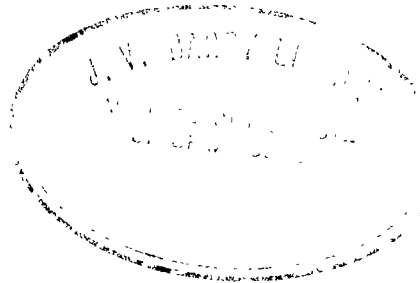


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POLICE EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA  
1911-1963

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## PREFACE

This document comprises a selective account of police employee representation in South Australia over the years 1911 until 1963.

Data collection was originally undertaken in respect of an interstate study of police employee protection which has been reported elsewhere, and the selectivity exercised in respect of years and issues was principally determined by the requirements of that study.

Although comprising a less than total description of police employee representation over the period reviewed, the following pages constitute a useful store of data for industrial relations practitioners, police historians and public administrators. As such it is considered worthwhile making the record publicly available.

On the basis of the data presented, it might seem possible to attempt some general conclusions but such conclusions would be inadequate; not only as a result of the temporal selectivity exercised but, also due to inadequate data obtained from employer's files. This latter shortcoming makes for inevitable bias.

A comprehensive analysis of police employee representation in South Australia will necessarily need to wait until such deficiencies are remedied, perhaps in a few years' time.

It is some years now since these data were collected, but my sense of gratitude to Tom Jennings (former President of PASA) and Ralph Tremethick (former Secretary of PASA) for their support and assistance in accessing necessary materials is still strong.

Few police officers now serving have a clear understanding of the events recounted in these pages, especially the courageous stands taken by individual police employees over the years, eg, HG Henderson and Joe Naylor, who made great personal sacrifices to improve the welfare of their colleagues. In today's relatively affluent society, employees easily forget the difficult conditions in which their fathers were obliged to operate. The reading of documents such as this can improve our understanding of such matters, especially with a view to learning from the mistakes of former times.

Any opinions expressed are personal to the author.

Phillip, ACT  
November 1983

Bruce Swanton

TABLE OF STATUTES

Police Fund Distribution Act 1904

Police Pensions Act 1916

Police Pensions Act 1929

Police Appeal Board Act 1925

Financial Emergency Act 1931

National Security (Economic Organisation) Regulations

Police Pensions Act 1960

Police Act 1969-1970

TABLE OF OFFICE HOLDERSCommissioners of South Australian Police 1911-1963

WH RAYMOND	1901-1917
TN EDWARDS	1917-1920
RL LEANE	1920-1944
WF JOHNS	1944-1950
IB GREEN	1950-1957
JG MCKINNA	1957-1972

Premiers of South Australia 1911-1963

John VERRAN	1910-1912
AH PEAKE	1912-1915
Crawford VAUGHAN	1915-1917
AH PEAKE	1917-1920
HN BARWELL	1920-1924
John GUNN	1924-1926
LL HILL	1926-1927
RL BUTLER	1927-1930
LL HILL	1930-1933
RS RICHARDS	1933
RL BUTLER	1933-1938
Thomas PLAYFORD	1938-1965

Presidents of PASA 1911-1963

John BEARE	1911-1916
Sgt JEWEL	1917
HG HENDERSON	1917-1918
T STEPHENS	1919
MC KENNEDY	1920
JF NAYLON	1920-1928
VV KENNEDY	1929
JF NAYLON	1930
VV KENNEDY	1931-1933
RJ BOURKE	1934-1935
LV LEAL	1936-1946
WO WALTERS	1947
AE OLSSON	1948-1949
W SUTHERLAND	1950-1954
EW HENDER	1955-1956
Paul TURNER	1957-1960
RM TREMETHICK	1961-1962
LE SAMUELS	1963

TABLE OF OFFICE HOLDERS (cont.)Secretaries of PASA 1911-1963

SJ TRESTRAIL	1911
R DOWNING	1912-1915
FC CHILDS	1916
FC WISELL	1917
CE GOODRIDGE	1918
RR HEALEY	1919-1920
WJ TRESTRAIL	1921-1922
LB FENWICK	1923-1951
EW HENDER	1952-1953
LB FENWICK	1954-1963

In December 1910, a deputation of police employees waited on Frederick Samuel Wallis, Chief Secretary of the recently elected Verran Labor ministry. The deputation asked inter alia approval to form a committee 'to draw up a scheme for the betterment of the service generally'. (1) The request was approved and a committee of nine police officers subsequently elected. Among matters discussed with the Chief Secretary was that of days off; the lack thereof being a source of substantial rank and file dissatisfaction. Days off had been an issue for some time in the police community with the Police Review having campaigned for a weekly rest day for British police for a year and one half. Indeed, in July 1910, the Police (Weekly Rest Day) Act received royal assent. This British legislation was unlikely to have escaped the notice of South Australian police employees who enjoyed no days off at that time other than 21 days annual recreation leave and up to 16 days noncumulative sick leave. (2) There was also a form of long leave for those who served long enough to benefit therefrom. (3) Regarding a weekly day off, the Chief Secretary was encouraging, saying that a Sunday off should be possible once the Force was numerous enough to support such a measure. (4)

Prior to the December 1910 deputation, in mid-1909, a deputation had waited on John George Bice, Chief Secretary in the Conservative Peake ministry, which went out of office on 5 June. That deputation had raised the issue of pay, (5) considering a minimum rate of seven shillings a day insufficient. The government took the matter seriously and inquired of other state governments concerning police terms and conditions of service. Generally speaking, South Australia did not compare favourably, although a comparative table of police pay rates presented in the legislative council on 22 September showed the disadvantage in terms of base pay not to be great. (6) However, when allowances, superannuation, more rapid promotions, rest days, and longer recreation leave entitlements, to say nothing of living costs, were taken into consideration the picture appeared somewhat less satisfactory. Instead of approving a general rise in police pay, the government proposed to make police incomes more equitable - at the same time saving the treasury a considerable sum. Backdating to 1 July 1909, (7) the government: (1) granted a shilling a day to all married members not provided with quarters, (2) reduced the waiting time for advancement from Constable 3/C to Constable 2/C from indefinite to two years, thus permitting members to receive seven shillings and sixpence a day somewhat earlier than would have otherwise been the case. Other sweeteners provided in that year's budget were the provision of a subsistence allowance for persons on temporary postings, eg, strike duty, of three shillings a day and the elimination of arithmetic questions from promotion exams. (8) In this manner, the government attempted to reduce rank and file dissatisfaction at relatively small financial cost.



That this move was not particularly effective is evidenced by the fact that employees again appeared in deputation, a rare event at the time for police, a little over one year later.

The deputation of eight officers, referred to as the "police committee", collected data concerning the economic status of police elsewhere and, eventually, submitted a proposed scale of pay and allowances to the Chief Secretary for his consideration. To the committee's undoubted delight, the government accepted the proposal. Indeed, the receptive Chief Secretary publicly declared the government's desire to place the police of South Australia on a par with police of other states. As evidence of his goodwill, the Chief Secretary granted police employees permission to form an Association. Consideration had for some time been given to improving the police position vis-a-vis public servants generally. (9)

### 1911

The police committee continued its inquiries for several weeks more and then, on 18 October 1911, held a meeting of police employees which approved the action of forming the "Police Association of South Australia". (10) The committee was authorised to draw up a list of rules and regulations for the Association. Then, the first general meeting of the new Association was held on 7 December 1911 at the Cooperative Society's Hall, Angas Street, Adelaide. Rules drawn up by the elected police committee and approved by the Chief Secretary, were adopted by the meeting as a basis for the Association's organisation and business. Thus, the first police employee representative organisation in the Empire was established. Sergeant John Beare was elected inaugural President unopposed. Mounted Constable Downing and Foot Constable Trestrail were elected unopposed respectively to the offices of Vice President and Honorary Secretary-Treasurer. (11) A short time later, the Association's executive committee formally advised the Commissioner of Police of PASA's existence. At that point, the Association's membership totalled 114, about one quarter of the department's establishment. (12) Commissioner WH Raymond, the first chief officer of the South Australian police department to have achieved that office by advancement through all ranks, indirectly conveyed his disapproval by declining to acknowledge receipt of the communication. The Chief Secretary was then advised direct. (13) Consistent with his earlier encouragement to employee representatives to form an Association, the Chief Secretary returned the copy of Association rules which had been sent to him. His signature thereon indicated official approval of the Association's existence. (14)

1912

In February 1912, the Verran Labor government lost office and was succeeded by the more conservative Peake government. Few Association meetings were held during the year, apparently reflecting the new government's disapproval of PASA. (15) Two Association office bearers, an auditor and the Secretary-Treasurer, submitted their resignations. (16) Oddly enough, during 1912 PASAs limited activities failed to reflect any mention of members' concern with money and days off. Possibly such contentious matters were deliberately avoided rather than risk direct retaliative action by the government or risk the one shilling a day increase awarded in the budget brought down that year. Issues in the sparsely written PASA minutes of that year refer only to footwear policy, (17) counsel's opinion regarding possible defamation of policemen, (18) and press reporting of PASA affairs. (19)

1913

In 1913 the issue of days off emerged again. At a special meeting, held 9 January, it was decided the committee should acquaint the Commissioner of Police with members' views on the subject. A most respectfully phrased letter was duly addressed to the Commissioner:

... with a view of getting a Sunday off duty being granted to all Constables where two or more men are stationed ... the Executive Committee ... suggest that a system now in vogue in West Australia may be adopted in the SA Police, viz, that each man be allowed one Sunday in every four off duty.

