Chapter 1

Introduction

Since the late 1970s in Victoria, and the mid-1980s in other states, police in Australia have been working actively in the promotion and development of community policing. In the early 1980s Victoria Police developed the Police Community Involvement Program (PCIP) whose purpose was to develop and implement projects to address specific community problems. Two of its best known projects were Safety House and Neighbourhood Watch. PCIP's internal management style, its method of operation and its system of accountability to the public were radically different from mainstream policing. Nevertheless, the methods employed were demonstrably acceptable both to members of the public and to the police working within it. The management style and characteristics of PCIP contributed significantly to the successful development and implementation of community involvement projects. The experience of Victoria Police with community policing in the early 1980s provides an excellent opportunity to study the practical aspects of the development and implementation of community policing because its projects, programs and activities in this field were extensively monitored, evaluated and documented.

The experience of PCIP also provides the basis for an examination of the complexities involved in implementing community policing in traditional police organisations whose orientation is weighted heavily in favour of its crime fighting role. The PCIP will be examined in light of its potential to provide a model of the management style necessary for effective and meaningful community policing strategies. It will also be argued that, rather than being just another specialist policing unit, community policing must be incorporated into an overall policing practice and philosophy. In particular, it must be grounded firmly at the operational level of policing as well as affecting every other aspect of the police organisation. Community policing has the potential to provide the

organisational reform essential for police organisations if they are to become more effective and efficient and more accountable to the public.

Consideration of the many aspects associated with community policing, and their various implications for the community—however defined—are vital if a truly comprehensive examination of community policing is to be achieved. It is beyond the scope of this book to examine the wider considerations attached to the concept of community policing. The purpose of this book is to establish clearly what is meant by the term community policing; to identify and examine the organisational characteristics which appear to assist the successful integration of community policing in police organisations; to give examples of problem-solving by police; and to identify and examine some of the causes of organisational resistance to the notion of community policing. The focus of this book, therefore, will primarily be organisationally-based rather than focused on the community component of community policing.

'Community'

In the last two decades the word 'community' has been increasingly and extensively used. Williams (1976) describes the word community as a 'warmly persuasive word intended to encourage public support for a policy that is primarily intended to benefit policy makers'. The over-use of the word community in titles of programs seems to have been exacerbated in the 1980s in the wake of government policies directed at deinstitutionalisation. There are now community mental health programs, community supervision units, community centres, community alcohol and drug centres, community health centres, community youth projects, community outreach information. Even in the private sector companies are finding the word community useful. As Cohen (1985) says, 'almost anything can appear under the heading of community and almost anything can be justified if this prefix is used.' The idea of community is notoriously vague (Shapland & Vagg 1988) which is probably why it is so universally useful. The original basis of the word community refers to people who have something in common. Willmott (1987) identifies three types of community:

- communities defined by geography (neighbourhoods);
- similar interest communities (clubs and associations); and

- attachment communities (a sense of belonging due to relationships or places).

These types of community can, of course, overlap. For instance, in any one geographical area there may be many types of interest communities such as church, ethnic, business and sporting groups. It is quite possible, too, for some people to live in a particular area and have no sense of attachment to it, or the people in it, because their family, work and leisure activities all take place in areas away from where they live. Those groups of people bound together by geography, and people bound together by similar interests have tended to be the communities with which community policing programs have been involved, rather than kinship groups. 'Community' in this study refers mainly to communities defined by geography and communities of similar interests.

One of the dangers of using 'community' is that it encourages people to jump from one meaning to another, resulting in confusion. In this way the word is often used to conceal rather than reveal:

> Those advocating a new initiative, and similarly those attacking or defending a particular point of view, often invoke the community in support of their case, without making it clear which community they mean or in what sense it is likely to be affected (Willmott 1987, p. 2).

In the context of general social policy, Smith (1987) has identified three broad themes attached to the notion of community:

- a reaction against large-scale and remoteness, usually involving decentralisation for consultation and participation in decision-making;

- the suggestion that people should come together to meet their common needs and tackle common problems; and

- the suggestion that public policy and practice should act to strengthen voluntary and informal structures (Smith 1987, p. 57).

Examples of all these themes can be found in the literature of community policing. For example, in the first theme the use of police foot patrols—although these would perhaps be rarely related to participation in decision-making. The second theme may relate to a shift in emphasis to crime prevention and an increase in number of programs designed to prevent crime and social disorder. The third theme reflects a multi-agency

approach to problems where police work in partnership with government and voluntary agencies.

'Community Policing'

The word community, linked with policing, appears to date from the mid-1960s in the United States and from the early 1970s in the United Kingdom and Australia. As with community, the term 'community policing' has the disadvantage of being all things to all people. It is, 'a conveniently elastic term which is often loosely used to accommodate virtually any policing activity of which its proponents approve' (Weatheritt 1987, p. 7). Three types of approach to community policing are currently discussed in the literature. Firstly, the holistic approach, which sees community policing as an approach which affects every aspect of the police organisation and is reflected in the corporate culture of police. Secondly, the approach which sees community policing as just one pattern or unit within the police organisation. Thirdly, community policing is the name given to small-scale initiatives, usually local, which are designed to bring police into non-confrontational contact with the community in some way.

From a study of the literature, it would appear that the first approach is more widely discussed in the United States. The second and third approaches to community policing are evident in literature from the United Kingdom, United States and Australia. In Australia and the United Kingdom the holistic approach to community policing has only been discussed in the literature in terms of how difficult it would be to implement. In practice, in Australia, at least three states are working towards changing their entire policing organisation around the concept of community policing, as are a number of forces in the United States.

In 1984, Phillip Stenning defined community policing as, 'some arrangement for policing which seeks to give some significant role to "the community", however defined, in the definition and performance of the policing function itself' (Stenning 1984, p. 83). Both Stenning and David Bayley identified the fact that community policing does not involve the development of a new conception of policing so much as a reconsideration of the role and relationship of the police force and the wider community:

> community policing does not entail changing the historical purpose of the police. It represents a new way of more effectively achieving traditional goals, the protection of life and property (Bayley 1989, p. 81).

Bayley defined community policing as being 'some way of pulling the public together into groups that can help to defend themselves [against crime]' (1984, p. 20). The elements of community policing identified by David Bayley will be used as the working definition of community policing in this book, but will be extended to include 'problem-orientated' policing supported by 'participative' management practices. These characteristics of community policing will be elaborated on in Chapter 5. Bayley's four key elements for community policing are:

- community-based crime prevention;
- deployment of police for non-emergency interaction with the public;
- active solicitation of requests for service not involving criminal matters; and
- creation of mechanisms for grass-roots feedback from the community (Bayley 1984, p. 64).

Community Policing as a Legitimate Strategy

The idea of crime prevention, as a subject in its own right, first began to gain popularity in the mid-1960s. In the United Kingdom small community relations and crime prevention departments emerged (in some police forces) as a response to perceived policing problems associated with ethnic minorities. Whilst police originally focused on the social conditions which gave rise to crime, their aim shifted to the improvement and maintenance of public relations in general (Weatheritt 1986; *see* Pope 1976). In its 1965 report, the Cornish Committee on Prevention and Detection of Crime (Home Office 1965) supported the idea of specialist departments for crime prevention and argued that specialist officers were needed to build and maintain relationships with other non-police organisations and to impress on them the importance of their own responsibilities in preventing crime. Whilst advocating a specialist department though, the Cornish Committee stated that it was vital 'that any crime prevention organisation should not diminish the responsibility of other members of the force towards crime prevention' (Home Office 1965, para 214).

In 1969, Victoria Police followed the United Kingdom's lead and established its own Crime Prevention Bureau as a distinct section of the

Force (Victoria Police file 1968; 1982). Police files of the day show there was considerable concern amongst police about the wisdom of demonstrating crime prevention methods (which were primarily concerned with giving members of the public and businesses advice regarding security devices) for fear that it would educate criminals. However, the British model was perceived to be successful and Victoria established its own Crime Prevention Bureau which is still in existence.

In 1971, Scotland established Police/Community Involvement Branches. Their establishment coincided with the implementation of Part III of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 which introduced a new juvenile justice system in Scotland. The tasks allocated to Community Involvement Branches were connected with a broad range of crime prevention activities associated with public participation (Strathclyde Police 1978a). The title 'Police Community Involvement Program', which was chosen for Victoria's pilot program in the early 1980s, was taken from the Strathclyde Police. Considerable police criticism had been received in Strathclyde about the use of the words 'community involvement' in the title of their branches:

> they [the words] conjectured a soft social work like approach which exacerbates the resentment already felt towards community involvement by some officers .. . the title was adopted in accordance with the recommendation contained in the Scottish Home and Health Department Police Chief Constables Circular No. 4/1971 and has now become an accepted and .. . popular term with the public and other agencies. No doubt it was chosen with this in mind rather than to allay any fears or suspicions which the police might have (Strathclyde Police 1978b).

PCIP in Victoria also suffered from the negative reaction of police not connected with it (discussed in Chapter 5). Perhaps the name had something to do with it. Evidence suggests that Victoria's operational police viewed the PCIP as 'airy fairy', and mere 'window dressing' to the real job of policing (Beyer 1985a).

Whilst the Strathclyde Community Involvement Branches experienced considerable difficulties from within their own Force, the concept of community involvement, which it was trying to implement, was one which emerged in other parts of the United Kingdom in the late 1970s as a response to the 'Ditchley circular'. In 1978 the Home Office issued this circular (Home Office 1978) which urged police to improve their liaison machinery and set up more joint initiatives at a local level in respect to juveniles. As a result of the Ditchley circular, a number of community involvement and development projects were established which, according to Weatheritt, marked an interesting development in crime prevention policy. For the first time police as initiators were involved in programs

which sought to increase community spirit and solidarity through community action (Weatheritt 1986). The assumption behind this type of action was that it would help reduce crime and create a more favourable climate within which police worked.

The Effects of Riots on Community Policing

One factor which appears to have hastened and legitimised the community policing approach of police organisations was riots. Bayley states that community policing in the United States began after the widespread occurrence of riots in the mid-1960s (Bayley 1984). Police tried to 'control neighbourhoods plagued by predators without involving neighbourhood residents. It had disastrous results culminating in riots' (Abell 1988, p. 195). In the wake of these riots individual police forces in the United States tried a variety of experiments designed to reduce perceived tension between the police and public. There were attempts to provide 'grass-roots' level communication channels through which the community could express its local concerns and problems to police in an informal and non-confrontational way. Programs included the opening of police shop-front offices and coffee shops (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals 1973). These types of community involvement activities attracted criticism from both inside and outside the police forces as a waste of time when police should be fighting crime. (This is the same reaction Victoria Police received from the State Government when the pilot Police Community Involvement Program was proposed in the late 1970s, *see* Chapter 2).

Riots also appear to have been a factor influencing the implementation of community policing in the United Kingdom. Community policing was introduced there in the early 1970s, but it appears to have been given new life in the early 1980s following the Brixton riots and the subsequent report of Lord Scarman in which he came to the conclusion that the riots were a result of poor relations between police and public in Brixton (1982). In Australia, a riot took place in Frankston in 1979 shortly before the establishment of the Police Community Involvement Program (PCIP) there. The riot began between rival patrons from three hotels positioned on three corners of one intersection in Frankston. At closing time, patrons from the three hotels came onto the road and commenced to fight and to cause damage to property. It was necessary for police to read the riot act and then to take action to disperse the mob. The police officer who was in charge of PCIP is adamant that the decision, a year later, to put Victoria's

first PCIP in Frankston had nothing to do with the riot. However, the Frankston riot is mentioned in a proposal for the PCIP presented to Command[1] on the 12 June 1980 (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 26). It was used to illustrate the fact that there may be underlying causative factors still present but not addressed, which may perhaps become another 'flash point'. Also, in the training notes for PCIP personnel at Frankston there is an oblique reference to the Frankston riot:

> While the concept of a programme ordinarily presumes an existing problem, the area of police/community relations is nebulous in that a 'problem' usually presents itself as some particularly spectacular community, or police, reaction to a specific situation .. . the problem is generally 'solved' for the time being, without the underlying causative factors having been removed or otherwise modified. This apparent calm between episodes often has the effect of lulling police . . . into believing that police community relations are harmonious .. . but this sense of security does not necessarily prevail at the 'grass-roots' level of operations (Research & Development 1980, p. 7).

One of the developers of PCIP thought the Frankston riot provided Command with a good reason if they were ever called on to justify why the PCIP was put in Frankston.

Some Advantages and Disadvantages of Community Policing

The various benefits to be derived from greater public participation in policing have been identified and discussed by most writers on the subject of community policing. Texts which include the subject of police and community cooperation appear to accept as unequivocal the fact that two-way communication (from public to the police and police to the public) is essential for effective policing:

> The public decides whether criminal activity will be reported and this ultimately determines the level of accuracy of criminal information available to the police. [Also] if criminal activity is not reported, police have no basis for action (South Australia Police 1987, p. 3).

