view of the officer and, in turn, the programme. As was identified by Jackson (2002), the nature of interactions with the officer likely impacts on the success of programmes. Based on these findings, it is recommended that a broader job description of the “Cop in

School” be developed, with an emphasis on roles which will foster positive interactions. In practice, officers in these roles could be expected to have involvement in sports or cultural teams, or attend school events. The development of a clear job description will also provide clarity to stakeholders.

*Ensuring all stake holders are aware of the roles of the officer, and how the officer can be utilised.*

The first step in having stakeholders understand the roles of the officer and how they can be utilised is to develop a clear outline of these roles. Unclear role definitions seem to be a shortcoming of many programmes (Barnes, 2009; Finn et al., 2005; R D Lambert & D McGinty, 2002). In the current study, this proved to be a particular issue for teachers, who were unaware of how to use the officer. It is recommended that both students and teachers be provided with information regarding the roles of the officer and the processes through which their skills can be utilised. This requires a determination of how this should operate in practice, and then sharing this process with staff and students. It would also be beneficial for staff and students to know who the officer is. This could take the form of introducing the officer in a staff meeting or school assembly. Beyond the school campus, it would be beneficial to inform parents of the programme and the roles of the officer, because previous research has identified parental and community support of programmes as increasing effectiveness (Brady et al., 2007; Finn et al., 2005; O’Connor, 2010). This could be achieved by providing information about the officer, both their role and who they are as a person (e.g. hobbies), in school newsletters.

*Improving the visibility of the officer.*

A key weakness discussed in all groups was the lack of visibility of the officer. This seemed to compound some of the difficulties in regard to staff and students not understanding the officer's role. The current part-time nature of the role seems to make it difficult for officers in the Manukau 'Cops in Schools' programme to be very visible. However, even within these limits, changes could be made to improve this visibility. Teachers in one of the schools recommended that the officer have a designated office space. Further possible changes could include attending regular school events, such as assemblies. It is possible that with having a limited time at the school (2 days a week), the law related, often punitive roles which the officer fulfils may be witnessed more often than other more positive roles. This may, in turn, have a negative impact on students' perceptions of the officer.

*Evaluating the success of the programme on a regular basis.*

The literature also identified the importance of evaluating programmes regularly (Finn et al., 2005). It is recommended that reviews that incorporate the opinions of all stakeholders be undertaken on a regular basis. This would also aid in teachers, students, and parents having a greater understanding of, and possibly vested interest in, the programme, which has been identified as increasing the success of programmes (Finn & McDevitt, 2005; O'Connor, 2010). In practice, this could involve having annual meetings with key members of staff to discuss the programme, and holding focus groups with students. A brief questionnaire could be developed and completed annually by staff and students to give an indication of whether the programme is continuing to meet its goals.

While these areas for improvement have been noted, it is important to highlight the fact that all staff and the majority of students were happy that the programme was at their school, and could identify many aspects of the programme that were working well. These included a perceived positive impact on antisocial behaviour and school safety, teachers feeling supported and better able to undertake their roles, and students seeing policing as a career option.

#### *Areas for Future Research*

Given the prevalence of police officers working in school environments, evaluative research of these programmes is seriously lacking. On a fundamental level, more research needs to be undertaken in this area in order to continue to improve interventions which have the potential to reduce youth antisocial behaviour. The current research base is also clouded with ethical arguments and possible biases. This seems to have led to some studies to ask ‘do these programmes work?’ rather than ‘can these programme work?’ As it has been shown that programmes can be successful when undertaken in particular ways, it would be beneficial to continue to investigate what works. While the current study has highlighted a number of factors which seem to lead to successful programmes, these findings were based primarily on qualitative methods. It would be beneficial to undertake further quantitative analysis of some of these factors to determine whether such findings are generalizable.

As noted in Chapter 1, the vast majority of research in the area has been based on USA samples. The USA has had a difficult recent history in regard to school shootings and terrorist attacks which frame the development and recent surge in SRO programmes (Weiler & Cray, 2011). This means that the motivation for the development of programmes, and their fundamental ethos, is influenced

by this context. It is very likely that some of the findings of research based in the USA are not generalizable to the rest of the world: therefore, it is important to investigate programmes operating in other countries.

Given the difficulties in assessing programmes in a real-world context, the majority of studies (including the current research) possess some methodological flaws. The largest methodological flaw seems to be the lack of randomised control experiments, as well as many studies not involving a longitudinal component (Jennings et al., 2011; Petrosino et al., 2012). Ideally, studies need to be undertaken which investigate specific measures prior to the initiation of programmes. For example, a measure of students' perception of police, and antisocial behaviour within schools could be undertaken before the programme begins, and then periodically for two years. This would provide a much stronger indicator of whether the programme had an impact on these factors.

A question discussed earlier was whether the officer could in fact have an impact on young people's perceptions of police. It was assumed on the basis of previous research (Rosenbaum et al., 2005) that previous experiences and the perceptions these created may affect whether a school-based officer could have an impact. It would be interesting to focus future research on the process by which young people develop their views of the police, and the relative importance of different factors. From here, it may be possible to hypothesise the extent to which a group of students' perceptions can be altered, and how interventions might be tailored accordingly. Depending on findings, this could have an impact on how police officers outside of schools interact with young people and communities in general.

### *Conclusion*

Police officers are likely to continue to become a fixture in schools around the world. As these programmes increase in popularity, the research base lags behind, meaning that they are being undertaken in a somewhat ad-hoc manner. While the research is currently divided, it does seem that these programmes can be successful when undertaken in a particular way. It is, therefore, essential that we learn how to develop and implement successful programmes.

This was the major way in which the current research contributed to the literature. It identified specific factors that seemed to both enhance and impede the effectiveness of the programme investigated. This included roles, duties, skills, and personal attributes of the officer, as well as elements of the programme itself. It is hoped that this can serve as both a means of improving current programmes, and a blueprint for those which may be developed in the future. When investigating this area of research, it is easy to get preoccupied by specifics, or distracted by ethical arguments. It is important to focus broadly on what these interventions are trying to achieve, and what seems to make them successful. Fundamentally, it comes down to people; people building relationships within communities across professional, age, gender, and ethnic differences, all with the focus of improving outcomes for young people. The current research highlighted the importance of having ‘cops in schools’ that possess the qualities to do this effectively. Perhaps through these relationships, the course of some young people’s lives can be redirected toward a more positive future for themselves, their families, communities, and ultimately, us all.

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