... in New South Wales Police the men get every other Sunday off duty in addition to their 28 days recreation leave. And in further support (we) remind you that for several years half the morning watch were allowed off duty on Sunday, and at an interview granted by the late Hon Chief Secretary FS Wallis he assured the committee in your presence that on the force being strengthened the Sunday off would be again restored to them ... the granting of the Sunday off was discontinued owing to the Police Force being short handed, the strength of the Metropolitan Police in City for foot duty being then only 89. Whereas now it is 126, a very substantial increase. (20)

Again Commissioner Raymond declined to respond, despite a reminder from the Association. However, lack of response was not indicative of lack of action on his part. Thus, in March 1913, PASA felt obliged to ask the Commissioner if it were true he had taken four men from the morning and afternoon shifts respectively and placed them on night shift in order that insufficient personnel would then be available

during daylight hours to permit time off. The Association clearly perceived these measures as a reaction to their request for a Sunday off. (21) Stung to reply, the Commissioner in the course of rejecting the request for a day off accused the Association of interfering with the discipline and administration of the Force. (22) Members' responses to the Commissioner's letter were mixed. One view suggested annual recreation leave be increased to 28 days as a trade off for the rest day rejection. The cautious majority view, though, was that it was not a propitious time to rock the economic boat as the government was currently considering pension schemes. It was felt preferable to let the matter rest until midyear by which time it was thought the government would have firmed its thinking on the subject - hopefully including a police pension scheme. There had been appeals for same in 1898, 1902 and 1911 and, feeling ran strongly on the subject throughout the entire police department. (23)

Between November 1899 and June 1904, the only financial cover enjoyed by retiring police was from an official moiety fund. (24) This protection provided for a lump sum on retirement comprising one month's pay for each year of service. A similar provision existed for public servants. As wages were low, lump sum payments - always provided the fund was solvent - were not large. Thus, it made sense to serve as long as possible so as to increase the amount due to a member on separation - as well as reduce the period of retirement for which to provide. There being no mandatory retiring age and provided they were modestly ambulatory, members were known to serve on into their late sixties, even seventies. Such aged members, mostly in rural postings, were clearly not only unsuited to their task but seriously inhibited promotion flow - to the considerable frustration of younger members. However, the passage of the Police Fund Distribution Act 1904 was to change things greatly. Among other things, this short but complicated piece of legislation provided:

- \* members who joined PDSA prior to 30 Jun 94 and retired after 30 Jun 04 were entitled to retire with a payout of three fourths of a month's pay for each year served prior to 1894. (Such retrospective legislation was considered most unfair as members had the clear understanding of a four fourths payout based on their entire service) (S.5(2)).
- \* members who joined PDSA after 30 Jun 04 were to subscribe to the Public Service super-annuation fund (S.14).

The situation was thus clearly inequitable with members on three separate sets of retirement provisions. Some would receive a lower than expected payout for service prior to 1894. About 100 members had no cover at all. The remainder were covered by the Public Service superannuation scheme which was considered unsuitable for police employees. The knowledge that police in certain other states as well as in Britain were subject to their own superannuation schemes only served to intensify the frustration of members.

In view of the need for a compulsory retiring age to be incorporated in any proposed police pension scheme it was determined to poll country members for their views. (25) To soothe the Commissioner's irritation a placatory letter was addressed to him professing PASAs desire for an improved Force. At the same time, the opportunity was taken to further press the day off issue. (26)

Concentrating on the pension scheme which, given the department's large proportion of elderly members, was probably considered the more pressing need the Association's executive requested the Chief Secretary on 5 May 1913 for details of the Pension Bill. (27) The request was ignored and the general meeting scheduled for June was delayed until July as a consequence. Despite the deferral, no response was to hand by the time members assembled for the July meeting. That meeting, not to be outdone, resolved to further approach the Chief Secretary not only concerning an adequate retiring allowance but, also recreation and sick leave. (28) However, a subsequent executive committee meeting counselled caution, urging no action be taken until after the next parliamentary sittings; so as to see what the government was offering. (29) The Pension Bill was not debated in parliament as had been hoped and a letter to the Chief Secretary requesting an interview concerning same was written sometime in September 1913. A reply was received by PASA to the effect that the Pension Bill would be presented to parliament when the government was ready to do so and that any suggestions respecting it should be submitted in writing. (30) This rebuff, combined with the time it was taking the government to prepare a suitable pension scheme for police employees - it was not even clear at this stage whether the government would opt for a separate police scheme or lump them in with public servants - was too much for Association President Beare. Early in December 1913, with the concurrence of the executive committee, he wrote to the Chief Secretary in forthright and, given the tenor of the times, courageous terms. The letter outlined the history of pensions in the Police Force of South Australia with special reference to the disadvantage incurred by members who joined prior to 1904. It well conveyed the author's despair of ever receiving fair and competent treatment from the government. Subsequently, at the annual general meeting for 1913 it was resolved to again approach the Commissioner of Police with a view to his granting 28 days annual leave instead of 21 days should one Sunday off in four prove impossible to obtain. (31)

With these two blows struck the Association again felt it politic to lie low - for the next fifteen months. This period saw a further change of government. It was, in fact, not until the election of the Vaughan Labor government the Association sought again to become active. Even then, apart from resolving to further approach the Commissioner concerning one Sunday off in four for metropolitan police employees, it was agreed only to give the new government six months grace before pushing for improved sick leave concessions. (32) The six month grace period was sufficient for the government to prepare some sort of a pension proposition for consideration by police.

### 1915

On 19 October 1915, a special general meeting of the Association was convened to hear and discuss the public actuary's report to the government concerning pensions for police. Parts of the report were considered incorrect by members. A sense of urgency prevailed and it was considered representations should be made to government regarding the matter. To this end it was thought a competent private person should be paid to frame a model Bill. There was little optimism the government would agree to a separate Police Pensions Act as the public actuary apparently considered such a move too expensive. The same meeting agreed the Chief Secretary and Commissioner of Police should each be written to with the request that sick leave be made cumulative. (33) The AGM for 1915 had to be initially abandoned for want of quorum but, was eventually held 21 December. The police Pension Bill and compulsory retirement age were the two issues uppermost in members' minds. Despite lack of employee support as gauged by attendance figures, time was taken to approve the establishment of Association branches at Port Pirie, Port Augusta, Port Adelaide, and Mount Gambier. Regardless of apathy and fear of official displeasure, the organisation was slowly spreading. (34) Even so, as an effective union, it was at an extremely low ebb.

### 1916

The first executive committee meeting for 1916 again revealed deep concern among attendees over the Pension Bill and the age of compulsory retirement in relation thereto. (35) A few days later, however, at the Association's AGM, despite detailed discussion concerning the Pension Bill, the President felt moved to question the advisability of continuing with PASA in view of the small attendances at meetings. It was determined nevertheless to persevere as country members were felt to be most supportive although they could not often be present. (36)

Sometime between the AGM and early April, a meeting was held between PASA representatives and the Chief Secretary regarding police pensions. (37) At long last the government was

was ready to talk! On 11 April 1916, the executive committee agreed the President of PASA should discuss with the Public Actuary pension contributions of members who had joined prior to 1904. (38) Subsequent to that meeting, a copy of a draft Bill was made available and the executive committee considered it in detail. Then, on 14 June, a special general meeting was held at the Cooperative Hall. Superintendent Priest, a commissioned officer of outstanding ability, explained the essential clauses of the Bill and their implications for members. (39) About two months later, at another and very well attended special general meeting including inter alia the acting Commissioner of Police, the Public Actuary explained the primary clauses in both the police and public service Pension Bills. After listening to the details of both bills, the gathering unanimously voted that all ranks of the force request the government to ensure police had their own pension statute consistent with the bill as discussed. (40) This decision was followed up shortly after when the Association's executive committee resolved after considerable discussion to write the Chief Secretary urging him to introduce the proposed Police Pensions Bill to parliament in its entirety, (41) which he did.

#### 1917

On 14 March 1917, John Beare was promoted Sub Inspector and he resigned from the executive committee. (42) Although the Police Pensions Act 1916 still had several months before its commencement, it had been assented to and implementation was assured. Beare had been increasingly concerned with the apathy of members and the difficulties of the office of president. No doubt he was pleased to hand over responsibility after five often uncomfortable years, even though the "day off" battle had not yet been won. The Police Pensions Act 1916 was formally commenced on 1 July 1917, having been more than four years in preparation. At long last police had their own pension legislation and, whilst not perfect, amendments were easier to bring about than a new statute. The Act created a police pension fund to which all members contributed, contributions varying between L8.0.0 and L10.8.0 per annum. A compulsory retiring age of 60 years was fixed subject to certain exceptions but, in no case to exceed 65 years. Those members who joined prior to 24 November 1904 were accepted into the pension fund. The actual pension entitled under the Act to be paid on retirement was L130 per annum, payable in monthly instalments. This statute only lasted some 12 years, when it was replaced by the Police Pensions Act 1929, which inter alia placed an absolute age limit of the sixtieth birthday and raised the pension to L208 per annum, but it had the effect for the first time of providing all South Australian police employees with the security of a common superannuation scheme.

Two sources of irritation concerning the pension scheme nevertheless persisted. One, a number of former members of the force who had taken up positions with other departments were included in the scheme. (43) Two, it had been generally assumed that all members of the Force over age 60 would have left the force at the latest by 1922 and in any case could not serve past the age of 63 years. From 1922 on, 60 years was to be the fixed retirement age. However, as the statute was applied some members were permitted to serve until nearly 70 years of age. (44) The retention of members past the age of 65 years was a particular cause for employee discontent. Thus, whilst implementing a generally beneficial provision for police, the government sacrificed much of the goodwill it would otherwise have received by not retiring elderly members; (45) thereby continuing to inhibit the promotion process.

With the Police Pensions Act 1916 safely assented to in November 1916, the Police Association's new committee started thinking about a salary increase at PASAs first meeting of 1917 (46). Among other things it was decided to compile a schedule of rates for submission to the government. The Secretary was authorised to present the proposal in a pamphlet to be distributed among members. (47) The Chief Secretary was asked if he would receive a petition on the matter on 3 April 1917. The petition itself was discussed by the executive on 12 April (48) and was subsequently forwarded to the Chief Secretary. No reply had been received by 7 June and it was decided to send him a reminder. (49) Shortly thereafter, ie, 15 June, another communication was directed to the Chief Secretary asking that he receive a deputation (50) to discuss the PASA request for a pay rise in the terms outlined in the petition sent him some months earlier. This time a response was forthcoming and 27 June was the date set for the deputation. (51) It seems the meeting was not productive. Subsequently, deputation members were thanked and it was proposed to publish an account of what had transpired during the meeting. (52) At a general PASA meeting held about one month later a committee member, Foot Constable HG Henderson, moved that a resolution be sent to the Chief Secretary again pointing out the inability of police to cope with "the ever increasing cost of living". During that same meeting, however, a vote of no confidence in the committee was passed. A new committee was then elected with HG Henderson as President and, the previous assistant secretary, Foot Constable WJ Wissell, as Secretary. (53) There was no further PASA meeting held for some three months following the change of committee. However, this did not mean initiative had been lost. Rather, it seems Henderson - a life long member of the Labor Party - was using his parliamentary contacts. This was made somewhat more difficult as the Vaughan Labor government went into opposition during early July 1917. Henderson had been asked by Sub Inspector Beare to interest

himself in Association affairs as he feared that without competent leadership the Association would self destruct under the combined pressures of apathy and official obduracy. Beare had recognised in Henderson a person possessing outstanding leadership ability.

On 17 October 1917, in the House of Assembly, the Labor MLA, AA Edwards, successfully moved in favour of a pay rise for police in terms of the rates spelled out by the Association in its earlier petition to the Chief Secretary:

Probationary constable	1 yr service	10/- daily
Constable	2-5 years	10/6
Constable	5-15 years	11/-
Constable	15 years +	11/6
Senior constable		12/-
Sergeant		13/6

In addition, the motion recommended all Constables not officially accommodated should receive 1/- a day quarters allowance. (54) Of course, the budget for 1917-1918 had already been brought down and the new government was naturally unwilling to consider wage rises until the next budget was due for preparation.