Kinsey, Lea and Young (1986) point out that 90 per cent of serious crimes known to the police are reported to them by the public whilst 10 per cent or less are detected by the police. In his *Policing Principals of 1829*, Sir Robert Peel observed that, 'the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions, and behaviour, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect'

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1 'Command' is the collective name for the Assistant Commissioners of each police department, the Deputy Commissioners and the Chief Commissioner.

(Victoria Police 1979). In 1962, the United Kingdom Royal Commission on the Police identified the necessity of public support for the police: 'It is no exaggeration to say that the police cannot successfully carry out their task of maintaining law and order without the support and confidence of the people' (Home Office 1963, para. 99). Public relations departments within police forces were set up to improve the image of police with the public in the belief that an improved image would increase public cooperation and the handing on of crime related information. However defined, community policing is considered superior to public relations in that it encourages community members to work actively with police instead of being treated as the passive receivers of police publicity information. Milte and Weber point out three major benefits to be gained from community involvement in policing: an increase in police effectiveness; an avoidance of police authoritarianism; and an understanding by the public of police problems:

> If the community supports the police, then presumably police effectiveness will be enhanced, through an increase in information and cooperation being supplied to the police (Milte & Weber 1977).

Milte and Weber are of the opinion that effective police and public interaction can:

> only serve to allow the public to better understand police problems and perhaps be less judgmental. Our police must be far less secretive and be prepared to take the public into their confidence to plan and embark upon programmes which will serve to enhance the law enforcement objective having regard to the totality of community interests and values (Milte & Weber 1977, p. 56).

Community policing may help avoid a drift into authoritarianism, 'the community must become part of the police process. Without community intervention and direction the police effort is likely to degenerate into an occupation-army attitude' (Milte & Weber 1977, p. 56). Another argument for increased involvement of the public is that it would reduce pressure on the police from outside bodies trying to gain greater control:

> In communities which are hostile to the police mission and have least involvement with it, the police find they experience interference and citizens clamouring for 'control' of police. The more involved the community is, the better the relationship, the greater the trust, the less interference . . . (Fink & Sealy 1974).

Fink and Sealy also point out that community involvement programs have the potential to reduce opportunities for crime by making public space and

buildings less attractive to potential criminals through police working with civic planners (Fink & Sealy 1974).

There appears to be very little discussion in the literature about existing or potential problems relating to community policing. Gordon is one of the few who discusses potential problems in any detail. He points out for instance that, in an holistic context particularly, community policing gives more autonomy, greater discretion and more active participation in decision-making to the lowest levels in the organisation (that is the constables) who, by the nature of their work, already have considerable autonomy. Police managers may feel threatened by this increase in a constable's 'autonomy of thought' because of a perception that they will 'lose control' of their personnel (Gordon 1984, p. 131). This is perhaps one reason for the negative reaction of many police to community policing. Another potential problem with community policing has been identified as that of police manipulating the community. For example, in inter-agency relationships:

> [The] inter-agency relationship is never one of equality for . . . the police are in a unique position to provide leadership and initiative and generally to act as a focal point for joint work. They are therefore in a position to determine priorities, to control the direction of activities and to isolate and marginalize those who disagree or criticize (Gordon 1984, p. 131).

This perceived problem could perhaps also be applicable to less formal groups within the community who liaise with police. A further problem with community policing is that it may be used by government and police to gain support for the more 'military-style' police tactics. Gordon is of the opinion that community policing in the United Kingdom was recommended by Lord Scarman in his report on the Brixton riots in order that police had support of at least some sections of the community in the event of future 'Special Patrol Group' activities and similar 'special efforts' by police. (These police activities were alleged to have sparked the Brixton riots of 1981). This way of viewing community policing also appeared to be that of Sir Kenneth Newman whose idea was that community policing should be complementary to the traditional reactive policing strategy and should be designed to ensure public cooperation and support for reactive policing, and to increase the quality of information gathering (Gordon 1984, p. 139). A possible danger with community policing is that police, under the guise of offering advice and assistance, will use community policing as a means of surveillance and control of communities. 'This is particularly "dangerous" where the activities of the different agencies of the State are merged and under the control and

direction of the police' (Gordon 1984, p. 141). Gordon called this 'engineered consent'.

Community Policing in Australia

Community policing emerged as a strong force in Australia in the early to mid-1980s. There were a number of factors contributing to this. In attempting to answer the question of 'why now?', in 1984 Richard Harding stated that Australia in the 1980s was more difficult to police than it was twenty years ago due to greater urbanisation, multi-culturalism, high unemployment and a body of 'disconnected' youth who were the casualties of high unemployment (Harding 1984, p. 3). New solutions were therefore being sought to control crime. The then Minister of Police in New South Wales, the Honourable P.T. Anderson, observed that:

> cynics might say the time now is right for community policing, because so many people have had crimes committed against them and have as a result, become aware that it is not just the police force's problem (Anderson 1984, p. 14).

Anderson also thought that the media had contributed to a change in public thinking:

> in the past the media has pushed the one line that increasing crime was the fault of the police force and the government. Of late, however their comments .. . have highlighted the need for public support and community involvement in law enforcement (Anderson 1984, p. 15).

Chief Inspector Barbara Oldfield of the Victoria Police observed that:

> Most of the excellent [community involvement] work done in the past went undocumented and to a large degree unsupported .. . and was swallowed up in the reactive cycle. The observance of these and other historical processes were a prelude to the development of police community involvement in the 1980s (Victoria Police 1986).

Prior to the 1980s, there had been attempts by individual police in Victoria, and probably in other police forces in Australia, to involve the community in policing, particularly in country Districts. However, up until the late 1970s and early 1980s, these efforts had been ad hoc. Knowledge of the trends overseas appears to have been necessary in Australia to legitimise this style of policing.

Some Australian police forces are attempting to reorganise their entire organisations around the 'philosophy of community policing'. It appears that in some Australian police forces community policing is being used—

with the best of intentions—as a panacea for diminished public confidence in some state police forces in the wake of inquiries revealing corruption in police practice and police organisations. Police in Victoria have not had this type of incentive to change to community policing. Victoria police, then and now, exist in a relatively benign political and social climate. Community policing in Victoria emerged from a completely different set of circumstances and interrelated factors in the late 1970s, some of which have contributed to further clouding of the concept of community policing. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

Different Types of Community Policing

The term community policing has been used so generally that it has become like a will o' the wisp—alluring but impossible to pin down. In Victoria it can mean anything from foot patrol to dealing with child abuse. Within the Victoria Police Force—which is probably typical of other Australian police organisations—there are at least eight distinct areas which have been, are, or could be classified as community policing. In an attempt to illustrate this diversity and clarify some of the existing notions of what community policing is or consists of, the following descriptions of what exists in Victoria are given:

- routine police interaction with the public;
- formal police encouragement of public assistance;
- community policing squads;
- police liaison officers;
- public relations departments and crime prevention bureaux;
- community projects;
- police community consultative committees; and
- police community involvement programs.

Routine Police Interaction with the Public

Every police officer in the course of his or her normal day-to-day duties is involved in interaction with the community. Each police officer is expected

to encourage the public to report crime; to encourage children to have a positive view of police (by acts such as waving, smiling and saying hello to children); to counsel older children to divert them from becoming victims or from breaking the law; to provide security advice to residents, and so on. Country police officers, in particular, have traditionally operated with a greater emphasis on crime prevention through interaction and consultation with the local community. A more formal extension of the community relations part of the operational police officers' role in Victoria is the 'Blue Light Discos' (run for children under seventeen years of age by off-duty police members). No alcohol is allowed, there is supervision at all times and the discos provide a place for police and youth to establish friendships. In addition, the discos give young people something to do whilst at the same time raising money for charities and local communities. All these functions and practices form part of the normal operational police role and are a form of community policing.

Formal Police Encouragement of Public Assistance

A second form of what could be termed community policing is the more structured encouragement by police of public involvement in helping to solve crimes through annual state-wide programs such as 'Operation Noah', when members of the public are encouraged by police, through extensive media publicity, to volunteer information about drug-related crime using a special anonymous 'hot-line'. Similarly, 'Operation Paradox' encourages members of the public to provide police with information on paedophiles and their activities. 'Crime Stoppers' is a similar program but is run throughout the year. One major crime a week is shown on television and is followed by a request for public assistance. Each caller is given a number which is the only identifying information police have of the caller. The identifying number is used so that callers can be given monetary rewards if their information proves useful. The whole program is based on its credibility with the public in relation to ensuring the confidentiality and anonymity of those giving information. The program's credibility has grown over the years in the eyes of both criminal and law-abiding members of the public. As a result, the program has been successful[2] in

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2 Between November 1987 and May 1992 in Victoria, there were 1,205 arrests made and 6,000 charges laid as a result of information received through 'Crime Stoppers'; 2.8 million dollars worth of property was recovered and 14 million dollars worth of drugs were seized in the same period as a result of information received through 'Crime Stoppers'.

providing police with the information they have needed to solve crimes which may otherwise have remained unsolved.

Community Policing Squads

Community Policing Squads (CPS) in Victoria are made up of specially trained men and women whose main functions are to assist women, children and families in crisis, and to provide counselling and referrals to victims of crime. The squads provide a specialist response to victims of sexual offences. The squads liaise closely with health, welfare and education agencies, refuges, emergency accommodation centres and numerous self-help groups and provide a referral service to these agencies[3].

Police Liaison Officers

Police liaison officers are another form of community policing. Police, or sometimes public servants employed in the police department, are appointed as 'go-betweens' or contact points for police and a variety of community interest groups. There are two levels at which liaison officers are used in Victoria. At one level there are permanent appointments in which the incumbent devotes his/her attention full-time to liaison with groups who have a special or potentially difficult relationship with police. For example, there is a victim liaison officer and liaison officers for the Aboriginal, Vietnamese and homosexual communities. In the second level of liaison officers, police are appointed onto committees/working parties where police representation, interdepartmental action, or decision-making is seen to be advantageous. These appointments last for a limited time and take up only part of the police officers' time. Committees and working parties are frequently set up between police and health workers, welfare agencies, transport agencies, courts, women's refuges, other emergency services and so on.

Public Relations Department and Crime Prevention Bureau

The Public Relations section of the Victoria Police was established in 1956. Its functions are to educate and inform the community about the police force in an attempt to gain public support and confidence. Displays, lectures and a wide range of merchandise and literature are a feature of this section. The Crime Prevention Bureau has the function of

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[3] Prior to 1984, Community Policing Squads were called Women Police Divisions.

informing and educating the public about how to prevent crime, primarily with regard to various security systems.

Community Projects

The largest of these are Neighbourhood Watch and the Police/Schools Involvement Program. In Victoria the Special Projects Implementation Office (SPIO) accommodates Neighbourhood Watch and is an umbrella for other projects which involve police working with government departments and community groups. For example, staff work with the Ministry of Housing on the issue of security at high rise estates. In 1988, the Police/Schools Involvement Program was established by police and government. It has seventy-two police officers each tasked full-time to servicing schools. Approximately 740 primary schools and a handful of secondary schools have a police officer assigned to them. The aim is to develop a better relationship and understanding between young people and police. The long-term aim is to reduce the incidence of juvenile involvement in criminal activity. Each police officer is given special training, and many hold formal qualifications in education. Individual police school liaison officers devise their own yearly programs in close consultation with teachers, and tailor the programs to suit each individual school. A coordination office at SPIO provides support and resource material to school liaison officers.

Community members are heavily involved in local decision-making with police and have a high level of input at the local level. Ultimate control of these projects, however, is retained by police. This is not necessarily a bad thing, but it is a different approach to the problem-solving/participative management-type of community policing which was undertaken by PCIP, as will be seen in later chapters.

Police Community Consultative Committees

Police Community Consultative Committees (PCCC) are part of the Victorian Government's Anti-Crime Strategy and are managed and chaired by the Chief Superintendent of each District or their representative. First introduced in 1989, there are now over ninety PCCCs in Victoria. The aim of the committees in to 'facilitate innovative police work by bringing together police and the community on a regular basis to develop a partnership against crime' (Vic Safe 1991, p. 1). Membership of the committees comprise the Police District Commander (Metropolitan Districts) or Police Divisional Commander (Rural Districts); and representatives from local government; Neighbourhood Watch; the general community; voluntary associations; emergency services; and other

government departments. PCCCs are designed to improve the relationship between police and community, identify local issues and problems, analyse local crime prevention needs, and undertake evaluation and reviews.

Whilst guidelines for the running of PCCCs are provided, the committees vary in character and formality according to the needs of the particular area. No central body coordinates PCCCs but they liaise with the government's Public Safety and Anti-Crime Council when necessary, and may obtain advice and assistance from staff located at police headquarters.