Later in the year, the Association considered asking the Chief Secretary to cite a case for arbitration but, decided to defer such a course of action until the outcome of Edwards' motion was known. (55) As things turned out, and not unexpectedly, the government did nothing prior to the next budget estimates.

### 1918

The year 1918 opened with the reelection, at a general meeting, of the executive committee. (56) Members' hopes of a pay rise were buoyed by Edwards' successful motion in the previous session of the House of Assembly. A letter of appreciation was sent to the politician for his effort. At the same time, it was decided to publish relevant passages from Hansard for the interest of members generally. FAJ King, in his excellent account of PASAs early days suggests this move was indicative of a clear expectation by members of receiving the rates listed in Edwards' motion. (57) However, in view of the rather negative government comments made in the legislature concerning the matter, (58) it was more probably a tactic to pressure the government into conforming with the requirements of the motion.

Yet another letter was sent to the Chief Secretary on 21 February in an attempt to get him to commit himself concerning the Edwards motion. (59) Later in the year, PASA Secretary, Foot Constable Wissell, an extremely active Association member, was posted to Walleroo. (60) Another active member, Foot Constable Ivey, was posted to Walleroo Mines at about the same time. It seems not unreasonable to conclude these two postings were instances of official harassment of Association executive members. Then, on 2 September 1918, the pace quickened as PASA entered the most critical phase of its existence. The budget estimates made it clear the government was not going to abide by the motion of the House of Assembly passed the previous



November. The Treasurer, in his budget speech, made it clear the only increase police could expect was that Constables would receive a minimum of 1/- extra per diem. First year Constables were to have their pay increased from 8/- to 9/- a day and second to fifth year Constables were to receive an increase from 8/6 to 9/- per diem. This additional pay, together with (61) a daily quarters allowance of 1/-, amounted to a total of 10/- per diem. A sense of outrage was clearly apparent among police employees. An emergency special meeting of PASA was called at short notice. The government's decision in this matter was formally deplored by the meeting and the Chief Secretary was urged to comply with Edwards' motion. (62) The executive was urged to bring the situation to the notice of all parliamentarians and it was decided to ask the Chief Secretary to receive a deputation. A letter to this effect was sent to him on 3 September. He declined to receive an Association deputation but, declared his willingness to receive a representative of each branch to discuss the matter. (63)

A further PASA meeting was held nine days later on Thursday, 12 September at the Cooperative Hall and at which a unanimous vote of dissatisfaction with the government's policy regarding police pay was passed. (64) A meeting of the Police Force was called for Saturday 14 September, the Association agreeing to pay the convenor's costs. The Saturday meeting was attended by about 100 members representing all branches other than detectives. The meeting lasted for about one hour and one half and a sense of unanimity was reportedly present among attendees. Superintendent Priest was also in attendance in a neutral capacity, so he claimed. His advice to the men assembled was that they seek a deputation with the Premier. This suggestion was decisively rejected, members preferring instead to submit their resignations. (65) This course of action clearly struck a responsive chord with members generally, as some 300 Association members submitted their resignations, giving the required one month notice. (66) Some idea of the frustration of members may be gauged not only from the fact that the government refused to honor a decision of the House of Assembly but, also by the fact that on the same day the PASA decision was taken to hold the Saturday meeting, the Labor Council determined to despatch a deputation to the government concerning the high cost of living and the need to raise the basic wage from 9/- to 12/- per diem. The Police Association was asking 12/- per diem only at the level of Senior Constable! (67)

The Chief Secretary's response to the flood of resignations received by the Department was to write to the Commissioner of Police, justifying the government's action and asking that he inform members of the Force that his invitation to talk was still open.

Another mass meeting of members was held on 18 September to consider the Minister's message, which once again had carefully avoided recognising the Association as an employees' representative organisation. The meeting, which again lacked the presence of detectives, decided to accept the Chief Secretary's invitation and elected a deputation which included most executive officers of the Association as well as Sub Inspector Duncan Fraser of Port Adelaide. The Chief Secretary replied that he would meet with the deputation on 24 September. Upon attending the Chief Secretary the deputation found a representative of the detective branch present, Detective Mitchell. The deputation made it clear that Detective Mitchell was not part of their deputation and, after agreeing to meet separately with the Premier at a later date, he departed. The minister listened to the arguments raised and then presented an ultimatum - the government would submit the matter to impartial inquiry once the resignations were withdrawn. A PASA meeting was scheduled for the following day, 25 September. Members of the deputation put the minister's case to the men who promptly rejected it. Members, as agreed at the 18 September meeting, declined to withdraw their resignations until the individual safety of their members and impartial consideration of their grievances was guaranteed. (69) An impasse thus existed.

Three days later, however, the government proposed a face saver. Whilst the Chief Secretary was conveniently out of Adelaide, the Attorney General, who was deputising for him, suggested via the Commissioner of Police that if police personnel were prepared to accept the decision of either the President or Deputy President of the Industrial Court concerning their dispute, such agreement would be taken as a withdrawal of the resignations. This proposal was positively received by the executive and was presented to members at yet another mass meeting held on 28 September. The proposal was also well received by the meeting. The Deputy President of the Industrial Court, Mr NA Webb, was selected as a suitable arbitrator. Agreement was contingent upon several factors, though, including the Deputy President's decision being made in the form of an Award, that the Award be binding on both parties, that legal representation be eschewed and, finally, that the matter be expedited. These decisions were forwarded to the government. The government agreed to all provisos with the exception that the Deputy President's decision be in the form of an Award; it being argued no legal basis existed to permit such a course of action. (70)

This initiative was considered by the Association's executive in a generally favourable light. The executive rephrased the demand for an Award and inserted a proviso guaranteeing no victimisation of members. Again, through the Commissioner of Police, the Association's response was forwarded

to the government. On 2 October, the Chief Secretary, now returned to the city, indicated the Deputy President's "award" (surely a slip of the pen!) would be binding on both sides and that no punitive measures would be taken. (71) A mass meeting of members the following day approved the proposal and agreed that all resignations could be considered as withdrawn. In responding to the Attorney General, the Association referred to the dispute as concerning wages and conditions. The reference to conditions perplexed the government, causing the Attorney to call upon Sub Inspector Fraser, Foot Constable HG Henderson (President PASA) and Foot Constable GE Goodridge (Secretary PASA) to explain the matter. After some argument it was agreed that conditions were germane to the dispute but, as the Deputy President could not be expected to inquire into conditions without knowing what they were the Association would need to define what it meant by conditions. After some discussion within the Association it was decided that conditions comprised: (1) pay, (2) extension of sick leave, (3) increased payment for uniforms, (4) Sundays off duty, and (5) allowance of travelling time from outback stations. However, after further discussion with the Attorney it was decided to drop conditions from the inquiry on the understanding that the Chief Secretary would discuss such matters with employee representatives immediately following the inquiry. (72)

The special inquiry into the rates of pay of police employees of South Australia commenced at the Industrial Courthouse, Adelaide, on 9 October 1918. Further evidence was led on 12 October. The final "award" was declared on 25 October 1918. Generally, the Arbitrator took a sympathetic view of the case proposed by Sub Inspector Fraser and Association officials. The Arbitrator declared in favour of rates as passed by the House of Assembly in 1917 for Constables up to the grade of Constable (5th year). For the remaining non commissioned ranks he awarded as follows: Constables (6-10 years) 11/- per diem, Constables (16-20 years) 12/- per diem, Constables (20+ years) 12/6 per diem, Senior Constables 13/6 per diem and, Sergeants 14/6 per diem. The determination was received by PASA members with enthusiasm. (73)

The following month, on 19 November, a deputation waited on the Premier to discuss conditions. The Minister's attitude was generally negative as were his formal decisions. Sick leave extension, a concession strongly requested by the deputation was not approved. Retrospective pay was dated from 1 July rather than 1 January 1918 as requested. The Premier even declined to have a sentry box built at the old government offices for police guards. Sundays off duty were not approved, apart from such mounted personnel as could be spared. Removal expenses were to remain constant. However, a claim for 1/6 per diem plain clothes allowance was eventually approved. Subsequently, however, the government offered only 1/- per diem much to the Association's annoyance. (74) An Association meeting held 5 December decided the matters of Sundays off duty,

classification of stations (which the Premier declined to consider) and extension of sick leave, be referred back to Association members at the discretion of the executive. Otherwise, it was decided to accept the minister's determination.

Shortly after these events Foot Constable HG Henderson, no doubt feeling there was little future for him in the Police Force, resigned during March 1919. He was subsequently presented with an illuminated address by his erstwhile colleagues. He then joined the South Australian Railway Police, eventually retiring with the rank of Chief Inspector. (76) He died, a widely respected citizen, in 1962. Henderson's assessment of his future prospects was probably correct. In an act of spite the government even refused to recompense him for working the two armistice days in 1918. (77) Sub Inspector Fraser was eventually promoted to the rank of Superintendent prior to his retirement in 1922. It was felt in some quarters his efforts in the wage claim case cost him the Commissioner's baton. At his retirement he was also presented with an illuminated address by the Association. (78)

All in all, the Association won a significant victory in 1918 covering pay although, this was somewhat offset by the minister's niggardly response concerning conditions, a reaction the executive could reasonably have expected.

#### 1919

Despite the intention of the Police Pensions Act 1916 that members be retired at 65 years, a convenient reading of s.8(2) of the Act was employed by senior administrators to retain certain members over the age limit. Early in 1919, the Police Association directed a strongly worded complaint on the subject to the Chief Secretary. The complaint was quickly returned to the Association on the grounds it was not respectfully worded. The Association's response was twofold. It apologised in writing to the Chief Secretary but, also circularised a petition advocating that: (1) the spirit of the Police Pensions Act 1916 be observed concerning age 65 retirement, and (2) the government have the Act appropriately amended. (79) The petition was widely supported by members, some 426 signing same. (80) It was forwarded to the Commissioner of Police. Despite the great resentment felt by members at having their extremely limited promotion prospects reduced by the retention of over age members, little was apparently done to assuage their irritation.

#### 1920

March 1920 saw a request by the Association to the Chief Secretary to approach the Deputy President of the Industrial Court in similar manner to 1918, as the cost of living had again greatly outstripped the police wage. (81)

Dissatisfaction on the issue had been evident among junior members for some time. (82) The application was promptly denied. (83) A mass meeting of members then decided to request a deputation to the minister in order to state their case. The deep divisions existing between the different branches of the force at that time were highlighted when it was considered essential to have each branch, ie, mounted, plain clothes and foot, represented. Once again Sub Inspector Fraser was asked to lead the deputation. Unfortunately, Fraser was unable to appear and it was decided to permit detectives to have a representative in his place. The minister, at the last moment took exception to the wording of an Association resolution and declined to meet the deputation unless it was withdrawn. (84) If he had realised how close to striking members were he may have been less peremptory in his attitude. However, the executive rephrased the offending document and the deputation was duly received. The Premier offered the deputation a rise of 1/6 per diem for all members. After a great deal of debate the pay offer was accepted although another offer concerning travelling allowance was not. But, great division was evident among members, so much so that the executive committee felt it no longer had the confidence of members and thereupon resigned. (85) A new election was held and Sergeant JF Naylor was elected Association President. This was to the surprise of many as it had been expected that Inspector Fraser would have been elected. (86) Quite why Fraser was not elected is not clear from the available record.

In his first address to the minister, Sergeant Naylor strongly, although indirectly, suggested NSW rates of pay and allowances should be adopted in South Australia. In due course, the government made an offer which was accepted at a mass meeting of members in respect of Constables but, rejected in the case of Senior Constables and Sergeants as margins were reduced. The government was asked to reconsider these matters as well as the issue of accumulation of sick leave. (87) However, the government absolutely declined to reconsider the question of Sergeants' pay and sick leave accumulation. (88) Senior Constables were offered a rise from 15/- to 16/- per diem and Sergeants 16/- to 17/- per diem. Constables were offered a sliding scale based on seniority. Constables (Probationary) were offered a rise of 11/6 per diem to 12/6 per diem while Constables having 20+ years service were raised from 14/6 per diem to 15/6 per diem. Substantial rises in uniform allowance were also declared. The senior policewoman was placed on the same footing as male colleagues and also was granted a 1/6 per diem special allowance. Cabinet also agreed to beat Constables receiving every fourth Sunday off duty as opposed to the previous situation in which beatmen received one Sunday off in six. An attempt by senior officers to have the Police Pensions Act 1916 amended to suit themselves was strongly rejected by members. (89) Although not all the cabinet's concessions were acceptable to PASA members, very considerable gains were won by the deputation of October 1919.

This success was in part due to the care with which the individual statements of deputation members were prepared but, it was also the case that the government, despite a change during April 1920, was not anxious to repeat the inquiry of 1918. Yet another factor was undoubtedly the shrewd leadership of Sergeant Naylon the Association's President. Under his firm guidance the Association quickly achieved a credibility and dynamism that had been lacking for some time. (90)

Sundays off duty was again raised as an issue when PASA requested the Chief Secretary to approve each fourth Sunday off duty for all members. (91)

### 1921

An unusual event took place on 14 March 1921. On that day Commissioner Leane called the Police Association's executive committee to his office and informed them the government henceforth formally recognised the Police Association as the industrial representative of police employees. This action was greatly appreciated and the Association's Secretary, giving full credit to the Commissioner of Police for his support in the matter, recorded the event in the Association's magazine, the Police Review. (92) There was, however, little other satisfaction forthcoming for the Association at that time either from Police Headquarters or the Chief Secretary's office. Requests such as permitting fifty per cent of barracks accommodated personnel to attend Association meetings, for men having passed the examination for Senior Constable to then take the examination for Sergeant although not yet holding the rank of Senior Constable, one Sunday off duty in four and, the separation of members over the age of 60 years were all refused. In fact, the rank of Senior Constable was discontinued from 1 July 1921 and the rank of Sergeant was divided into three grades - first, second and third. (93) In mid-1921, the Commissioner of Police made several promotions which aroused a storm of protest from members. Promotions relating to NCO ranks in South Australia at that time were by regulation based on a combination of examination pass and seniority and had been so for a decade. But, one promotion regulation, promulgated only a matter of weeks prior to the disputed promotions, provided the Commissioner with reserved powers to promote anyone he wished in the interests of the service. With that authority he promoted several members who had not passed the requisite examinations. The reasons given by the Commissioner in response to an Association's protest was that certain postings required special training. The special training was not specified and it seems preference was in fact shown the members so promoted. The Commissioner was unusually defensive in his explanation to the Association concerning the promotions, volunteering the information that he did not expect the situation would be repeated. It seems he recognised the deep sense of grievance he had created among members. (94), (95) The Association's insistence on the relevance and importance of examinations to promotion was in

direct and interesting opposition to the attitude of PANSW which was concurrently advocating that examination passes not be made mandatory for promotion of members who joined prior to 1915. The President of PASA and several executive committee members met with Commissioner Leane by way of deputation and expressed the disapproval of members in quite forcible terms. (96) The Commissioner stood his ground and flatly declined to accede to the deputation's arguments. (97)

In the latter part of 1921, the Association decided to commence a legal defense fund. (98) The decision was precipitated by the decision to strike a levy to finance the legal defense of a Watchhouse Sergeant who was alleged by a solicitor to have assaulted him. In undertaking the responsibility of defending the Sergeant the Association decided that any money resulting from the levy and not expended in the Sergeant's defense should be used to form the basis of a legal defense fund. (99)

### 1922

By the middle of 1922 the Association's executive had become so frustrated with the Commissioner's refusal to consider its criticisms, especially with regard to promotions and promotion exams, that it raised the possibility of a mass resignation in an editorial of the Police Journal as the Police Review had by then become known. (100) In July the same year, members were warned to prepare themselves to submit their resignations over the Commissioner's failure to have Clause No 9 of Police Regulations repealed. (101) Clause No 9 authorised the Commissioner to promote at his discretion in the interests of the service.

To the regret of all police employees the greatly admired Superintendent Duncan Fraser retired on 25 June 1922.

The threat of mass resignations resulted in official retaliation and Leane sought, inter alia, of each executive committee member an assurance that he was not in sympathy with the "threats", ie, possibility of mass resignations, made. Responses were required within five days. Legal advice was sought and each member sent the Commissioner an identical response. The reply was in the following form:

Sir -

ARTICLES APPEARING IN THE POLICE JOURNAL. QUESTIONS  
ASKED BY THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, VIDE ATTACHED  
MEMORANDUM

I have the honour respectfully to reply to the questions asked by the Commissioner of Police, re the above articles, as follows:-

1. As member of the Association's executive committee, I am bound by the decision of such committee, and cannot therefore give any assurance

that this committee or its members will adopt, or refrain from adopting, any particular course of action.

2. I am unaware of any threats having been published in the "Police Journal" with the sanction of the committee. I am not, however, in sympathy with any threats such as are alleged to have been made.

3. Recognising that articles appearing in the journal should be under supervision, I will support a recommendation from the Committee to the Association that a committee be appointed to exercise such a censorship over the publication as the Association may think fit.

4. As a member of the Association I will support a recommendation to a printing committee (should it be formed) that such remarks as appeared under "Generalities", with reference to concessions granted by the Chief Secretary, do not appear in future.

5. Every effort and assistance will be given by me in the interest of discipline and to achieve the printed objects of the Association. (102)

This form letter conveniently got the members off the hook of individual responsibility for material already published but, it did make significant concessions for the future which, if observed, would have had the effect of reducing the intensity of the Association's attack upon the police administration. Immediately upon its receipt Sergeant Joe Naylor and FC Norman Trestrail, President and Secretary respectively of PASA, were posted; Naylor back to Central Watchhouse and Trestrail from clerical to beat duties. Trestrail resigned from the Police Force shortly thereafter. (103) A PASA deputation unsuccessfully queried the Commissioner concerning the two postings (104) which were clearly perceived as harrassment. Questions were also raised in Parliament on the issue. The entire event was to be closely repeated 20 years later in New South Wales. This first occurrence was unsuccessful, merely generating greater dissatisfaction within the ranks. A wider knowledge of police administration might have saved NSW Police Commissioner William John Mackay, from making a similar mistake in 1942.

At roughly the same time, in Victoria, the police department had been provided not only with a police promotions board but, also a tribunal to hear appeals against its decisions.



In a deputation to Chief Secretary Bice, held in August 1922, Association representatives requested inter alia that a promotion appeal tribunal be established in South Australia. (105) Reference was also made to the fact that several men had been recently engaged in the police force who did not meet minimum height and/or age criteria. (106) Clearly, despite his earlier statement concerning the unlikelihood of further resort to Clause No 9, the Commissioner had again utilised it. The deputation's points were all rejected by the Chief Secretary. At a packed Association meeting following the deputation, Sergeant Naylor counselled members to take no extreme action and to accept the existence of Clause No 9 of promotion regulations and its consequences. (107) It would seem that a temporary dampening of the President's enthusiasm had occurred but, by the following month the President had recovered his enthusiasm and informed an Association general meeting that whilst he still counselled no industrial action, he was dedicated to the repeal of Clause No 9.

### 1923

In mid-1923, PASA decided to hold a state conference for delegates from each subdivision in order to consider revision of Association rules as well as discuss matters for the betterment of the service generally. It seems this decision was arrived at by the executive committee subsequent to receipt of correspondence from PANSW outlining its annual conference processes. (108) Prior to that time, police employee conferences of the type envisaged had not been held in South Australia; although special meetings for particular purposes had been held and at which country representatives had been present. It is interesting to reflect on the differences in operational style exhibited by Associations in different states. PANSW, for example, operated from the outset with an annual conference as the Association's overriding policy organ but, with an executive committee exercising day to day management. PASA, on the other hand, had tended to operate almost exclusively by means of general meetings of members which, by force of circumstance, could normally only be attended by metropolitan members and, perhaps, the odd country member on annual leave in Adelaide. The Commissioner of Police was duly approached but, claimed he had no authority to approve such a gathering. PASA then asked the Chief Secretary who refused permission. (109) The Commissioner then complained that the Association had failed to go through him when directing its request to the Chief Secretary. President Naylor hotly refuted the allegation presenting the pertinent correspondence to a general meeting of the Association. (110) Commissioner Leane then, after having stated he had no power to authorise a conference, proposed a conference of his own. Representatives of all divisions were invited, including PASA executive members.