Issues addressed by PCCCs have ranged from environmental design concerns to specific education and crime prevention programs targeted at identified local problems or concerns. Problems which have been targeted by PCCCs include graffiti, dogs unleashed on beaches, provision of meaningful work for offenders on community based work orders, drug and alcohol problems, and car theft.

Police Community Involvement Programs

There were two PCIPs set up in Victoria. The first was established in 1981 as a pilot project in the southern Melbourne suburb of Frankston. The second was established in the northern Melbourne suburb of Broadmeadows in 1982. Frankston PCIP was disbanded in 1984 and Broadmeadows PCIP in 1986. The general aim of the PCIPs was to:

> provide an avenue of communication in order to promote a continuing 'awareness' of problems and a coordinated police/community effort towards problem solving within the broad field of crime prevention (Research and Development Department 1980, p. 2).

The Importance of Studying the Police Community Involvement Program

In general in the literature there is widespread belief that community involvement and cooperation with police in crime prevention is potentially the most powerful tool against crime and disorder. In addition, community policing offers the prospect of allowing police to be truly accountable to the public at a local level in a way which is non-threatening to police, and therefore more likely to be implemented. Accountability at a local level is built into community policing, '. . . indeed it becomes a form or model of accountability' (Sarre 1989).

Current literature on community policing points to the fact that there is a shortage of community involvement projects which have been evaluated, and a shortage of well documented community policing programs which could be used as the basis for the introduction of programs and strategies elsewhere. PCIP is a rare exception. PCIP was extensively evaluated and documented. It was a valuable program and deserves to be documented on that basis alone, either as a piece of police history or as an interesting development in policing. However, PCIP is also valuable from the point of view that it provides an illustration of how projects can be successfully developed and how policing practice and organisation might be structured in the future to accommodate effective community policing more comfortably, particularly in an holistic context.

The PCIPs had a unique system of management, and internal and external accountability, and were orientated towards solving crime and disorder problems.

The PCIPs developed, tested and implemented community involvement and crime prevention projects which were run jointly by police and community members. Projects developed by the PCIPs and local communities are described in more detail in Chapter 3. Both the Neighbourhood Watch and Safety House projects snowballed rapidly from local projects into national institutions, but many more projects were developed by PCIP which were also of value but remained local. These, too, can provide useful insights into the processes involved in setting up community involvement/crime prevention projects. Documentation of the evaluations of these projects have been archived, and until now have never been discussed in terms of the knowledge they gave police about successful implementation of community policing. Not all PCIP projects were successful, nor could they be expected to be. In fact the unsuccessful ones are probably more valuable in terms of learning than were the successful ones.

Because there were so many projects developed by PCIP not all are discussed in detail in this book. Those projects selected, in one way or another, illustrate important points in the process of establishing community involvement/crime prevention projects. Evaluation studies of PCIP and its projects show that the community development techniques it employed, and the projects themselves, were of value in achieving police and community goals. They were also successful in obtaining and holding community interest and continued involvement (*see* Beyer 1982, 1985b; Smith 1985; Smith & Oldfield 1982b). Lastly, PCIP provides an example of a structure which enabled police to increase their effectiveness and their accountability to the public in real terms.

Chapter 3 will describe some practical examples of problem-solving by police. It will also provide illustrations of the processes involved in planning, implementing and evaluating community involvement projects.

Chapter 2

Organisational Context from which the Police Community Involvement Project emerged

Prior to the late 1970s, the idea of community policing and the notion of 'proactive'[1] policing were not part of the police organisational consciousness in Australia. In the early 1980s, whenever the word proactive was used in police circles it had to be explained, it was not in the police vocabulary (Tape recorded interview with Officer in Charge PCIP 1990). Whilst police forces had their specialist public relations sections and crime prevention bureaux, neither of these specialist sections attempted to address the so-called 'social' aspects of crime prevention. (They were—and in most cases still are—attempting to change the public's views and behaviours without changing the police.)

At that time, police decision-makers did not have a clear understanding of the different styles of policing used overseas. In Victoria it was only after the establishment of the Diploma of Police Studies course at Chisholm Institute of Technology, in 1977, that different styles of policing began to be more generally discussed within the Victoria Police. Only when Chief Commissioner Miller began work on new directions in policing for the 1980s, were alternative strategies to control crime seriously considered in Australia. In 1981 in Victoria, only twelve police had done the Police Studies Course, there were only a handful of police who had university degrees and only thirteen police had done the Police Community Involvement Program training. The pilot Police Community Involvement Program (PCIP) was really breaking new ground when it was established in 1981 because, at that time, there was a lack of understanding in police forces of any strategy that was not directly concerned with crime fighting.

[1] David Smith describes 'proactive' policing as, 'a planned course of action designed to prevent criminal activity or anti-social events from occurring . . . Proactive policing seeks to influence the environment in which police activity takes place and emphasises a planned preventive approach to tasking' (*see* Smith 1988, p. 149).

The Role of Chief Commissioner S.I. Miller

Victoria's Chief Commissioner 'Mick' Miller had been overseas several times during the 1970s looking at other police forces and he had attended the United States FBI course. He was, therefore, aware of different styles of policing and in a better position to see the value of alternative policing strategies. Chief Commissioner Miller fully supported the idea of PCIP. There were perhaps five main reasons contributing to Mr Miller's decision to go ahead with PCIP, despite some considerable opposition to it by the government of the day (as will be shown below):

- current police practice was not successful in terms of controlling crime rates in Victoria nor of improving clearance (offenders for crime) rates, and many offenders were juveniles under the age of twenty-one;
- research was starting to show that traditional assumptions about police effectiveness were faulty;
- groups of citizens, concerned about law and order, were meeting in an organised manner to discuss their problems and the response and attitude of police;
- the potential for community involvement had been recently demonstrated in a Melbourne police District;
- a new structure for Women Police Divisions (WPDs) was needed following equal opportunity legislation introduced into Victoria in the late 1970s.

Limitations of Police Practice

The gathering of information and evidence has always been the foundation upon which police activity is centred. The limitations of police methods of gaining information in the 1970s was illustrated in a study of Police Crime Car Squads undertaken by the Management Services Bureau of the Victoria Police in 1979 (Brown & Oldfield 1979). Each police District in Victoria at that time had a Crime Car Squad which consisted of plain clothes police who drove unmarked police cars. In the mid-1970s they received a lot of criticism externally because of their stop and search activities, and internally because of the huge resources allocated to them and their poor crime fighting record. In the 1960s Crime Car Squads got most of their information in hotels from the licencees and patrons. In those days active criminals could be found in the hotels. However, the

social scene changed in the late 1970s and this no longer became an efficient way to obtain information. Crime statistics were showing that the majority of property crime was being committed by juveniles (*see* Victoria Police, *Statistical Review of Crime*, 1974–1989). As one police officer put it, 'the crime car blokes were sitting in pubs listening to burnt-out criminals whilst the kids were out doing the crimes'. The Crime Car Squads had no effective way of getting information, and they were totally ineffective as a result.

Exacerbating the problem of lack of information in the 1970s was the conversion of police radio communication centres from systems containing small numbers of radio operators, who knew the Districts backwards and all the criminals, to massive and technologically sophisticated systems. The system of personal knowledge was beginning to break down. In the late 1970s, there was an information void that was not being filled.

Prior to the 1970s, crime figures in Victoria were produced by police in the Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB). In the mid-1970s, in order to improve the integrity of the crime figures, Chief Commissioner Miller appointed a full-time statistician to the Force. The statistician was part of the newly established Management Services Bureau, created to provide Command with information support (Victoria Police 1982a). The Force Statistician—a public servant—was responsible for the collection and analysis of crime statistics in Victoria and for the production of the annual *Statistical Review of Crime*. The figures produced by the Force Statistician showed clearly that crime was rising significantly, clearance figures (offenders for crimes) were remaining static and a majority of offenders prosecuted for property crimes were juveniles (Victoria Police, *Statistical Review of Crime*). In the period 1975 to 1980 it was found that burglary rates had risen from 33,072 in 1975 to 59,336 in 1980, whilst clearance rates were reduced from 26 per cent cleared in 1975 to 16 per cent cleared in 1980. Theft and robbery rates reflected a similar picture.

Despite the fact that, in the mid and late 1970s, there were no major problems within the Force and Victoria Police enjoyed a reputation of being world firsts in many areas of policing technology, it appeared to police that they were losing the fight against crime. The question Chief Commissioner Miller was asking was, why is the fight against crime being lost given that the police force is in good working shape? He could see that Command thought they, and police generally, were doing a good job and yet the statistics showed the contrary. The identification of the void in intelligence gathering, together with evidence from the statistical reports which showed just how ineffectual police were, were probably the main reasons why PCIP was looked on favourably by the Chief Commissioner. There was a sense of urgency within Force management circles to try

anything which might stem the escalating crime rate and increase clearance rates. PCIP offered a possible answer to the traditional and demonstrably ineffective methods of information gathering.

Research into Police Effectiveness

Research into police effectiveness in the 1970s was consistently showing that traditional police practices, including patrol and response times, were not influencing crime rates or number of offences cleared. For a more detailed discussion see Chapter 5.

Organised Citizen Groups

In the late 1970s meetings were being held between residents, social workers and other interested members of the public regarding problems with youth. Citizens from inner-city high-rise housing estates and welfare workers had also been meeting in an organised manner to discuss police attitudes and the way police handled identified problems. These meetings were occurring spontaneously and independently of one another in different sections of the community. These instances of public dissatisfaction were used by the developers of PCIP to illustrate to Command that there were problems in the community which were not being addressed by police, and that PCIP could be a solution.

Community Involvement in a Melbourne Police District

The first official documentation of a community involvement program is in a Victoria Police file dated June 1978 (Victoria Police file 1978). The file consists of a report on a presentation by a Chief Superintendent to the Superintendents Conference of 12 June 1978. The Chief Superintendent, who was the Officer in Charge of a predominantly Anglo-Saxon, middle-class Melbourne police District[2], described a community involvement program he had started. The program was an attempt to improve communication between members of the Force and the public—also perhaps as a reaction to the public meeting held by residents in that District to discuss their problems and the response of police. The Chief Superintendent is reported as saying he:

> had come to the conclusion that, in order to have an effect on the incidence of crime in the District, it would be necessary to improve communications from the public to the police [because] it could no longer be expected that the public would come to the police; the Department had to find out where information was and go and get it (Victoria Police file 1978).

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2 The police District concerned consisted of several outer eastern Melbourne suburbs, extending from Nunawading to Healsville.

For perhaps the first time in Australia the notion that law abiding citizens had the potential to help police control the non-law abiding citizens was put forward formally within the police organisation, '25% of the community cause problems for police; the remainder [are] responsible persons. Control of the 25% would . . . be through the responsible persons' (Victoria Police, 14 June 1978–25 June 1978). The community involvement program begun by the Chief Superintendent initially consisted of improving communications between police members and between police stations. This was done by means of 'read-outs'[3] in the afternoons at the change of shifts; frequent liaison visits to stations by members from other stations within the District; and through the active encouragement of social gatherings between police members. These measures were reported as being of great benefit in improving police work performance and morale. The program was extended when a number of police members expressed interest in developing community involvement. A Special Duties Squad was formed under the supervision of a Sergeant from the local Crime Car Squad[4]. Duties of the newly formed squad appear to have been mostly concerned with giving lectures to various community groups, with an emphasis on getting information from the public as well as giving it out:

> Communications from the public had . . . been greatly improved and he, [the Chief Superintendent] believed this had contributed to a fall in the crime rate in the District (Victoria Police file 1978).

The Assistant Commissioner for Crime is reported as saying:

> the crime rate in [this] District had, when compared with the previous month, been reduced by 17% in April. In addition, during that month, uniform members had cleared up 35.7% of the crime (reported as cleared in that District)—the highest clear-up rate by uniform members in any District . . . this was a very healthy sign and was a reflection of the efforts of [the] Chief Superintendent (Victoria Police 14 June 1978–25 June 1978).

A specific community involvement scheme run by police in this same District involved police working with members of the public who had CB radios. The scheme was known as Police Associated Citizens' Emergency Radio (PACER). An Inspector developed the scheme following a successful search for a small girl in which 'CBers' had successfully assisted police. One hundred and twenty five CB operators who had

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[3] 'Read-outs' are meetings attended by outgoing morning shift crews and incoming afternoon shift crews. The member in charge of the station, usually of senior sergeant or sergeant rank, would read out any information deemed relevant about crime/trouble spots, station management issues and directions sent down by the officer in charge of the District.

[4] Crime Car Squads were a specialist 'plain clothes' crime fighting squad located in each police District.

passed a police security check and who had received some training from police, assisted police in 'stolen car blitzes, watching for drunk drivers, suspect vehicles, shoplifters, in searches and similar operations' (Grant 1978). The success of the community involvement venture in this police District probably also had a bearing on the decision of Command to approve the establishment of PCIP.