Another factor contributing to the Association's decision to hold a conference was the accumulation of industrial grievances held by the various branches. Metropolitan foot police desired the abolition of the 1900-0300 shift and requested the Commissioner to do away with the shift, leaving only three regular shifts, ie, 0600-1400, 1400-2200, and 2200-0600. (111) The request was promptly denied. (112) It was also requested that night shift be paid at the rate of time and one half (1.5). Sick leave of 16 days per annum, was still not cumulative and it was strongly felt by members that it should be. Traffic police felt strongly that they should operate only six days a week and not have to patrol otherwise unpoliced beats on Sundays as "make work", eg, the cemetery. In a more general vein it was felt the cost of living had risen substantially since the last pay rise and that another pay rise was necessary. (113) It was further claimed that not only were South Australian police employees paid less than colleagues in other states but, that conditions of service and leave were also generally lower. These same problems also gave rise to executive thoughts of registering with the Industrial Court. (114)

At a general meeting of PASA held 19 October 1923, the question of industrial registration was raised. Some members considered the Chief Secretary should be again approached for permission to attempt registration with the Industrial Court. However, the President and other executive members strongly favoured requesting pay rises by way of ministerial deputations. The President and his supporters won the day and the registration proposal was not proceeded with further at that time. (115) An increase in pay was duly requested of the Chief Secretary through the Commissioner of Police. The request was deferred until after the election to be held in April 1924 and, amidst a furore regarding actual police rates of pay and allowances, allegations of a threat to strike. (116)

Despite the obstruction of police authorities, PASA held its first annual conference in December 1923. A total of eight executive members and delegates attended in their own time and at their own expense. (117) A wide variety of issues were discussed, including station classification, night work, Sundays off, pay, pensions, manuals of instruction, removals, increase of annual leave to 28 days from 21 says and, saluting. (118) One of the items warranting substantial discussion was that of a Police Appeal Board, the creation of which was considered essential by delegates. (119) However, it was subsequently felt the Chief Secretary paid scant attention to the decisions forwarded to him from the conference. (120) Failure to amend the Police Pensions Act 1916 in favour of widows, pursue the question of industrial registration and, abandon the 1900 hrs shift were particularly resented by members. It was not until the end of 1926 that the 1900 hrs shift was finally abandoned.

1924

The Liberal government was defeated in the April 1924 elections and a new Chief Secretary was appointed by the incoming Labor government. Efforts to achieve a pay rise had to start all over again as did representations for a Police Appeal Board. (121) The question of industrial registration was also raised again within PASA, there being some internal disagreement on the issue. Most members favoured Industrial Court registration but President JF Naylon did not and he went to some pains to delay efforts aimed at achieving such registrations.

Much to the Association's satisfaction, the new Chief Secretary, quickly granted a pay rise as from 1 May 1924. The Association voiced some dissatisfaction with the new rates for Constables of less than six years service but, generally was pleased with the offer even though it did not match Association demands. For example, Sergeants (First Grade) on top increment were to receive 20/- per diem as opposed to 15/- per diem previously, whereas the Association had asked for 20/- per diem for Constables. In fact, Constables with up to eight years permanent service were raised from 13/- per diem to 14/- per diem. Probationers received an additional sixpence per diem taking their new pay rate to 13/- per diem. (122) However, the question of allowances remained and, given the government's apparent goodwill, the Association decided not to be too demanding and give the Chief Secretary more time to settle into office before pursuing the matter further. (123)

At the same time, gentle pressure was being indirectly applied by the Association through the press for the establishment of a Police Appeal Board inter alia. (124), (125) The board of inquiry, comprising three Inspectors, then current was generally held to be unsatisfactory. (126) A major and vocal Association proponent for the creation of a Police Appeal Board and improvement of conditions generally was Foot Constable HC Alker, MM and Bar. The fact that a member possessing such a distinguished military record should be a leading Association activist must have been particularly galling to Commissioner Leane, himself a former senior army officer of distinction. Eventually, the Chief Secretary decided to approach the Attorney with a view to creating a Police Appeal Board similar to that provided railways personnel. (127) Commissioner Leane, still determined not to let PASA steal the initiative with regard to the holding of conferences, proposed to hold a second departmental annual conference. Although PASA representatives were invited to attend the conference and did so, the Association was nevertheless not deterred from holding its own independent conference. (128)

The sensitive relations existing within PDSA among the different branches of the service even as late as 1924, were well illustrated in the course of an Association meeting in September of that year. A newspaper item had alleged that detectives had always strongly supported the Association and

its activities. The Secretary expressed ignorance of such support. He stated that detectives had always ridden on the backs of their comrades and evidenced the fact that whilst it had been difficult to obtain the services of even a single detective to participate in the last deputation to the Chief Secretary they had fallen over themselves to attend the Commissioner's conference. (129) Only a couple of meetings earlier the President had expressed pleasure at the numbers of Mounted Constables attending. It seems the Association was still viewed very much as a foot police organisation, although the mounted branch had played its part both at the Association's inception and during the great confrontation of 1918. Great care had to be exercised in ensuring that ministerial deputations represented all three branches so as to avoid subsequent complaints of deceit or skulduggery. The two positions of executive committee member were at that time assigned to foot and mounted police equally so as to maintain equality of representation.

#### 1925

As so often happens in government, ministers' statements are either not actioned or, they take an inordinately long time to eventuate. By late 1925 a Police Appeal Board still had not been constituted, although enabling legislation was before parliament. An event occurred at that time which, due to the lack of an Appeal Board, created great discontent among police employees. A uniformed Sergeant was reduced 10 years in seniority and demoted to the rank of Constable. He had been found on hotel premises out of opening hours and had failed to record visits to Constables in the required book for a period of four days. Evidence was given by the then equivalent of internal affairs investigators that there was no suggestion the Sergeant was on the premises for reasons other than collecting his bicycle which had been left there for safekeeping. His commander gave him a good character at the departmental inquiry. On the face of it, the penalty which was imposed by the Commissioner and not the inquiry board, seemed draconian and police subordinate employees responded accordingly. The former Sergeant considered himself most unjustly treated and vowed to fight the matter, asking the Association to help him in so doing. (130) This the executive promised to do. (131) All of which was designed to maintain employee dissatisfaction at a high level. Had an independent Police Appeal Board existed all heat could have been quickly removed from the situation.

During late 1925, a member possessing three years and eight months service was made a brevet Sergeant and Officer-in-Charge of the transport pool. Considerable resentment was expressed by Association activists at this early promotion to the exclusion of allegedly equally well qualified colleagues possessing 10 to 16 years service. The possibility of preference was present, one protester claiming the junior NCO was promoted because he had held captain's rank in the army during WWI. Quite evidently, a substantial breach of the seniority principle

was perceived and written protests were made by the Association to the Commissioner of Police and Chief Secretary. The absence of a Police Appeal Board was especially remarked upon in relation to the promotion. (132) However, the authorities were amenable to neither the written protests of the Association nor the verbal complaints made by those attending the Commissioner's annual conference. (133) Once again, Regulation No 9 which the Commissioner was on record as having hoped would never again be used, had been applied.

### 1926

Throughout 1925 and into the early part of 1926, PASA amended its rules with a view to becoming eligible for industrial registration. (134) This move followed a ballot of members taken early in 1924. (135) Some reluctance existed among members concerning registration; not only because they felt ministerial deputations were more effective but, because it was assumed registration automatically meant affiliation with the Trades and Labor Council. (136) Regardless, registration was effected on 9 July 1926.

On 5 August 1926, nominations were called for positions as member of a Police Appeal Board constituted under the Police Appeal Board Act 1925. The board was to have a Special Magistrate as chairman, together with two members. One member was to be a nominee of the Commissioner of Police and the other to be nominated in a "manner prescribed". An open election was held of those members willing to stand as no provision was made for a PASA representative as such. The board was authorised to hear appeals in respect of promotions denied and punishments. Postings were not included. No finality attached to board decisions. They were to be forwarded to the Commissioner of Police and, from him, on to the Chief Secretary whose decision was final. Thus, as in New South Wales the way was left open for police authorities to ignore the board's findings, thereby negating the board's utility.

The Association naturally campaigned to have its own representative elected, ie, its strong minded President, Sergeant JF Naylor. (137) He was in due course elected (138) with an absolute majority. On 9 July 1926, PASA achieved registration with the Industrial Court. (139) There was an expectation among some Association members that registration would ensure more considerate treatment by government when terms and conditions of service were being considered. However, late in August 1926, the government announced new pay rates for police. Inspectors were to receive an extra L25 per annum and Police Matron Kate Cocks received 1/6 per diem more. Sergeants were raised by 1/- per diem and Constables an extra 9d, 6d or 3d per diem depending on length of service. Needless to say, great dissatisfaction was expressed with such parsimony as a strongly held view was that the base police pay rate should

be 11 per diem. New shifts were also introduced at the same time - some members having to work broken shifts. Initial reaction of some members was to resort to arbitration immediately but, other counsels prevailed, it being decided to first approach the Commissioner of Police and try to convince him that a more satisfactory scale of pay and conditions was required. (140) Subsequently, PASA softened its stand, requesting Sergeants (First Grade) be paid 21/6 per diem down to Constables at 15/- per diem, with Constables (Probationary) to receive 14/0 per diem. It also requested that married personnel receive an increase of 6d per diem quarters allowance to 2/6 per diem and, single members' quarters allowance be raised from 1/6 to 2/- per diem. An annual leave entitlement of 28 days rather than the existing 21 days was sought as well as alternate Sundays off duty. The Commissioner referred the matter for discussion at his next annual conference. (141) Later, at the conference, the Commissioner agreed that all members should have at least one day a week off duty. (142) The reduction of hours to 44 per week was not realised. In the meanwhile, efforts were underway by a committee to produce an acceptable amendment to the Police Pensions Act 1916. (143)

Tension between detectives and PASA were heightened through some misunderstanding or other in late 1926. Detectives formed their own CIB Association. One member suggested, as a counter, that PASA should provide functional rather than territorial branches. (144) However, the suggestion was not adopted and over a period of time tensions eased and the CIB Association faded into oblivion.

#### 1927

As there was no response to the Association's suggested new terms and conditions, it was decided early in January 1927 to wait on the Chief Secretary by way of deputation. It was reported at an Association meeting that the Victorian government had recently approved 28 days annual leave to police employees in that state together with alternate Sundays off duty. PDSA was now allegedly the only police force not enjoying such conditions. (145) The membership was also annoyed with press comments (146) concerning remarks made in his annual report by the Commissioner of Police which suggested that over indulgence in alcoholic beverages was a problem for some members within the police department. The deputation was received by the Chief Secretary, who clearly remained unimpressed with employees' arguments. It seems, nevertheless, authorities were apprehensive of strike action by members at the time.