Restructuring of Women Police Divisions

Unfortunately for Victoria, community policing in Victoria Police is often confused with what used to be termed 'policewomen's work' due, in part, to the historical timing of the introduction of community policing in Victoria. The *Equal Opportunity Act* was proclaimed in Victoria in 1977 and it had the effect of severely restricting which jobs could be called sex specific. The welfare role Women Police Divisions (WPDs) had had with children and families was not considered to be sex-specific by the legislation, except in country Districts, where frequently the only female police officer in the District was attached to the one-person WPD. Victoria Police needed to restructure WPDs to bring them into line with the provisions of the Equal Opportunity Act. As Victoria Police obtained a three-year exemption from the Equal Opportunity Act, it was not until the early 1980s that WPDs underwent complete reorganisation including a new name and a formalised job description.

An Inspector from the Management Services Bureau (later to become Assistant Commissioner of the Research and Development Department, which implemented PCIP), together with an Assistant Commissioner, wrote most of the material on women police in the *St Johnston Report* (St Johnston 1970–1971). The *St Johnston Report* was the result of an invitation to Colonel Sir Eric St Johnson OBE, QPM, HM Chief Inspector of Constabulary for England and Wales, 1967–1970, by the Victoria Police, to examine the administration and organisation of Victoria Police; the report also provided recommendations to improve efficiency. As a result of working on this report the Assistant Commissioner identified the fact that WPDs had a system of managing information which was valuable and unique within the organisation and that most of the good public relations that police had with the community had been earned by the work of WPDs. They were the only section of the Force which had a track record of making decisions *with* the community about what was to be dealt with by police and what was to be dealt with by other means. WPDs in Victoria had, in fact, been practising a form of community policing since the 1940s, where they acted in partnership and in close consultation with community members and groups in relation to abused children, troubled youth, families in crisis and victims of sexual assault. At that time, WPDs were functionally autonomous from mainstream police

management and because the police radio control room (D24) was generally reluctant to give out jobs to women patrol units the WPDs had to generate a lot of their own work. In many ways the management and work style of WPDs paralleled that of PCIP.

Whilst the value of this style of policing had been apparent to women police for many years, it had never before been identified and acknowledged by a senior male police officer. The Assistant Commissioner was very keen that the characteristics of WPDs should not be lost when WPDs were disbanded as a result of the equal opportunities legislation. The Assistant Commissioner retired from the Force in 1978 and died shortly after. The Assistant Commissioner of the Research and Development Department, who had been the Inspector assisting with the *St Johnston Report*, later revealed that he had made a promise to finish the job of organising WPDs into community policing squads before he too retired. This is one of the reasons why the Assistant Commissioner of the Research and Development Department was so supportive of PCIP. Because the management and information systems within WPDs were similar to those of the proposed PCIP it seemed logical, at that time, for PCIP to be seen by police managers as an answer to the problem of restructuring WPDs.

One final factor which probably contributed to the confusion of community policing with women's work was the fact that a female Inspector was in charge of PCIP, although she was not selected on that basis[5]. Inspector Oldfield (as she was at that time) happened to be the only Inspector at the Management Services Bureau who was not tasked to other duties at the time when PCIP became an issue, and was thus given the task of implementing it.

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[5] Females of officer rank were very rare in Victoria in 1981. Previous to working at the Research and Development Department and as Office in Charge of PCIP, Chief Inspector Barbara Oldfield had been the first female Inspector to work in mainstream operational policing.

Original Proposal for Police Community Involvement

In January 1980 the Assistant Commissioner of the Research and Development Department submitted to Command a proposal for a Police Community Involvement Program which incorporated the concept of integrating PCIP with WPDs. The proposal involved nominating the officers in charge of WPDs to act as, 'Field Liaison Officer(s) for youth workers or other service organisations within the Police District'. A Community Involvement Coordinator based at Headquarters was to have responsibility for the program and be, 'the focal point for major requests having state-wide effect on liaison work with youth workers or service organisations' (Victoria Police file 1983). It was proposed that after twelve months other phases could be gradually added. These included:

- greater involvement of the local stations in the program activities;
- use of the child cautioning program to identify problem families in need of counselling or other assistance;
- greater involvement by police in education programs;
- involvement of police at a high level with Housing Commission planning schemes;
- development of existing WPDs into highly specialised Community Involvement Bureaux; and
- involvement and cooperation between various sections of the Force to prevent crime.

This proposal was ultimately rejected. The new name for WPDs, however, was misleadingly changed to Community Policing Squads in 1984. Whilst the squads continue to liaise extensively with outside agencies, their work involves very little of what could be termed community policing and they are, in the main, a reactive arm of the police force.

The Frankston Police Community Involvement Program

In 1979, an Inspector and a Sergeant from the Management Services Bureau were given the job of reworking the concept of community involvement in policing so that it could again be put before Command. At the time both these police officers were attending the first Police Studies Course at the Chisholm Institute of Technology. They studied different styles of policing found overseas and were stimulated about the notion of

public and police working together in an active, equal and cooperative way to prevent crime. They could also see the enormous potential of a two-way communication channel which would put police in touch with what local communities really wanted from their police force. Previous to the 1980s the only formal, non-reactive functions performed by police (with the exception of WPDs) were to do with public relations and crime prevention where police were in the role of experts and the public were in the role of receivers of information. Community policing offered the exciting prospect of working with members of the public as equal partners in crime prevention strategies.

For the Inspector, the study of community policing put into words the system of management she had experienced in WPDs. The Sergeant though, who had worked mostly in the criminal investigation field, saw community policing as logically being a central policy for the entire police organisation. He convinced the Inspector, and some others who worked directly in PCIP, that this vision for community policing was the right and most logical one. However, the vision of community policing as an organisational philosophy was never seriously entertained anywhere else in the Force.

The structure of PCIP was devised by the Sergeant as part of an assignment for a course he was undertaking. He and the Inspector used this as the basis for reworking the previously rejected Police Community Involvement proposal. They also conducted an extensive literature search. Information was mostly obtained from Strathclyde police in Scotland (who had had a PCIP since the early 1970s), from articles in *Police Chief* and from material brought back from an overseas study tour. The Institute of Educational Administration and the Australian Administrative Staff College were consulted for information about decision-making processes, and program evaluators from the Phillip Institute of Technology were also consulted. The result was a program which, for a number of specific reasons, appears to have been unique in the world. The unique features of PCIP are summarised below:

- the internal management of PCIP was 'participatory' and truly democratic;
- it had a purpose-built system for handling information and, the information was used as a basis for the development and measurement of specific projects;
- it had a unique form of internal accountability, and was accountable to the public through its close liaison in the development and implementation of specific projects;

- it developed its priorities equitably on the basis of what the public and the local police thought were important;
- it developed projects with the active involvement of community groups and individuals;
- its projects were monitored and evaluated.

In a letter to the Chief Commissioner, the Assistant Commissioner of the Research and Development Department describes the new version of PCIP as follows:

> Probably for the first time in its history the Force is embarking upon a carefully monitored and properly evaluated pilot scheme to test the effectiveness of a number of crime prevention programmes specially developed to suit the local needs. At the same time it is establishing a means by which all appropriate agencies, both Government and community based, can communicate with police and with each other to provide mutual support and assistance towards a common goal—a community where criminal activity is contained and the public can go about its business with a reasonable feeling of security . . . Policing is no different to any other aspect of society—it is constantly required to change its structures, its strategies and its deployment of resources to meet changing community needs. Initiatives such as this project are aimed at curing the ills with which our society is afflicted rather than treating the symptoms (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 70).

On 12 June 1980, at a Command Conference, (conducted bi-monthly and attended by the Chief Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner and all Assistant Commissioners), the new proposal for a pilot PCIP was presented and accepted. At the following Command Conference, on 10 July 1980, it was agreed to implement PCIP as a twelve-month pilot project (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 31).

Government Resistance to a Police Community Involvement Program

The idea of a pilot PCIP had to be very actively promoted to the state government of the day. Government ministers were unconvinced of the wisdom of allocating police resources to a non-crime fighting unit at a time when crime rates were so high. A memo dated 23 January 1981 indicates that the then Minister for Police and Emergency Services believed the primary role of police was to fight crime:

> when the Minister made his decision late yesterday (not to approve PCIP) he indicated that he was not prepared to approve because he found it difficult to justify to Cabinet increases in Police Strength when Police were being used to carry out duties which were not their primary role (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 53).

There was nearly a direct confrontation with the Minister over the issue of PCIP. A report from police to the Minister lists ten possible implications of the Minister's rejection of PCIP. These included:

> a weakening of the Chief Commissioner's position in the control of the Force, possible confrontation with the Minister and a likelihood of Police Association involvement (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 52).

The report concludes:

> Regardless of the importance or otherwise of the program, the Minister's attitude is one which cannot be easily put aside. The concept of who controls the Force is at issue here not the Community Involvement Program . . . The initiative is that of the Chief Commissioner and should the Minister desire specifically to forbid it then he should do so through the Executive Council by written direction—a first for Victoria (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 51).

A letter from the Ministry dated 5 February 1981 states, 'your memorandum was brought to the attention of the Minister who has reconsidered the matter and has now given his approval . . .' (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 58). Approval and finance from government was on the proviso that there be liaison with, and representation of, the Department of Community Welfare Services (now Department of Health and Community Services), to 'oversight the conduct of the Programme and to evaluate its results' (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 58). Police were also directed to provide the Ministry with a report on the program's effectiveness at the completion of the twelve-month pilot period. In practical terms, involvement by the Department of Community Welfare Services was negligible. As late as March 1981 correspondence from the government was still expressing reservations about PCIP as the following letter from the Ministry indicates:

> the Treasurer expressed concern at the use of Police in a Programme of this nature and questioned whether Police resources could not be used more effectively elsewhere .. . the Minister expressed reservations about the desirability of .. . such an activity . . . at a time when resources were claimed to be generally inadequate. He also noted that, in part, the proposed activity could impinge on the functions of the Department of Community Welfare Services (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 66).

A change of government following the election of 1981 diffused government animosity over PCIP and the new government (almost overwhelmingly) supported the concept.

Objectives of the Police Community Involvement Program

In very general terms, the objective of the PCIP was to provide avenues of communication between police and the public in order to promote awareness of community problems relating to policing issues and a coordinated police and community effort towards problem solving. More specifically, the objectives of the PCIP were to:

- promote awareness of the police role;
- develop community interest, support, cooperation and confidence in assisting police to attain Force goals;
- identify police and community problems, needs, attitudes and expectations relative to the police function;
- act as a focal point in assisting police and other organisations/ individuals within the community to work in coordination towards common goals;
- conduct research in designated fields;
- provide practical assistance, through information and feedback, to police and community;
- monitor and evaluate the Police/Community Involvement Program Pilot Scheme and its projects (Research & Development Department 1980, p. 7).

Why Frankston Was Chosen

Before a decision was made about where to place the pilot PCIP, all metropolitan police Districts were considered. 'Z' police District, on the Mornington Peninsular, (now Delta District) fitted the required criteria. It had an average crime rate; average number of complaints against police (although these were marginally higher than in adjoining Districts); socioeconomic characteristics close to the Melbourne average (although the number of young people unemployed was disproportionately high); and it had an identified problem in the youth and drug areas (the Buoyancy Foundation was considering establishment of a centre at Frankston at the time) (Management Services Bureau 1980a).

The District also had a number of other characteristics perceived to be desirable for the site of the pilot PCIP. It was a holiday destination in summer with seasonal public order problems; it was a predominantly

English speaking community—complications associated with language difficulties could be avoided; and it had a mixture of industrial areas, large urban shopping centres, housing commission areas, rural areas and urban areas. The District was also relatively isolated from other suburbs. The District police headquarters at Frankston was 40 kilometres south of Melbourne. Because of its isolation, it was thought that any problems identified would have emerged most likely from within the community, rather than as a result of external social influences. It was thought that it would be easier to measure the effects of experimental community involvement projects if external and transient influences were minimised (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 38).

The District covered an area of 885 km^2 and included eight local municipalities. It had a total of eleven police stations, of which Frankston was the headquarters, and had an authorised police personnel strength of 172. At the time of the pilot PCIP in 1981, the total population was 196,050 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1980).

Police Community Involvement Program Staff

Thirteen police staff positions were created for the pilot PCIP. They consisted of one Inspector, one Senior Sergeant, four Sergeants and seven Senior Constables and Constables. In addition to these staff members, a Sergeant and myself (then a Constable), of the Research and Development Department, worked full-time on the evaluation and research of the pilot program. We also provided training and guidance to PCIP staff members in the monitoring and evaluation of individual programs.

Prior to the establishment of PCIP an Inspector from the Research and Development Department spent some time searching various police Districts for police officers who had a reputation for involving themselves in community affairs[6]. He persuaded District commanders to allow the identified police members to be relinquished for the twelve months of the pilot project. Applicants for PCIP were solicited for by advertisement in the *Victoria Police Gazette* (20 November 1980, item 35). Those officers identified as suitable were encouraged to apply. The positions were gazetted on a 'secondment for twelve months' basis. Unlike the usual case in the early 1980s, where seniority of the applicants dictated who would get the positions, applicants were assessed for their suitability by going before an interview board. Desirable attributes and qualifications for PCIP staff were listed as:

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6 One of the Sergeants, for example, had been a mayor of a large municipal city, others were involved in Blue Light Discos, some were country police with a record of community work and so on.

- a sound knowledge of police policies and procedures and Force organisation;
- a broad experience in operational police duties;
- an understanding of, and commitment to, the principle of police/community involvement;
- possess skills relevant to coordinating efforts in the development and implementation of projects covering a wide range of police/community problems and needs;
- an ability to communicate with, and relate to, representative groups and individuals of all ages and from all sectors of the community;
- possess the personal ability to generate ready acceptance and respect;
- an ability to maintain a balanced and objective approach in dealing with complex problems;
- an ability as a public speaker;
- an ability to write clear and concise reports;
- tertiary training or an interest in job-related subjects such as social and behavioural sciences (Victoria Police 1981c).

Staff Training

Following their appointment to PCIP, police underwent five days of training. As well as police input into training there were sessions given by several lecturers from Chisholm Institute of Technology and Phillip Institute of Technology as well as youth out-reach workers from Frankston (Management Services Bureau 1980b).

Accommodation Problems

On 26 January 1981 staff were ready to begin work. However, there was a problem obtaining funding and as a result no premises or equipment were in place. For two months PCIP operated out of a caravan parked behind the Frankston Police Station. It was a difficult situation. Thirteen trained and motivated staff who were 'keyed-up' and ready to start work had to be accommodated in a tiny, cramped caravan located behind the toilets at

the Frankston police station in hot summer conditions. The whole program looked like folding up before it had even begun.

After the state government elections of 1981 the Inspector in charge of PCIP, 'in desperation', rang the newly appointed Minister for Police and Emergency Services and spoke to him directly about the PCIP. 'We broke all the rules, we just rang him and said to him, "come and have a look at this, see what you think." ' The strategy worked. The Minister came, was impressed and immediately funded PCIP. He watched the group very carefully during its first twelve months of operation. (Later, in 1983 when the government won a second term, the Minister allocated enough police positions to run two PCIPs.) Two months after commencement date, PCIP staff moved into a small house located opposite Frankston Police Station. Office furniture and telephones slowly followed.

Internal Organisation

Initially, the PCIP was divided into four sections:

- *Community affairs.* The tasks of this section were to assist in identifying local community problems within the police area of responsibility; develop and coordinate avenues of communication between the local police and community groups including government and non-government agencies; develop and implement suitable joint projects aimed at preventing crime and disorder.

- *Information services.* The task of this section was to provide an information and reference service for police and members of the public. It provided a referral service for police regarding available and creditable local services and resources with information about their function and capabilities. These included welfare and medical help, emergency accommodation and equipment. The Information Services section also provided information to the public regarding police services available and how to use them. Information Services developed a police District register of agencies and services; provided a research and analysis service which converted research data into a useable form easily understood by operational police; and provided a library of community policing and project-related material.

- *Youth affairs section.* The task of this section was to promote communication and cooperation between police and other agencies concerned with juvenile justice to try and prevent crimes. This was to be achieved through the Cautioning Program (a

program designed to divert juveniles away from the court system) which was extended to include assessment and referral services to juvenile offenders through specific projects and activities aimed at juvenile drinking, shop-stealing, drug abuse etc.; provision of a support service for operational police dealing with juveniles; and by developing programs involving schools.

- *Administration section*. The function of this section was to provide administrative support to the other sections of PCIP by developing appropriate recording and evaluation systems. They also kept minutes of meetings and provided other administrative services as required (*see* Appendix A for a chart of PCIP's internal organisation).

Staff Development

Training for staff continued throughout the pilot project in response to requests from PCIP staff. They included public speaking exercises, discussions on decision-making processes, communication skills, planning and evaluation training (Victoria Police file 1983, p. 85).

External Information Flow

The PCIP concept was originally under the supervision of the Management Services Bureau but shortly after PCIP commenced operations the Management Services Bureau was incorporated into a new department called the Research and Development Department and the PCIP therefore came under direct control of an Assistant Commissioner who was, by virtue of his rank, a member of Command and in close contact with the Chief Commissioner. The ability to report directly to the top of the police hierarchy was important to the PCIP because it eliminated the delays and difficulties associated with the normal procedure of reporting up the chain of command. Being able to circumvent the normal reporting procedure and have direct contact with the Assistant Commissioner meant that the Assistant Commissioner knew first-hand what was happening at PCIP. Also a request or problem could be resolved over the telephone, via a meeting or via a written report addressed direct to the Assistant Commissioner. A great deal of time was saved and delay avoided.

Internal Information Flow

The contact sheet. A contact sheet was developed as the basic data collection instrument for PCIP. The contact sheet underwent three changes as the information needs of PCIP became clearer (*see*

Appendix B). In the first twelve months 1,100 contact sheets were submitted into PCIP's administrative system. Contact sheets provided information about:

> the characteristics and nature of communications made by PCIP personnel with people and organisations external to it; the extent of spread of PCIP contacts within the community; and the extent to which community information could be used in mutually beneficial programs or projects (Beyer 1982, p. 4).

Using this system, analysis, monitoring and evaluation of the PCIP's entire network of contacts was possible (Beyer 1982, p. 4) (*see* Appendix C for a diagram of the information flow within PCIP).

The project report sheet. The project report sheet recorded the aims and objectives of particular projects and appraisals undertaken by each section, steps taken each week to achieve those aims, and a weekly projection of what was to be undertaken in the forthcoming week. At the end of every week a project report sheet was submitted to the Administrative Section of PCIP, usually at the weekly meetings during which it would be read out and discussed by all PCIP staff. The project reports were used as an indicator of personnel workloads and as a tool to manage resources. They also enabled each staff member responsible for specific projects to monitor the progress of their projects. This was particularly vital during the projects' developmental stages as they enabled staff to plan ahead within manageable time lines and to achieve weekly goals as well as long term goals (*see* Appendix D for a copy of the project report sheet).

The project workload chart. This was a large visual display of staff workload and progress in relation to various projects. It was used as an information display for visitors and as a management tool which showed the up-to-date status of each project (*see* Appendix E).

Staff Management

Because there was a substantial difference in the way police were required to work at PCIP, standard police recording methods were seen to be inappropriate to solving or identifying problems as they tended to be activity-orientated rather than outcome-orientated. For example, police stations had no system of recording which would give details of type of persons and type and number of problems or requests received and handled in any one day, month or year. To overcome this a system of contact sheets and project sheets was developed as the basis of PCIP operations.

Whilst procedures have always been in place in police organisations for information to be channelled down the chain of command, getting information back up was—and sometimes still is—a cumbersome affair often involving written reports. The knowledge and opinions of individual police constables is generally only known through informal communication amongst members of similar rank level and not through any structured means. Even lateral information sharing is limited. Accumulated knowledge about persons and activities is sometimes not shared because of the competition to get a 'good' arrest. In general, police station staff meetings (where information might be shared) tend to take the form of daily 'read-outs' conducted at the afternoon change of shifts. At these, police are informed by senior members, usually the Senior Sergeant in charge of the police station, about what District officers want in the way of crime-fighting activities and targeting, and about station, watch-house and other administrative matters. Discussion at read-outs is usually not actively encouraged and the focus is more on giving information out rather than the solicitation or exchange of information. Read-outs are also usually conducted with personnel standing up which further discourages discussion.

PCIP meetings differed substantially from read-outs. In the early 1980s the concept of 'mixed rank' staff meetings was totally alien to operational police. Staff meetings were held at PCIP every Friday morning and it was compulsory for all staff to attend. The purpose of the meetings was to share information, coordinate activities, present progress and evaluation reports and to make democratic decisions about projects and any other matters. Each staff member was required to formally state their previous weeks' activities and those planned for the coming week. These plans were discussed by the whole group and modified, if necessary, to complement other plans and coordinate the available resources. The meetings also helped to eliminate duplication of effort and coordinate responses. They were conducted sitting around a table. Many would probably criticise this style of management on the basis that it sounded like the welfare-style of 'case conference' where the result is generally perceived by police as being talk and procrastination with no productive action. However, Frankston PCIP demonstrated that this style of personnel management works in a police setting and has the effect of motivating staff and encouraging them to use their initiative effectively in the pursuit of Force goals.

Staff Morale

Staff reaction to the new style of management at PCIP, for the first six to twelve months, can only be described as euphoric. The 'evangelical revival' atmosphere settled down later but morale remained very high

throughout the program. The extremely high morale of PCIP staff and their capacity for so much productive work attracted the attention of the then Chief Commissioner, Mr Miller who asked each PCIP staff member to give him a brief report about why they were so motivated. Several staff mentioned the management style as being the cause:

> I think that the reason for the high morale during the first six months especially was that we were able to develop as individuals. We weren't abiding to the concept that because a sergeant was a sergeant he [sic] had to know more than a constable. The weekly meetings .. . were valuable in the sense that everyone knew that they had recourse to the weekly meeting for a decision and that everyone [regardless of rank] had only one vote (Frankston PCIP 1981a).

Of the twenty-eight positive factors mentioned as influencing morale, sixteen related to the management style of PCIP and twelve to the type of work itself. Management factors identified as contributing to high morale included: the ability to freely exchange ideas between staff; the allowance of self-expression; a belief that all staff shared the same beliefs and objectives; perceptions of not being constrained by 'orders'; the ability to use individual initiative; pride in getting results; and perceptions that aims and objectives set were achievable. The only factor influencing a lowering of motivation at PCIP was reported as being the necessity to document projects (*see* Appendix F).

Sponsorships

Sponsorship of specific PCIP projects was offered from various private sector businesses in the local community. Many of these were accepted. PCIP staff, however, did not handle any money directly:

> Arrangements should be made to have the sponsor purchase the item/s on our behalf or that of the recipient. Suitable acknowledgment should be made on the item with possible mention in a press release (Frankston PCIP 1981a, p. 3).

Some areas in which sponsorship was used included the donation of relevant books to schools participating in the Police and You Project; donation of trophies by Blue Light Discos for police/student sporting events; and donations to schools to establish Safety House.

Media

The amount of media coverage PCIP received may have had some bearing on the number of contacts received. When PCIP was first established the local radio station and two local newspapers were contacted by PCIP staff and the objectives of PCIP explained. Shortly after PCIP moved into its permanent premises a press conference was held. Press were kept informed about new projects and received updated

information about continuing projects throughout the life of PCIP. At the end of the first twelve months, 101 newspaper articles had been published about PCIP and its projects and ten radio presentations had been made by PCIP police (Frankston PCIP 1981b).

First Review and Re-organisation

During the first seven months, PCIP concentrated its activities in the Frankston area. The area of focus was expanded following a week-long workshop held at the Chisholm Institute of Technology in Frankston. The purpose of the workshop was to review progress, identify problems and develop a revised organisational structure to enable the pilot PCIP to operate more effectively throughout the whole of the police District instead of just in the Frankston area. As a result of the workshop, PCIP was restructured organisationally in order to test the concept of geographical zones. Four PCIP staff members were each assigned a zone located within the District. Each was to be responsible for project development within their zone whilst receiving administrative support from a central location. (*See* Appendix G for the new organisational chart and Appendix H for a diagram of the new zones.)

External Political Involvement

The newly elected government of 1981 showed great interest in PCIP, perhaps because PCIP appeared to be so popular with the Frankston community and as a result showed potential as a vote-catcher. In 1982, the Ministry instructed police to set up a second PCIP in Broadmeadows. This was during the lead-up to another state election when the government had been in for one term and were looking to be re-elected. The keenness of the then Police and Emergency Services Minister for PCIP is revealed in a report of a telephone conversation in August 1982 between the Assistant Commissioner of the Research and Development and the Minister:

> The Minister is most anxious that a start be made [on PCIP Broadmeadows] without delay and advised me [the Assistant Commissioner] that he would see the Treasurer personally to expedite the matter (Victoria Police file 1986b, p. 20).

The police idea had been to put a second PCIP into neighbouring Dandenong because many of the projects in Frankston had naturally spilled over to this District. However, Broadmeadows was chosen by government as, at that time, Broadmeadows was receiving a great deal of publicity over a gang of youths called the 'Broady boys' who used to travel the various train lines of Melbourne terrorising passengers and committing acts of vandalism. Broadmeadows also had a reputation of

being a generally socially deprived area and its inhabitants had a reputation of being ambivalent towards police. It was very obviously a political decision to put PCIP in Broadmeadows. The Minister's personal adviser put up the notion of a 'Broadmeadows Ministerial Group' in which PCIP was to be the central feature. The officer in charge of Frankston PCIP described how she first heard of the Broadmeadows Ministerial Group:

> I remember him [the Ministerial adviser] being terribly excited and saying, 'This is what we're going to do! Have a look at it! And your PCIP is going to be right in the middle!' I just looked at him. I couldn't believe it. He had all these Ministerial heads from Education, Health, Transport, Social Welfare and Police, plus representatives from youth action groups, aged representative groups and so on. He had obviously done a bit of research, looked at a managerial structure and said, 'Whako, that's it!'. He hadn't stopped to look at the nitty gritty of it and said to himself, 'If I've got thirteen police and fourteen committees, which are all going to break down into sub-committees and work with other sub-committees from other groups . . .' I mean, the PCIP police would have had no time to do anything else but sit on committees!