The reaction of PASA members to the near total rebuff applied by the Chief Secretary, ie, some matters would be inquired into and others deferred, was hostile. At a special meeting called by a group of the membership and held on 11 March 1927,

complaints were angrily aired and resignations, stopwork and, other job actions, were mooted. Clearly, deep dissatisfaction was evidenced by members stemming principally from perceptions of an inefficient and unfair administration. Grievance compounded grievance. If any single grievance could be said to predominate it was probably a sense that the principle of seniority was being steadily eroded. In addition to the brevet Sergeant issue, there was a rumour that a young Constable had been placed in the fingerprint section. The Chief Secretary had assured the deputation that promotions were based exclusively on examination and seniority. Members, knowing the situation rather better than their Minister, thought otherwise. The question of promotion was closely related to postings as the more desirable assignments were traditionally in large part based on inclination of members and seniority. Thus, the posting of men to Criminal Investigation duties who had not passed a prerequisite examination was perceived by members as tantamount to an improperly approved promotion. On top of these disquieting factors, a Royal Commission was inquiring into allegations of police bribery at the time and at which a considerable number of police officers were named. This too would have had the effect of reducing morale. Eventually, it was decided to adjourn the meeting for a few days to permit fresh approaches to be made to both the Commissioner of Police and the Chief Secretary. The Chief Secretary, perhaps sensing the desperation experienced by some members wrote indicating he was prepared to further discuss matters with a PASA deputation. At the adjourned meeting, feelings were still running high and, after extensive discussion of a wide range of grievances, including insufficiency of traffic allowance, inconsiderate treatment by commissioned officers, failure of department to grant annual leave, shifts, excessive docking of pay for latecomers, alternate Sundays off duty, failure of department to pay overtime, mounted personnel having to perform duties more appropriately discharged by foot personnel, etc, it was decided to press for a Royal Commission into the administration of the police force, thus risking the non cooperation of the Chief Secretary at the following day's deputation. (147) The expression of views concerning the abolition of saluting and the unfair treatment of members by Inspectors suggested a basic dissatisfaction among subordinate employees with the department's authority structure. Veiled references to two specific senior officers suggest, further, that the style of administration causing such disaffection was perceived to stem in large part from a small number of very senior officers.

The minister in fact received the deputation - a parliamentary election was approaching - but, time permitted only the discussion of matters covering Sundays off duty and annual leave in any depth. However, he did suggest that a meeting between Association representatives and Inspectors could be fruitful in establishing increases in strength necessary to accommodate extra leave and Sundays off duty. (148) In

following the matter up, the Commissioner of Police merely requested the Association to provide him with a detailed explanation of how such measures could be implemented. The Association declined to be "sucked in" and insisted on the conference with Inspectors suggested by the Chief Secretary. Also playing it canny, the Commissioner responded that no conference was possible in the absence of a plan to be discussed thereat. At this remove it is difficult to know how much pure bloody mindedness existed in the relations between PASA and the Commissioner of Police and how much manoeuvres as described here were merely a product of the selective perceptions of the protagonists. Certainly, at face value it would seem the Commissioner was seeking to either obstruct the minister's wishes or, by an unreasonable definition of the situation seek to manoeuvre events to his own advantage. Either way, understanding of industrial relations was deficient. One suspects he made the error common to many strong minded persons of confusing his ego with the department's welfare. Thus, a threat to his ego was interpreted as a threat to the department's wellbeing; a failing not uncommon among police administrators.

#### 1927-1929

At this point Association members lost patience and determined to: (1) press for a Royal Commission into police administration, and (2) take a case to the Industrial Court. (149) Arbitration commenced in June 1927 as a prelude to South Australia's first police award. When eventually the Industrial Court brought down, in the following year, its decision it was viewed by members with considerable reserve but, given the desperate economic circumstances obtaining at the time, an appeal was not entered. (150) Even so, annual leave was raised from 21 days per annum to 28 days per annum and, every other Sunday was granted off duty. An application for an increase in base pay had not been made for tactical reasons. While discussions concerning increased pay and allowances continued to occupy Associationists and administrators alike, the new Pensions Bill was approved but, was not commenced until 1 January 1930. The Police Pensions Act 1929 provided for retirement to pension at age 60 and also made long desired provision for widows and offspring. Widows of members or pensioners were entitled to L20 per annum and each child to L13 per annum. Although not generous, these provisions were markedly preferable to the situation existing under the 1916 pension scheme under which members were not returned their payments upon premature separation, a situation which persisted in New South Wales for many years. It was felt the increased contributions for younger members would cause some financial discomfort initially but, the measure was generally well received. (151)

#### 1930

In December 1928, President of PASA, Joseph Francis Naylor was obliged to resign his Association office due to ill health. However, he returned briefly to the presidency in 1930. (152)



In March 1930, the Association's membership narrowly voted for a fulltime Secretary. (153) However, the decision was a close one and was held over for 12 months. In fact, the decision was not actioned until years later.

Discontent among mounted branch members had existed at Thebarton barracks for many years; especially with regard to hours of duty. With the appearance of the first Police Officers Award in 1928, and its provision of 8 hours duty per day and one day off per fortnight, discontent became rife. Some mounted members in barracks were being required to work excessive hours. Eventually, at the request of the executive committee, a number of mounted members in March 1930 stated their complaints at a general meeting of the Association. There was some doubt among members, though, concerning the applicability of the Award to mounted personnel as well as the practicability of mounted personnel working only eight hour shifts. As a result, the Commissioner of Police was requested inter alia by the Association to permit mounted officers one day off in four as was already the case with firefighters. (154) The Commissioner declined to approve every fourth day off, stating that complaints relating to such matters were beyond his province. He also implied many mounted branch complaints were invalid anyway. However, mounted personnel later reported to the Association that matters had improved considerably as a result of the complaint. (155)

#### 1931

Early in 1931, the South Australian government reduced the pay of police officers by 10 per cent. It also reduced the salaries of virtually all other government employees for a period of 12 months. For example, the pay of teachers and public servants was reduced 20 per cent. (156) PASA approached the minister pointing out that its members were more disadvantaged than those of any other Police Force in the country. Later the same year, the possibility arose of further salary cuts in respect of police employees. A departmental conference was called, to which PASA's executive committee was invited. It seems departmental nominees favoured volunteering an offer of pay reduction to the government whilst the executive representatives declined to support such a move. (157) A decision was then made to submit the matter to the Industrial Court. Consideration was given to beating the employer at his own game by lodging an application for a pay rise before the Public Service Commissioner could make his own application for a salary cut. However, agreement on procedures could not be managed and, in due course, the Secretary was served with the government's process. (158) At a special conference held only five days before the case was due to start, the executive was directed to offer the Public Service Commissioner a voluntary further reduction of 5 per cent, to be voided once the economic

climate improved. (159) Agreement was not achieved and the case went to hearing. In fact, the Public Service Commissioner made two applications. The first asked for a reduction of 20 per cent, based on 1930 pay rates. The second asked for a reduction corresponding with the basic wage. The former application was dismissed. (160) The second was resolved in conjunction with the Association's pay log. The result was the first Police Officers Award in South Australia to determine rates of pay. Percentage reductions were applied varying from 10.8 per cent to 18.6 per cent according to a formula applied by the Court. In general, the greater burden fell on younger employees. (161) Even so, the result was considerably better for members than that applied for by Public Service Commissioner. The state basic wage was 10/6 per diem, whilst base pay for first to fourth year Constables as awarded was 14/3. This Award improved the margin of police pay above the basic wage and reflected the Court President's view that police should be treated industrially as skilled artisans. (162) In this respect the Award represented a considerable gain for police employees even though the reduction temporarily eroded that gain. The Award document itself includes one of the most thoughtful considerations of police role and function on record repays reading even 50 or so years later.

Another cost cutting device utilised at this time by the government was a reduction in government pensions - although not contributions - under the Financial Emergency Act 1931. This Act resulted from the Melbourne conference of Premiers and the Prime Minister at which agreement was entered into to minimise government expenditures. (163)

### 1932

The PASA Secretary's report of 1932 raised the continuing grievance of the lack of finality attaching to Police Appeal Board decisions, (164) although he failed to mention the ongoing dissatisfaction experienced by some members with reference to shift hours. This latter point was made all the more difficult as it was clearly impossible to obtain consensus among members on the subject.

### 1933

PASA determined early in 1933 to overcome its industrial elitism and support opposition before the Board of Industry to an application to further reduce the basic wage. Previously, the police wage had always moved well behind the basic wage but, now that it was tied directly to it, basic wage movements assumed an added importance for police employees. (165) Major labor participation in the case, ie, Trades and Labor Council and the Australian Workers' Union, were successful in that no reduction of the basic wage was ordered.

1934

By May 1934, the dissatisfaction of members with the "cut" in pensions imposed by s.15 Financial Emergency Act 1931 and the failure of government to accept decisions of the Police Appeal Board as binding resulted in PASA sending a deputation to the minister to argue for resolution of their complaints. (166) The Depression had bottomed out, it was argued and the time was then appropriate for government to start restoring pay and pension reductions. With regard to arguments concerning deficiencies of the Police Appeal Board, an interesting initiative was adopted by the deputation. It produced a well reasoned statement drafted by its legal advisor. (167) Even so, the request for reform was denied.

1941-1947

The Chief Secretary was approached again in 1941 to increase pension payments. On this occasion he was sympathetic and offered some relief provided all members accepted a L1 per week increase in premiums. The Association had difficulty in deciding whether to accept the offer within the one month time limit imposed and opted to hold a referendum on the subject. (168) The referendum result favoured accepting the government's offer. (169) Later that same year an approach was made to the Public Service Commissioner for one day off each week for police officers instead of the prevailing one day off per fortnight. It was pointed out in support of the claim that Queensland police employees worked a five and one half day week; although they worked an additional four hours each week as overtime (making a six day week in effect) in return for which they received an overtime allowance of L13 per annum. (170) The official response was negative overall and PASA therefore resorted to the Industrial Court. During the course of the proceedings, PASA reconsidered its position. The decision was that the application be continued but, if granted, the additional day be not taken whilst a state of war existed. In this way it was hoped to avoid the government's use of National Security (Economic Organisation) Regulations to negative a favourable decision. (171) In the event, the Court held the principle of one day off per week for police was valid but, that it was inopportune to introduce such a reform in wartime. (172)

1942

September 1942 saw great resentment amongst members of the Force as the government commenced to amend the Police Pensions Act 1929 with a view to retaining the service of members who would otherwise have retired at age 60 for the duration of the war. No preliminary liaison with the Association was attempted by the government and, it seems, this fact was resented almost as much as the intention of the legislation itself. The major thrust of employees' ire was that the extra service was both compulsory and open ended. PASA felt it should be optional and limited to 12 months. (173) Members were not slow

to realise either that promotion would be dampened by such a measure as it would be mostly NCOs who would be retained. The opposition took up the gauntlet on the part of the Association and was successful in having the measure defeated in the House of Assembly. At the same time, other amendments to pension provisions favourable to members (in conjunction with an increased contribution), presumably intended as a sweetener to the unpalatable extended service clause, were passed much to the satisfaction of members. (174) As the Secretary of PASA observed in his annual report for the year ending 31 December 1942, the government's intentions had been thwarted only by the Association's efforts.