Prior to the establishment of PCIP at Broadmeadows there was a ministerial meeting with all departmental representatives present, 'the Minister rushed in and made a long, inspirational speech about how they were going to "re-build Broadmeadows" '. Following this, there was a struggle to avoid having PCIP in the same premises as the private group called 'Task Force', which had previously operated in Prahran[7]. Task Force had received a $200,000 gift from a trust and were setting up a youth resource and recreation centre (*Broadmeadows Observer*, 4 August 1982, p. 1). The ministerial adviser was pushing the idea of a united PCIP/Task Force very strongly to the Minister. However, police managed to get PCIP into a shop in the Broadmeadows shopping centre. Here PCIP had a high profile, were more accessible to members of the public and could retain a separate identity and remain autonomous.

Active political involvement in policing in Victoria was virtually unheard of in Victoria before the PCIP experience. During this period the Research and Development Department employed a paid consultant because the Assistant Commissioner 'used to worry about whether we knew what we were doing or not' (Tape recorded interview with Officer in Charge PCIP 1986). This person was in the role of consultant. After a decision had been made the consultant would be asked if he had any comments to make.

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7 Task Force was an organisation, headed by an entrepreneur, which provided programs and facilities for youth. It was used as a 'tax shelter' in which funds were provided through tax deductable gifts and trust donations.

Contacts with the Community

Because of the organisational restructure of PCIP which occurred half-way through the twelve-month pilot period, analysis of the contact sheets was done in two parts. The first part analysed contacts made in the first seven months (14 February 1981–30 August 1981), and the second analysed contacts made in the following five months (1 September 1981–31 January 1982) (Beyer 1982, p. 3). During the first seven months of operation, 710 individuals and representatives of community groups had contact with PCIP. Of these, 13 per cent were from other police, 15 per cent were from state or federal government agencies, 8 per cent were from local government agencies, 20 per cent were from voluntary agencies, 13 per cent were from businesses, 4 per cent were from individuals, 26 per cent were from schools and 1 per cent were from other sources (*see* Table 1). Number of contacts appeared to lessen after the restructure of PCIP. Following restructure, 385 contacts were made in five months, compared with 710 for the previous seven months. Following restructure into zones, the proportion of contacts made with schools rose from 26 per cent to 32 per cent of contacts. Contacts made with other police also rose, from 13 per cent to 23 per cent (*see* Table 1).

Although PCIP concentrated mostly on schools in its first months of operation these represented only one-quarter of all contacts made in the first seven months of operation[8]. As can be seen in Table 1, voluntary agencies, government agencies and businesses, whilst not specifically targeted, made up a large proportion of PCIP contacts.

During the planning of PCIP, it was decided that personal contact would be the most effective means of communication:

> Personnel were encouraged to keep correspondence to a minimum since this type of contact .. . [was] time consuming [and] not a method of communication that would encourage a free exchange of ideas or discussion (Beyer 1982, p. 5).

It can be seen in Table 2 that personal contact was used in 51 per cent of all contacts in the first seven months. Only 9 per cent of contacts were made via correspondence. Correspondence increased to about 20 per cent of all contacts made when PCIP was restructured into zones.

By the end of the first twelve months of operation, PCIP had the involvement of twenty-eight different community groups, nine Commonwealth, state and local government organisations, eight higher education institutions, four business groups and eighty-seven primary and secondary schools (*see* Appendix I). It was estimated that by the end of

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8 'Contact' refers to any recorded communication (ingoing or outgoing) between PCIP personnel and others external to PCIP.

the first twelve months 35,124 people were involved in PCIP projects, including some operational police (*see* Appendix J).

PCIP at Frankston operated for a total of three years until 1984 when community consultation was allowed to lapse and PCIP resources were used to develop a 'District Information Support Centre' (DISC) to try and overcome some of the difficulties associated with the effective use of information, which had been identified at PCIP. In 1988 Broadmeadows PCIP was closed as it was perceived to have achieved its purpose of project development. The community involvement projects which had continuing community participation were transferred to the Special Projects Implementation Office (SPIO) at police headquarters.

Table 1

PCIP contacts in the first twelve months of operation ¾ connection with an organisation

Organisation*	First 7 months Feb–Aug 1981		Next 5 months Sept 1981–Jan 1982	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Police PCIP	0	0	0	0
Police	93	13.1	89	23.1
Government agency	107	15.1	26	6.8
Local government	54	7.6	19	4.9
Voluntary organisation	143	20.1	72	18.7
Business	92	13.9	21	5.5
Individual	29	4.1	18	4.7
Schools	182	25.6	125	32.5
Other	10	1.4	15	2.6
Total	710	100.0	385	100.0

* Definition of organisation categories:

Police PCIP	—	PCIP staff members
Police	—	all police other than PCIP members
Government agencies	—	state and federal government funded agencies
Local government	—	any local government funded agency
Voluntary agency	—	financially self-supporting or semi-self-supporting agencies
Business	—	individual firms and members of the retail traders association
Individuals	—	representing themselves
Schools	—	private or government learning institutions—pre-school to tertiary
Other	—	persons or groups unable to be classified into the above groups

Table 2

Communication medium used in PCIP contacts (made or received) during the first twelve months of operation

Medium used	First 7 months Feb–Aug 1981		Next 5 months Sept 1981–Jan 1982	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Personal	363	51.2	193	50.1
Telephone	279	39.2	115	29.9
Correspondence	63	8.9	76	19.7
Other	5	0.7	1	0.3
Total	710	100.0	385	100.0

Chapter 3

Development of Community Involvement Projects

Rather than exhaustively canvas all community projects undertaken by PCIP, only six will be explained in detail. Whilst each project was unique, the techniques required in setting them up were quite similar. The projects described illustrate the processes and factors involved in developing community involvement projects from the identification of a problem through to the development and implementation of solutions and the assessment of outcomes. The projects described also help to demonstrate the value of monitoring and evaluation. Measuring the progress and outcomes of projects allowed informed decisions to be made about the direction and future of existing projects.

Before PCIP began, a decision was made that police staff would try not to concern themselves with carrying out preconceived projects and proposals. Projects were to be developed only after consultation with as wide a range of the community as was possible—within time and resource constraints—so that programs could be tailor-made for each problem. By doing this it was thought that projects would be more relevant to the local community involved and more effective in solving local problems. PCIP staff assisted relevant community groups to reach consensus on issues and then assisted them in the development and implementation of planned solutions. Members of the community were actively encouraged to be involved in planning and carrying out all PCIP projects and activities.

To assist PCIP to remain as unbiased as possible about the needs and concerns of the local community, the Research and Development Department of the Victoria Police conducted attitude, crime and demographic studies of the local community prior to the establishment of the PCIPs in Frankston and later at Broadmeadows. It was found that local operational police, in general, held a negative view of the community in which they worked and doubted that most of the community supported them. It was suspected that the priority police placed on some crimes and community problems might not coincide with what the community thought

were its major crime and public order problems. This was confirmed in the public attitude study conducted in Broadmeadows (Beyer 1983). There was also an awareness that local interest groups might have a 'lopsided' view of what the community wanted and that such views might not necessarily be representative of those of the wider community. It was thought to be very important that PCIP personnel be provided with information about the opinions and requirements of the 'silent majority' of the community and that the information obtained be as independent and bias- and value-free as was possible. By having an overall idea of the character, attitudes, and perceived needs of a wide cross-section of the community, PCIP staff enhanced their ability to be accurate in the targeting of projects and in developing projects and activities which were a reflection of what was really wanted. This was also the reason for conducting the more localised 'Appraisal Studies' prior to developing any programs. Appraisal Studies are explained in more detail below.

Getting Started

The first task of PCIP staff was to make contact with as many, and as wide a variety of, local community groups and organisations as possible. The sections of the community to be targeted were not discussed in specific terms, according to the officer in charge. PCIP staff made their own decisions about who to approach. Community groups and all schools in the area were contacted in person and the objectives of PCIP were explained. The community groups contacted were encouraged to think of any problems or areas of concern they might have in the broad field of policing, crime and disorder (*see* Appendix I for a listing of community groups contacted). A profile of potentially useful services existing in the community was compiled at PCIP in the first few weeks as a result of these initial contacts. PCIP staff also spent the first few weeks familiarising themselves with the literature available on community-based policing programs which had been conducted overseas.

Identifying Problems

Before a project was developed or implemented there needed to be an identified area of concern, raised either by operational police or community members. When an area of concern was identified it was noted on a 'contact sheet' and then discussed by PCIP staff at the next (compulsory) weekly staff meeting. If it appeared warranted, a staff member would then be elected to conduct an 'appraisal' of the problem. The appraisal consisted of the member making, 'the necessary contacts, gathering information on the subject and presenting a comprehensive

report with conclusions and recommendations' (Frankston PCIP 1981a, p. 1). If the appraisal showed that some action was desirable a 'Project/ Service Proposal' form would be filled out and presented to all staff at a weekly meeting (*see* Appendix K for a copy of the form).

Appraisal studies varied in size and depth of research. The major appraisal studies undertaken were 'Schools Appraisal', 'Drug Appraisal' and 'Youth Recreation Appraisal'. The reason for conducting an appraisal study was to provide more detailed information about the nature and depth of the problem. Decisions could then be based on concrete information rather than on assumptions, hearsay or speculation. If action was considered necessary a decision would be made as to which staff member(s) would be responsible for the development of the solution. Discussion would follow as to which citizens and community groups would be initially involved and consulted in the planning of the solution. Community groups, individuals and sometimes other police who had an interest or area of expertise relevant to the problem would be invited to a meeting with the delegated PCIP staff member(s). At this meeting the problem would be discussed, priorities worked out and possible approaches to the problem or area of concern discussed in general terms. One unwritten law at PCIP in relation to deciding who should be involved in formulating projects and related activities was that the range of interest groups participating should be as wide as possible. In particular, where an individual or organisation was identified as being critical of police, or the system in general, they were encouraged onto the working committees and were given the opportunity to put forward their objections or concerns so that they could be discussed and, hopefully, overcome. This strategy often resulted in the person or group becoming strong allies of the proposed project instead of possible adversaries. Subsequent meetings of police and volunteers involved the working out of a definite project and a discussion of implementation details.

Problems and areas of concern were not identified exclusively by members of the community. Whilst problems identified by the community were a top priority, PCIP also had to try and balance them with the problems identified by police—which of course were often of concern to members of the community as well. For example, Command were concerned about the apparent increase in the rates of crime committed by juveniles. This concern was reinforced by the general public's concern about the growing numbers of unemployed youth at that time. It was generally thought by police and the community (reflected in the media) that juvenile crime and unemployment were in some way linked. Schools were, therefore, one of the starting points for community consultation for the newly established PCIP. The method of approach consisted of visiting the school in person and explaining the objectives of PCIP. School staff were

then asked if there were any crime or police-related problems which could be addressed by joint community and police action. A Sergeant from PCIP explained the approach to schools as follows:

> We went to . . . schools just to let them know about the pilot programme and our objectives. We wanted to say to the schools not that we are here and we have come to save the world, but to explain to each school our aims and objectives and to bounce the ball back to them and to offer our help if they were having problems (Hutchins 1982).

The first appraisal study of schools revealed many areas of concern. For teachers, the most important of these were that there was a misunderstanding of the police role amongst students; a poor attitude towards police by older students; and a nervousness and fear of police amongst younger students. The appraisal of schools included a survey on the wants and needs of schools. This gave PCIP staff an idea of the type of police involvement teachers wanted (*see* Appendix K for a summary of the results of the survey). A number of projects were implemented on the basis of the information supplied by the appraisal study of schools. These were:

- The Police Role—Primary Schools Project;
- 'Police and You' Secondary School Legal Studies Project;
- Bike-Education Project;
- Miscellaneous Services to Schools Project;
- Police Awareness Project;
- Informal Police Presence.

Also related to schools, but originating from concerns expressed by parents, was the development of a project designed to alleviate the fears of parents and children in relation to the safety of pupils travelling to and from school. This was the Safety House Project which was developed with parent groups and teachers from several primary schools in the Frankston area. The processes involved in the development of Safety House are described below.

Whilst schools provided a 'captive audience' for PCIP projects, it was realised that many young people who were perhaps involved, or susceptible to involvement in crime and disorder, did not attend schools. This was a challenge to PCIP staff because there were few social structures through which contact could be made with the local unemployed and 'troubled' youth. Local operational police expressed their

dissatisfaction in having to deal with the same offenders over and over again and local traders expressed their concern about groups of youths 'roaming' the streets and gathering outside shops.

The Out of Schools Youth Project

With the assistance of a local youth outreach worker, PCIP conducted a 'Youth Recreation Appraisal' study. From this appraisal there emerged an 'Out of Schools Youth Project'. Whilst the evaluation of this particular project was set up to identify changes in the attitudes and behaviours of the targeted youth, it unexpectedly revealed difficulties related to the involvement of local, non-PCIP police. The project illustrates problems associated with the inflexible traditional activities of police, where the emphasis is on the activity rather than on the possible outcome.

Purpose of the project. The purpose of the Out of Schools Youth Project was to reduce juvenile disorder and anti-social behaviour in Frankston, and to improve the relationship between police and youth in Frankston (Douma 1983a). This was to be achieved by having regular, informal police contact with youth in selected youth agencies in Frankston.

Consultation. A list of all youth groups and organisations in Frankston was obtained. Those which tended to attract 'street kids' were selected for the project. Four groups were initially selected but, shortly after the project commenced, complaints were received by local police about two other youth centres just outside the geographically targeted area, where large numbers of youths would noisily congregate and occasionally cause damage (Douma 1983b, p. 3). These were also included in the project. The six youth groups selected were visited by police from PCIP. The youth group staff were asked for their opinions and ideas about how the project should be run. All groups approached were interested in participating.

Implementation. Initially, only one police officer attended the youth groups at any one time because, 'it was felt that if more police attended, it may have had an overbearing, authoritarian appearance' (Douma 1983b, p. 4). Once the youths had become accustomed to having a police officer in uniform visiting their group or club and youth group staff members felt the youths were ready, local operational police were to be gradually introduced to take over the project. Slightly different approaches were needed for each of the youth groups:

- At one youth hostel, an accommodation home for children from broken homes and for children deemed by the courts to be 'uncontrollable', a very informal approach was used and no structured program was attempted at all. Police participation consisted of having a meal with the children which promoted 'table talk'.

- A second group consisted of older, unemployed youth (seventeen to twenty years of age) who attended classes in English and maths and who were taught interview skills for obtaining jobs. Whilst the approach was still informal, police participation was structured into the existing classes which made for more formal sessions. Police participated in sports activities and discussions.

- A youth group which was aimed at unemployed youth had a large proportion of youths who were involved in crime and who came from unstable homes. These young people required a more sensitive and formal approach because, 'Casual informality was treated with suspicion or as a weakness and was retaliated against by overt use of allegations of impropriety. A "stand-offish" attitude is needed' (Douma 1983b, p. 5).

- Youth at another youth group were also described as 'extremely hostile toward police presence'. The approach here was for the police member to watch the youth working in the skills workshop and to talk to them about the work being done.

- One of the groups was a coffee shop for children over fourteen years of age which was run by a group of concerned residents. Police became involved in activities and discussions with the young people at the request of residents.

- One group ran sporting activities for youth of all ages. Police participated in these activities.

Monitoring. All visits to the youth groups were monitored and recorded on a 'contact continuation sheet'. Each group had its own sheet detailing all visits and other relevant matters. This enabled other police to see what the situation was with each group prior to making a visit (*see* Appendix L for an excerpt from the continuation sheets.)

Evaluation. The success of the project was assessed by looking at:

> Personal observations; by obtaining written feedback and evaluation information from the staff involved at the youth groups; feedback from the youth; and number of offenders apprehended through information given by youths (Douma 1983b, p. 4).

Approximately 225 young people were contacted through the Out of Schools Youth Project. A change in the attitude of youth to police was reported by youth leaders. For example, some of the previously hostile youths were overheard by the youth leaders referring to the police as their 'friends' when queried by other peers. There was also an apparent build up of trust in the police and youth relationship. This was revealed through one youth giving himself up for a theft he had committed and of others reporting crimes they had knowledge of. In one case details of a planned burglary were given to police which resulted in five offenders being apprehended in the act of burglary and being charged by the Frankston Criminal Investigation Branch (Douma 1983b, p. 8).

For the project to succeed, there needed to be an attitude change in the youths targeted. This appeared to be achieved. However, the evaluation revealed that the real problem lay in the attitude of local operational police. Even though the project resulted in the clearing of criminal offences and the arrest of offenders—results which presumably coincided with the objectives of the local police in their crime fighting role —PCIP staff found it impossible to involve operational police in the project. The local operational police were reported to have an:

> 'us versus them' attitude. [Local operational police] did not want to be on familiar terms with youths and claimed that they were too busy to attend the identified groups. It was explained to them that van and car crews could attend during routine patrols and that knowing local youths would be beneficial in the long term . . . Interest [from operational police] waned and in the latter stages of the project there was no operational police input despite numerous requests for attendance and the promise that they would attend. When members were queried about this, the standard reply was 'we're too busy at the moment but leave it with us and we'll get there' (Douma 1983b, p. 8).

The PCIP Constable in charge of the project was obviously very disappointed about the attitude of local operational police as is shown in this extract from his evaluation report:

> Members tend to use the term 'too busy' very loosely and appear unwilling to express their true attitudes toward the project. A negative response would be a positive indicator of their stance but this was not forthcoming (Douma 1983a, p. 9).

The Off-Road Motorcycle Project

Another problem identified by both local police and the wider community was the problem of off-road motorcycles. The illegal riding of these bikes on vacant land was a problem for near-by residents, local council and local police. Consultation and cooperation of residents, council and police resulted in the 'Off-Road motorcycle Project'. This project clearly revealed the benefit to be obtained from community groups working together to solve community problems. It also taught PCIP staff a hard lesson about ownership of projects.

The problem. Off-road motorcycle use in areas of vacant land surrounding residential areas in Frankston had been the source of many complaints from residents to police and local council for many years. In the first six months of 1981, Frankston Police Station received between fifteen and twenty telephone complaints about motor-cycles every weekend and had received fifteen written complaints (Research and Development Department 1983, p. 7). Police response to the problem in the past had been to conduct special efforts involving the use of members of the Special Police Off-road Motorcycle Squad. This action had not been successful because, 'the offending riders knew the areas better than police and were able to lose the pursuing police rider' (Frankston PCIP 1981b, p. 2). Local police were directed not to pursue riders when they went 'off-road' because of the risk of damaging police vehicles. Physical clashes were occurring between residents and motorcycle riders which were widely reported in the local press. One motorcycle rider complained about:

> . . . the residents attacking us with shovels, rakes, rocks and anything else that's handy. One resident comes out with a shotgun and aims it at us. It won't be long before he pulls the trigger. The residents have already hurt a few of us . . . (*Frankston/Mornington Regional News*, 14 July 1981, p. 2).

Consultation. During the appraisal study, information was obtained from local council by-laws officers; local police; police Central Correspondence Bureau files; local motorcycle dealers; Frankston Motorcycle Club; other motorcycle clubs; the council recreation officer and local youth workers (Frankston PCIP 1981b, p. 1). Enquiries were also made to find out if any land had been set aside by council for the use of motorcycles and if there were any relevant education courses in existence (Frankston PCIP 1981b, p. 1). In May 1981 PCIP held a public meeting to which residents, offenders, motorcycle club members, council employees and local police were invited (Frankston Motorcycle Park

Cooperative 1983, p. 1). Sixty people attended. At the meeting a steering committee was established to, 'prepare a submission relative to land allocation, . . . recreation facilities, management and funding for consideration of the Frankston City Council' (Frankston PCIP 1984, p. 2).

Implementation. A submission from the steering committee was accepted by the Frankston Council and suitable land was set aside for use by off-road motorcycles. Funding was provided by Frankston City Council and the State's Ministry of Employment and Training (Frankston Motorcycle Park Cooperative 1983, p. 1). A board of management was formed from the steering committee whose task was to develop the allocated land and manage the park. The physical work involved in developing the land was undertaken by unemployed youth through the Neighbourhood Employment Development Program. Technical advice was provided to the board by a member from the Police Motor Driving School who was seconded to PCIP during the development of the park (Frankston PCIP 1981c, p. 11). The anticipated problem of riders breaking the law getting to and from the park was minimised by providing 'pick-ups' for motorcycle riders and their bikes for a small fee.

Political involvement. In the early 1980s (as in the early 1990s) there was considerable community concern about the number of unemployed youth. In Frankston in the early 1980s the level of youth unemployment was double the state's average (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1980). The motorcycle park in Frankston was keenly supported by the State Government as an example of a project which provided worthwhile employment for the unemployed whilst at the same time providing a recreational facility for 'idle' youth.

> It should be borne in mind that this Motor Cycle Park is being used as the *model* for the Broadmeadows and any other *Cycle Parks* which may be envisaged for this State—indeed, the Department financed a *Video* of our project for the *Vandalism Task Force* and for a Manual . . . (Frankston Motorcycle Park Cooperative 1983, p. 2).

Quite a bit of 'political mileage' was obtained from the project and there were many individuals trying to gain kudos from Frankston's off-road motorcycle park during the time of its development. When the Manual mentioned in the above quote was published, it thanked many people for their 'help', but did not mention police or PCIP involvement (Hudson 1983). As the officer in charge of PCIP put it, 'the staff at PCIP learnt a hard lesson from the Off-Road Motorcycle Project, and that was that you could not "own" a project, you had to give it up to the community'.

Monitoring. The Frankston Motorcycle Park opened on 3 July 1982. By December 1982 it had 2,637 members, and by June 1983 had 3,809 members (Frankston PCIP 1984, p. 2). Between July and October 1982, telephone complaints about off-road motorcycles to Frankston Police Station decreased dramatically but when the park had to be closed in November and December of 1982 because of the effects of drought, the number of reported complaints increased (Frankston Police Station Telephone Message Book 1982, July−December). The statistics obtained from the Frankston Police Station indicated that the park had reduced (but not eliminated) the number of complaints made by residents about off-road motorcycles.

At the request of the State Government's Department of Planning, who were studying criteria for the siting of trail bike facilities in other metropolitan areas, PCIP conducted a further study of the Off-road Motorcycle Park over a six-month period from October 1983 to March 1984 (Frankston PCIP 1984, pp. 6–7). The study found that, typically, the areas in which the offences were being committed were areas of open land adjoining residential estates. During the six-month study period, 127 police work hours were spent on 161 complaints about off-road motorcycles over the whole police District (which included nine police stations and two specialist sections). An average of forty-seven minutes was spent on each complaint. Nine offenders were proceeded against and twelve were spoken to by police. Frankston Police Station received seventy-six complaints in the six-month study period, an average of twelve complaints per month which was a considerable improvement on the sixty to eighty complaints received in the months prior to the park being established.

Evaluation. No link was found between attendance *numbers* at the Off-Road Motorcycle Park and number of complaints received. It appeared though, that the establishment of an Off-Road Motorcycle Park did have the effect of reducing complaints in relation to the riding of off-road motorcycles in Frankston.

A Project Failure

Only one PCIP project—or the only one I am aware of—was a total failure. The appraisal of underage drinking and other problems associated with the local hotels in Frankston was such a dismal failure that it is not mentioned in any of the printed reviews and evaluations of PCIP—a pity as it illustrates the pitfalls which can be associated with lack of consultation. The hotel appraisal was the first attempt at identifying and solving a problem. Perhaps because this project failed, subsequent projects were conducted with a great deal of care, particularly in involving

and consulting all groups and people likely to be affected, or who might have an opinion on a particular issue.

During the initial five-day training period, PCIP staff spent considerable time working out how they would identify a problem and how they would plan a project to address it. Because of the initial accommodation problem at Frankston, some of the PCIP staff had to remain at police headquarters and in the confines of police headquarters, PCIP staff focused on the problem of the Frankston hotels. At that time the hotels were a big problem for the officer in charge of police at Frankston. A project was put together which involved PCIP staff going down to observe and assess the situation of the hotels, and to look at the issue of public order in Frankston.

Implementation of this project immediately antagonised almost every operational police officer in Frankston. As local police had not been consulted, nor told what was going on they thought headquarters were spying on them and were very angry. The lack of consultation with local police was a mistake which may not have happened if PCIP staff had been physically in Frankston at the time of planning. Nevertheless, the hotel appraisal had the effect of putting operational police off-side from the beginning. In an attempt to rectify the perceived damage done to the relationship with local operational police, PCIP spent considerable time and effort over a period of years keeping them and their officers in charge informed. Local police were also actively encouraged to participate in the various police community projects. PCIP staff always felt it to be an uphill battle to convince operational police of the benefits and potential of the PCIP approach to policing. PCIP made a point of listing and publicising the results of projects for the benefit of local police, particularly when, as a consequence of the projects, crime fighting objectives were met. The attitude of operational police was depressing to PCIP staff. Even when the results of projects met local operational police crime fighting objectives, many local police remained aloof and maintained an attitude of scepticism and some of undisguised hostility.