### 1943

1943 saw an issue come to a head which had been festering among Junior Constables (Cadets) for some time. The matter became an issue when Junior Constables were admitted to full membership of PASA late the previous year. (175) For some time the department had been swearing in Junior Constables as Special Constables, said to be 20 in number. As such they were then employed on full Constable duties in a wide range of operations, on a daily rate of 12/6 per diem. But, when taking leave or when on sick leave they were immediately reverted to Junior Constable wages of L2.14.6 per week. Other considerations included their lack of training and experience and their lack of cover under the Police Pensions Act 1929. Should one be injured he was covered only by workers' compensation which was less generous than police pension provisions. Dissatisfaction amongst junior members was such that they formed a committee of their own to express their views on the subject, a surprising phenomenon and presumably partly due to their exposure to older members while being employed as Constables in the field. One suggestion, that an Award be applied for on their behalf, (176) was proceeded with. Morale amongst Junior Constables was poor not only as a result of their exploitation but, also with a host of petty regulations controlling barracks life ranging from long hours to insanitary conditions in the sick bay. It was so bad in fact that six of them walked out of barracks as a gesture of defiance, contrary to regulations after having requested discharges. They were immediately suspended. Their intention had been to join the armed services.

The Association's efforts to obtain one day off per week for employees were resumed in the middle of 1943 when it was decided to again approach the Industrial Court. (177) The request was to be for a weekly rest day for shift workers. However, independent legal advice received was that such an application could not possibly succeed at that time and so the move was not proceeded with. (178) At the same time, consideration was given to affiliation with the South Australian Trades and Labor Council. (179) The executive felt the Association required greater clout in its dealings with both the Industrial Court and the government. The political and industrial support of the Trades and Labor Council would, it was thought, provide

such clout. The motion was the product of younger Association members who demanded greater Association aggression in industrial affairs. Some of these younger employees were those Junior Constables who were so dissatisfied with many aspects of barracks life. Other members were, however, quick to see the potential for conflict, eg, police being ordered to use violence on strikers or, themselves being ordered to strike. (180) Sensing the reservations of many members, the executive quickly negotiated admission of PASA to the Trades and Labor Council without taking a ballot on the subject. It was agreed police employees would be exempted from strike directions should they arise. Annoyed older members were quick to make their irritation known to the Secretary and he felt obliged to publish a placatory notice in the Association's magazine, Police Journal in July 1943. Members were advised that at the end of year elections a ballot would be taken on the matter. (181) The ballot was held at the end of the year in conjunction with the election of office bearers. The executive's decision to affiliate was confirmed by a ratio of 4:1. (182) This result was interesting as had the ballot been held prior to affiliation, the move would almost certainly have been rejected. One could be forgiven for suspecting the executive of exercising a degree of manipulation concerning the issue.

On 24 June 1943, dissatisfaction with the treatment of Junior Constables, especially the six who had been suspended and one other who had been denied the right to resign despite his application to that effect so as to enlist, came to a head at a special general meeting. It was decided to hold a stop work meeting if satisfactory replies were not received from the Manpower authority within a period of seven days. The Trades and Labor Council had already been informally consulted on the matter. The complaints of Junior Constables revolved around three major problems: (1) need for increased pay, (2) improved hours and conditions, and (3) petty barrack regulations. Illustrations of all three were provided the meeting by Junior Constables attending. After hearing such details, the meeting voted for an inquiry to be held into conditions at the barracks and depot. (183) The government declined to hold an inquiry although it was later reported that the barrack conditions improved greatly thereafter. The threat of a job action was effective and suspensions were all lifted within a week. Of the six who had walked out of barracks, five joined the navy and one the army. (184) This speedy resolution was made possible by Trades and Labor Council pressure on the federal government authority which had assumed control of wartime manpower and administration. (185)

Two months later the Industrial Court commenced hearing the Association's claim in respect of Junior Constables. Ultimately, the Court made a judgment to the effect that Junior Constables should be paid as Constables (Probationary) when performing full police duties. The practice of appointing

Junior Constables as Special Constables and paying them a lower wage thus fell away. One disadvantage, though, was that the Court found that Junior Constables in the 20-21 year age group had been previously overpaid as their salary had been improperly determined. They, accordingly suffered a reduction. (186)

The year 1943 ended with one of those events which occur in the lives of organisations and which leave a particularly sour taste in the mouths of everyone. On 29 December, an Inspector ordered 50 lockers of motor traffic personnel located at Central Watchhouse to be opened; some forcibly. This was done in the absence of the lockers' occupiers. Liquor was found in some of the lockers and taken possession of, although no breach of regulation was involved. In fact, an order issued shortly after the event suggested that no breach at all was involved. It was suggested that certain lockers had been broken into in search of some missing tools. These were found. Quite why all other lockers were then broken into is not clear. A meeting of highly indignant members decided to seek legal advice with a view to taking action against the Inspector involved. (178) The Association's solicitor subsequently advised against taking any legal action. (188) In protesting the matter to the Commissioner, the Association made it clear its objection was based on the opening of lockers in the absence of their occupiers. The principle was bad enough if executed only in respect of lockers reasonably suspected of containing stolen or missing goods. But, a deliberate "fishing expedition", it was maintained, was totally unwarranted. In reply, the Commissioner admitted no fault and expressed only formal regret at the incident. In the privacy of the Commissioner's office the Inspector concerned was no doubt reprimanded for his action. (189)

In his annual report for 1943, the Secretary of PASA made some interesting observations. In suggesting that the Association's registration with the Industrial Court was more than warranted, he lamented the fact that the Association was forced to resort to the Court as often as it was. The expense of having to take cases unnecessarily to court, eg, the payment of Junior Constables, could not be justified he felt. (190)

#### 1950-1952

At the end of 1950, a new consent Award was agreed upon. An interesting feature of the Award, in addition to pay increases, was that it provided for two new ranks - Constable (First Class) and Constable (Senior). These so called ranks were a mechanism to provide greater opportunity and income for police employees possessing a significant degree of service and examination qualifications. For example, a member with 10 years service and having passed examinations for uniform Sergeant (Third Grade) or Detective (Second Class)

was henceforth to be known as a First Class Constable. Four years service on that rank automatically led to Senior Constable. Such a provision certainly had the effect of lessening the frustration of members having to wait years to make Sergeant. The Chief Secretary approved special provisions to preserve under prescribed conditions the seniority of members of the department who had not passed their promotion exams at the commencement of the Award. (191) Legal advice was obtained which supported such action. (192) However, by late 1952 a number of members had found themselves severely disadvantaged concerning their seniority as a result of these and other changes. A good deal of heat was engendered on behalf of the 50-70 men assumed to have lost seniority. Counsel's opinion was obtained and it was thought a reasonable possibility existed of winning a court case on the subject. The Association was, of course, forced into a zero sum game as should the disadvantaged members to be granted their claimed seniority they would be advanced over others who would in turn then feel themselves to be disadvantaged. Eventually, in April 1953, PASA decided to take the department to court over the matter. (193) The dispute became so complex that the Association's legal advisers considered that it could only be resolved by reopening the Award, something not due for 18 months, unless the consent of both parties was given. Accordingly, the Association approached Commissioner Ivor Green (1950-1957) with a view to obtaining his consent to reopening the Award. (194)

In 1951, the decision was finally reached to employ an Association Secretary, provided such an appointment was formally approved by the membership in a ballot. (195) The ballot duly took place, the result strongly favouring the continuation of an "inside" Secretary. Sergeant LB Fenwick the long serving Honorary Secretary who would have had to resign to accept the position of fulltime Secretary was beaten in the ballot. (196) However, two years later he was again back in secretarial harness acting as "outside" Secretary, for another nine years.

The Public Service Board started to go strictly "by the book" concerning ongoing Award discussions and, a large group of Sergeants who were concerned with their decreasing margins formed a protest group. (197) The concern of the Sergeants was understandable as the executive had entered into negotiations without informing the membership of what was being applied for. Such an approach is common in industrial bargaining but, the Sergeants no doubt saw themselves continuing to be disadvantaged for the life of another Award. However, faced with the protest, the Secretary revealed the executive's terms at a general meeting of members. (198)

Late in 1951, the old divisions between the various branches of the Association came briefly to the fore when the

question of branch representation was discussed. Some members, including long time Secretary LB Fenwick, favoured branch representation. Other, mostly younger, members favoured executive members possessing general representative powers. But, mounted branch personnel whose members were mostly at distant locations felt some form of branch representation necessary. A young and assertive Foot Constable, by the name of RM Tremethick, later to be fulltime Association Secretary, vociferously argued to do away with sectional interests among the Association's elected members. So persuasive was his logic the issue never arose again to any significant degree. (199)

In April 1952, the Secretary of PASA obtained from New South Wales a copy of that state's police Mutual Provident Leave Fund. Details were forwarded to Commissioner Green for his consideration. (200) Wide membership approval for such a scheme was manifested at a general meeting of the Association held in June. The President had first been alerted to the possibility of such a scheme by a public servant in the Commissioner's office. (201) The Commissioner favoured the idea and recommended it to the Chief Secretary who approved the idea in principle. An inquiry into its feasibility was then instituted. The scheme received final approval to commence late in 1952. (202) The Association expressed its gratitude to the Chief Secretary for a most humane reform. (203) For once, all parties had operated in harmony.

On 29 May 1952, the Association quickly accepted a government pay offer following the expiry of the Police Award. All Constables up to Constable (First Class) received an increase of L16 per annum. Senior Constables went up by between L21 and L41 per annum according to service and, Sergeants all went up L40 per annum. (204) It seems general satisfaction with economic conditions reigned supreme at that time as the AGM held several months later was the most poorly attended for years - apathy generally being a sure sign of membership satisfaction. (205) The following month a PASA deputation waited on the Chief Secretary to advocate amendment to the Police Pensions Act 1929. Due to certain anomalies a group of older police pensioners were in fact receiving a pension marginally less than the age pension. Some of these retired members were experiencing difficulty in existing on the pension and the deputation requested the government to make provision for them. (206) The government was unsympathetic and no relief was obtained. (207)

It was in 1952 that Cabinet decided to reduce the pay of female police employees to 75 per cent of the male rate. Women were not specifically mentioned in the Police Officers Award but, had always been paid at male rates. An Association deputation, including two female members, immediately waited on the Chief Secretary. (208) However, the government was not receptive to its protests and the matter went to conciliation. (209) The matter was then satisfactorily settled. (210)

In announcing that the AGM of the Association was to be held in November 1952 the new inside Secretary informed his audience that the executive had appointed him to serve a further



term as Secretary. However, he was now strongly of the opinion an outside Secretary was necessary due to massive workload associated with the office. He was ready to stand down as soon as the executive was prepared to appoint an outsider. (211) At the AGM in 1953, APP Hender, the Secretary, in fact stood for office as President. Sergeant Fenwick nominated for the position of outside Secretary (212) and was successful.

#### 1960-1961

1960 saw further amendments being made to the Police Pensions Act, so as to provide greater benefits for members between the ages of 60 and 65 years. A little later some concern was felt with the department's personnel establishment. The situation was considered so fluid as to defy comprehension. A PASA deputation was selected to approach Commissioner JG McKinna (1957-1972) with a view to having a Force establishment declared together with review provisions to ensure its fulfilment. (213) A minor but interesting example of the department acceding to a PASA request occurred in March 1961. To that time, cadet seniority was affixed according to highschool class marks. Some cadets resented this procedure and complained to the Association. PASA requested the Commissioner to abolish the procedure - which he promptly did. (214)

31 May 1961 was a big day in the history of PASA as it was on that day its new two storey club house was opened. The occasion was marked by holding the 1961 annual Association conference the same day. The ratio of NCOs to other ranks again received attention, it being held that the police department of South Australia had a lower percentage of NCOs than most other states. (215) The Association's Secretary was also critical of the department's actions in upgrading/downgrading stations (and thus ranks of OsIC). The estimation of workloads and the assignment of appropriate status was the task of the Planning and Research branch and it was with this branch he took issue. Objective measurements of station workloads were acceptable to members whilst either such measurements remained static or increased. But, when reduced, a not unnatural tendency to disbelief was entertained by employees. Similarly, while increases in salary consistent with increases in basic wage were positively received, reductions consistent with a reduced basic wage were not received early as favourably. As the Secretary implied in his annual report, Association representatives should establish and maintain a far closer relationship with the Planning and Research branch so as to be assured of its complete objectivity.

In his annual report for 1961, the Secretary raised a particularly interesting point concerning the respective responsibilities of the membership generally and the executive committee. That year's salary offer by the Public Service Commissioner was very small indeed. Even including the increase,

the South Australian police base wage remained the lowest in Australia. The Committee felt strongly that in the event of the Public Service Board failing to revise its offer, the matter should be taken to arbitration. The membership, however, recommended acceptance and, after obtaining a few concessions with respect to small increases in certain allowances, the executive accepted the government's offer. The Secretary argued strongly that in the event of such a difference of opinion the executive's opinion - being better informed - should prevail. (216) This was dangerous ground in addition to being undemocratic although not necessarily unacceptable to the bureaucratic mind. In the same report, the Secretary pushed for an Award containing all terms and conditions in the one document, (217) an eminently sensible suggestion. By 1961, too, the police pension was again in need of review. It was originally designed with the social service payments of another era in mind. Now that the social service pension was reduced pro rata according to the amount of service pension received, the service pension's return did not warrant the same financial input. (218) In mid 1963, the rate permissible between ages 60 and 65 was raised, which in turn reduced the rate after 65 years, thereby permitting a more reasonable payout and incurring no loss of age pension. (219)

Although disciplinary grievances are not frequently raised by police employees within the ranks of their union, charged officers request Association representation. Most cases involve simple breaches of regulations - regulations which are clearly articulated and promulgated, eg, prohibition of driving police vehicles on unmade roads. Although having blatantly contravened the discipline code, employees often resent being charged especially when the violation is minor in nature. Members naturally expect their Association to be supportive whilst the department expects the Association to be responsible. Thus, Association officials sometimes feel themselves to be in positions of extreme conflict. However, PASA management, especially with regard to the President and Secretary, were quite capable of tersely telling complaining employees to comply with regulations or accept the consequences. (220) Oddly enough, no Police employee representative organisation has so far challenged the basis of their respective Force's disciplinary code. However, union executive officers who depart too far away from the sentiments of their members run the risk of membership hostility, as did the Secretary in late 1962. During the leadup to executive committee elections for that year, an anonymous notice was posted in the City Watchhouse dining room advocating his dismissal. (221) Shortly thereafter, a vote of no confidence was raised against him. (222) The vote, in fact, primarily concerned relations between the Association and the Department. The motion lapsed but, not before the Secretary had experienced considerable embarrassment in the press and among his colleagues. (223)

1963

In 1963, PASA adopted the tactic of requesting the Chief Secretary to permit the appointment of an Arbitrator to fix police rates of pay and conditions of service, it being felt little more was to be gained from the Industrial Court as it was excessively bound by precedent. (224) The Chief Secretary, however, was not to be drawn and declined the request, pointing out that no state possessing an Industrial Court had an additional police salaries tribunal. (225)

July of 1963 saw the appointment of a new Secretary of PASA. He was Detective Senior Constable RM Tremethick, a committee member and former President (1961-62). Tremethick had been an active and enthusiastic member of the Association since his earliest days in the force. Bob Fenwick remained in service until the end of the year. (226)

During his address to the 1963 PASA annual conference, Commissioner JG McKinna asked delegates to consider the question of younger members and their sometimes inappropriate behaviour. He claimed a problem existed in this regard and felt that in part it was due to lack of supervision. (227) He followed this statement by sending that same day to the conference a letter restating the problem, asking that PASA do what it could to ameliorate it. This request provided the opportunity for some interesting speculation on the nature of relationships within organisations, speculation which concerns the very core of employer-employee relations. The outgoing secretary LB Fenwick stated that his impression, gained from discussions with senior NCOs, was that Senior Sergeants were being ignored in decision making processes with the department. That, whilst it was accepted there had to be some form of central control, the views of significant employees should be considered. And, implicitly, if that recognition were to be forthcoming, a greater disposition would occur amongst NCOs to accept their supervisory responsibilities. (228) There was general support for this viewpoint. It was also asserted that younger men were exercising levels of autonomy inconsistent with their judgmental capabilities; that there should be a Sergeant, ie, older man, in every car. (229) Such comments were of considerable interest, especially vis a vis the development of a spirit of professionalisation at grass roots level within the occupation.

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RAYMOND, RH

TREMETHICK, RM

TRESTRAIL, NJ

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WISSELL, WJ

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85. 1920. PASA. Minutes of special mass meeting (11 May).
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87. 1920. Police Review, v 1 # 1 (Oct): 3.
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90. 1920. Police Review, v 1 # 3 (Dec): 14.
91. 1921. Police Review, v 1 # 4 (Feb): 8.
92. 1921. Police Review, v 1 # 6 (Apr): 2.
93. 1921. Police Review, v 1 # 9 (Jun): 1-2.
94. 1921. Police Review, v 1 # 12 (Sep): 1-2.
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96. 1921. Police Review, v 1 # 14 (Nov): 3.
97. 1922. Police Journal, v 2 # 17 (21 Feb): 5.
98. 1922. Police Journal, v 2 # 20 (20 May): 1.
99. 1921. Police Review, v 1 # 14 (Nov): 2.
100. 1922. Police Journal, v 2 # 20 (20 May): 1.
101. 1922. Police Journal, v 2 # 23 (21 Aug): 2.
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103. 1922. Police Journal, v 3 # 27 (21 Dec): 1.
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107. Ibid, p 11, the pagination in this issue is defective and the p 11 referred to in the footnote is different to that shown in the previous one.
108. 1923. Police Journal, v 3 # 34 (17 Jul): 1.
109. 1923. Police Journal, v 4 # 37 (30 Oct): 7-8.
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111. 1923. Police Journal, v 3 # 34 (17 Jul): 1.
112. 1923. Police Journal, v 3 # 35 (15 Aug): 5.
113. 1923. Police Journal, v 4 # 36 (25 Sep): 5.
114. 1923. Police Journal, v 4 # 37 (30 Oct): 1.
115. 1924. Police Journal, v 4 # 42 (27 Mar): 1, 3.
116. 1923. Police Journal, v 3 # 38 (22 Nov): 7.
117. 1924. Police Journal, v 4 # 40 (24 Jan): 16.
118. 1924. Police Journal, v 4 # 41 (28 Feb): 1.
119. 1924. Police Journal, v 4 # 48 (25 Sep): 2, 9.
120. 1926. Police Journal, v 5 # 64 (19 Jan): 7.
121. 1924. Police Journal, v 4 # 43 (24 Apr): 1.
122. 1924. Police Journal, v 4 # 44 (26 May): .
123. 1924. Police Journal, v 4 # 46 (24 Jul): 2-3.
124. 1924. Advertiser (11 Jul): 16.
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126. Ibid, p 15.
127. 1924. Police Journal, v 4 # 48 (25 Sep): 2.
128. Ibid, p 1.
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130. 1925. Police Journal, v 5 # 61 (20 Oct): 5.
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132. 1925. Police Journal, v 5 # 62 (18 Nov): 1-3.
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139. Ibid, p 3.
140. 1926. Police Journal, v 6 # 72 (17 Sep): 9, 11.
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143. 1926. Police Journal, v 6 # 74 (17 Nov): 1-3.
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145. 1927. Police Journal, v 7 # 78 (24 Mar): 1, 3.
146. 1926. Advertiser (2 Dec): 17.
147. Ibid, pp 7, 9, 11, 13-15.
148. 1927. Police Journal, v 7 # 79 (20 Apr): 3, 4.
149. Ibid, p 15.
150. 1930. Police Journal, v 9 # 112 (24 Jan): 15.
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154. Ibid, p 11.
155. 1930. Police Journal, v 9 # 117 (19 Jun): 3.
156. 1932. Police Journal, v 12 # 11 (19 Jul): 1.
157. 1931. Police Journal, v 12 # 2 (22 Oct): 1;  
1931. Sydney Morning Herald, (9 Oct): 5;  
1931. Sydney Morning Herald, (24 Dec): 13.
158. Ibid, pp 1, 3-4, 11.
159. 1931. Police Journal, v 12 # 2 (19 Nov): 13.

160. 1932. Police Journal, v 12 # 5 (19 Jan): 3.
161. Ibid.
162. 1932. Police Journal, v 12 # 11 (19 Jul): 5, 7, 9, 11, 13.
163. S.15 Financial Emergency Act 1931, commenced 23 Jul 31 with a 12 month sundown clause but, which was extended over 6 years.
164. 1933. Police Journal, v 13 # 5 (19 Jan): 3, 5, 7.
165. Ibid, p 13.
166. 1934. Police Journal, v 14 # 9 (22 May): 9.
167. Ibid, pp 13-14.
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170. Ibid, pp 7, 9.
171. 1942. Police Journal, v 24 # 7 (24 Apr): 4-5.
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175. Ibid, p 1.
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181. 1943. Police Journal, v 24 # 10 (Jul): 1.
182. 1944. Police Journal, v 25 # 4 (Jan): 1.
183. 1943. Police Journal, v 24 # 10 (Jul): 1, 3, 5, 7.
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