Overseas literature indicates that operational police would be likely to be off-side in any case, so it is probable that the effect of the hotel appraisal project on subsequent attitudes of operational police to the PCIP at Frankston and its projects may have had less influence than would at first appear. The problem of unwilling and uninterested operational police was so great that when the second PCIP at Broadmeadows was established it was decided not to put as much effort into liaison with operational police. Instead, research on which to base a planned strategy

was undertaken (Beyer 1985a)[1]. Some of the results of this study are outlined and discussed in Chapter 5.

The Safety House Project

This was one of the first projects undertaken by PCIP. In terms of the public solving their own crime prevention and safety needs, Safety House was very successful and showed clearly the power of community involvement in crime prevention. The success of Safety House, particularly after its shaky beginnings, contributed greatly to the enthusiasm and zeal felt by PCIP police staff, and also to the participating community members. Within only a few years of its beginning the Safety House project had established itself as a national institution. The stages and decision-making processes of Safety House though, were full of starts and stops. The passage of the project from a good idea to a fully fledged community organisation was not a smooth nor easy one. However, by developing the project through community consultation and active community participation at all stages, and by learning from mistakes, a solid project was developed and established. The Safety House project became a model for future PCIP projects, in particular Neighbourhood Watch.

The problem. In 1981, at about the same time as PCIP moved into its premises in Frankston, a private citizen from the neighbouring suburb of Seaford approached the Frankston Council with the idea of setting up a safe house scheme in his children's school. He had seen a safe house scheme operating at the Wooranna Park Primary School in North Dandenong and wanted a similar one. The local council passed the proposal on to PCIP. PCIP staff found that, whilst the safe house program at Wooranna Park Primary School had received support from its local police, other primary schools who had tried to copy the scheme had not received the necessary police support. It was apparent that endorsement from police headquarters was necessary, initially, to ensure support from police in all areas.

PCIP staff's first action was to look at local crime statistics to see whether there was in fact a problem. On the basis of the statistics, and the results of inquiries made among local police, PCIP staff came to the conclusion that there were no child safety problems with strangers in the Seaford area. A meeting was then arranged at which PCIP staff, the original proposer of the scheme, and interested members of the community could discuss the issue of child safety and the safe house scheme. At this meeting PCIP staff intended to reassure concerned

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1 The PCIP was disbanded before any strategy based on this research was developed.

members of the public that, based on police information, there was no problem. Unexpectedly, it was members of the public who assured police there was a problem. Incidents of children being frightened and assaulted by strangers had apparently been occurring over an extended period of time, but had not been reported to police. Parents expressed a high level of fear for the safety of their children, particularly when travelling to and from school. Why were the incidents going unreported? Being unaware that a twenty-four hour central police number (11444) was available to take routine calls, and not wishing to use the 000 emergency number because the incidents were relatively minor, parents and teachers had been ringing local police. Seaford Police Station was not a 24-hour station and no police had been in attendance at the times parents tried to report the incidents. When Frankston Police Station was rung (the nearest 24-hour police station), callers were not able to get through because the lines were always busy. (At this, and other meetings with residents, the inadequacy of the Frankston police station switchboard became evident and resulted in it being replaced with one which had a larger capacity for incoming calls.)

The result of police meeting and talking with residents had immediate beneficial results. Frankston Police Station switchboard was replaced to enable greater public access and a child safety problem, previously unknown to police, was brought to police attention. This project showed that there were substantial benefits to be gained from police and public communicating with each other. It also gave PCIP staff a morale boost to see so clearly that their new approach of seeking public input into crime and crime related problems was going to be effective.

Description of the Safety House program. The Safety House project involves the identification of houses (by a Safety House label on the letterbox) at which an adult of good repute is normally home at times when children are in transit to and from school. Children are taught at school that they may seek help at one of these houses if they feel unsafe or encounter any difficulties on the way to and from school. In the event of a child using a Safety House, the householder is instructed to comfort the child and ring the police.

Consultation. From its beginnings, parents and teachers showed great interest in the Safety House project and, as knowledge of it spread, it was obvious that many more schools would want the program. Initially, a central committee known as the Safety House Committee (of Victoria) was established to coordinate the various Safety House programs. Police sent representatives from the Public Relations Section, Crime Prevention Bureau and PCIP. The police role was that of advisers and observers,

whilst the residents themselves ran the committee. The main committee, set up especially to initiate Safety House, consisted of all members of all school safety committees. From this pool of people a general committee of twelve was elected; in addition, a sub-committee was formed to draft a constitution for the Safety House Committee (of Victoria). PCIP participated in drafting the constitution.

Implementation. Initially the general committee was in two minds about the way in which Safety House should be implemented: one local committee for each school; or several schools under the one regional committee. The latter idea was tried in the Seaford area with six schools which were a mix of government and private primary schools with the committee made up of representatives from each school. Unfortunately this approach was not successful with disagreements and factionalism occurring within the committee to the extent that, after approximately eighteen months, the committee had to re-think its strategy and adopt the one committee, one school system. The main cause of the failure of the regional committee system was that individual committee members were only concerned with the interests of their own children's school and found it difficult to identify with the interests of the other five schools. Whilst the experiment failed, it did provide a valuable lesson to Safety House users and convinced them that committees had to be as local as possible and that the one committee, one school system was the most effective way to run the project. This approach to Safety House made the project locally meaningful to all committee members, and eliminated in-fighting and factionalism. Each member shared common goals and was able to identify with the other members of the committee.

Whilst the Seaford citizens were sorting out the problem with the regional committee method, other members of the Safety House Committee (of Victoria) went ahead with the system of one committee per school. By June 1982 sixty-nine Safety House Committees and sixty-nine schools (in eight police Districts) were operating the program. By September 1983, 350 schools were affiliated with the Safety House Committee (of Victoria), and 21,000 'safe house' residents were participating.

The community processes operating as a result of the Safety House project took other sections of the Police Force by surprise. For a few months after the establishment of Safety House there was discussion about just which sections of the Force should be involved. Whilst members of the Public Relations Section were originally on the Safety House Committee, it was decided later that the project did not come within the bounds of its departmental objectives. The Crime Prevention Bureau and the PCIP continued on the state committee. When the Safety

House Committees (of Victoria) were first established, the Victoria Police Crime Prevention Bureau supervised its funding and auditing. In conjunction with an insurance firm, they also developed the educational material relating to stranger awareness. The Crime Prevention Bureau, who had the authority to decide how and when the police symbol could be displayed, designed the 'police and community working together' logo and authorised its use with the smiling house symbol of the Wooranna Park Primary school. This became the official Safety House logo in Victoria. (Interstate Safety House projects used their own logo until in 1990 the logo was made standard for all states to eliminate any confusion for children moving interstate) The logo is used on householder letterbox labels, school signs, reader stickers, street signs and on committee letter heads.

PCIP staff worked with the Safety House Committee members to draft a constitution for the state committee. They also produced a very comprehensive, step-by-step manual for use by schools in setting up and maintaining the Safety House project. The Safety House logo was registered as a trade mark and the manual subject to copyright in order to prevent unaffiliated Safety House Committees from adopting the scheme in an independent, ad hoc manner.

Other issues. Sponsorship from various companies was secured through committee members' own private networks. Insurance for participating householders, teachers, parents and children was originally $50. However, as parents who worked in the insurance field became members of school Safety House Committees themselves, a much cheaper, Australia-wide policy, was obtained for all participants in Safety House.

A concern of many committee members in the early stages of Safety House was the requirement for police to carry out criminal record checks on householders participating. The committee was divided by this issue. Some members thought police checks were essential to screen out undesirable participants, whilst others thought it an unwarranted intrusion on privacy. After discussion, it was decided that police checks might give a false sense of security to participants in the program, and that in any case, persons who abuse children usually have no convictions. As a result of a decision made by the Safety House Committee (of Victoria) in the mid-1980s, householders were required to sign a form saying they did not object to a police check—but checks by police were only done on rare occasions when members of the school committee believed it was warranted. This policy has since changed and now every householder volunteering is checked by police before being accepted as a Safety House.

Further developments. As the Safety House concept grew and management of it became more complicated, a number of further issues had to be resolved. One of the most pressing was the burden on volunteer committee members who were trying to coordinate hundreds of Safety House programs in Victoria, and who were facing the possibility of Safety House spreading interstate as well. By mid-1982, the Safety House program was too large and unwieldy for the Safety House Committee (of Victoria) to effectively manage in its original form. To overcome this problem, school Safety House Committees were divided into regions whose boundaries corresponded to existing police Districts. Each school Safety House Committee in a region had a representative on the Regional Committee. Delegates from each Regional Committee made up the Safety House Committee (of Victoria).

From July 1982, Safety House Committee members were able to liaise with their own local police, rather than rely on police from the Crime Prevention Bureau or PCIP. In each region a police officer was delegated to act as the formal link between Safety House members and police. Police from each region's Community Policing Squad coordinated the lectures by police to Safety House school pupils, and ensured that each police officer in the District was familiar with the Safety House project. Later, in June 1984, the Safety House Committee (of Victoria) became a national body in response to the many Safety House Committees establishing themselves interstate. The constitution was re-drafted to accommodate them and the Safety House Committee (of Victoria) changed its name to Safety House Committees Australia Incorporated.

Monitoring. Safety House was the first experience Victoria Police had of the community organising itself to prevent crime. A specific problem had been identified by community members and a group of individuals had then joined together to work out a possible solution to it. Police acted in the role of facilitator to members of the public. In hindsight, PCIP police felt that perhaps they should have had more say in the organisation and direction of the program in its early stages when a number of problems emerged. Instead, they kept a very low profile because they were conscious of observing a new process and were anxious not to interfere in the dynamics of the community development or in the initiatives which they were observing.

However, police did find themselves modifying the behaviour of extremists, solving otherwise unsolvable problems and offering guidance when it was thought to be absolutely necessary.

Evaluation. Safety House was never formally evaluated by PCIP. However, statistics regarding frequency and reason for the use of Safety Houses in Victoria is collected by the Victorian branch of the Safety House organisation. It became a strong, independent organisation relatively quickly and police let control of the project go to community members. At present there are Safety House projects in every Australian state with the exception of the Australian Capital Territory. Whilst the Safety House Committees Australia Incorporated is the umbrella committee for all Safety House projects in Australia, there are significant differences in the way the project is run within each state. For example, in New South Wales the project is run by police, whilst in Victoria it is a community owned and controlled project. As at May 1992, in Victoria there are 880 Safety House Committees operating, with a total of approximately 30,500 households participating as 'safe houses'. In the period June 1988 to December 1989 (sixteen months) in Victoria, 240 incidents involved the use of Safety Houses. Sixty-five per cent of these involved some type of approach which the child perceived as threatening, 23 per cent were because the child was being bullied, and 12 per cent were for miscellaneous and unspecified reasons (including illness of the child, lost child and child scared by an animal) (Safety House Committees Australia Inc. 1990, p. 6).

The Safety House project met most of the PCIP criteria for success. Experience with the Safety House project demonstrated to PCIP that it was possible for police to allow the public to be involved fully in the decision-making processes associated with the development of a project. It was in fact a feasible and superior alternative to the more traditional approach of merely introducing completed crime prevention packages into the community. The participative style of developing projects not only made participation more meaningful for community members, but it also encouraged long-term support and commitment because the project was, and was seen to be, owned by the community. Gradually, as the running of Safety House became stable and more routine, the confidence of the national committee was increased to the extent where it no longer felt it had to rely so much on police for support. Local operational police still play a role in visiting schools to talk about Safety House, and also do criminal checks on prospective safe house residents, but the program is run and controlled by the Safety House Committee of Victoria, independent of police. Coping on their own was also a recognition and understanding by committee members that police were necessarily busy with other concerns. An old problem, and seemingly new set of methods to overcome it, resulted in a new, but traditionally organised institution. By 1985, the Safety House Committees of Australia Incorporated had all the trappings of a traditional institution—permanent premises, paid and

voluntary staff, life memberships, newsletters, awards and a strong organisational network.

The Cease-Fire Project

The resources available to various government and voluntary agencies in the community are limited. There always seems to be a gap between resources requested by agencies and those made available. In response, most agencies devote considerable time competing with each other for the available funds. Instead of working cooperatively together there is often a sense of competition between agencies and a feeling of working in isolation from one another. In a similar way, within each agency there is often competition and rivalry for resources. To a greater or lesser degree, such competition impairs communication and cooperation within the agency and affects its overall growth and achievements. Commonly, solutions to both agency and interagency problems are seen only in terms of money. It makes sense that if agencies are to become more productive and meet their individual goals they must place less emphasis on resource competition and more on cooperation. If the fact of resource limitations can be faced and accepted then it will be easier for the agency to critically examine the relationship between problems and solutions rather than automatically assume the problem could be overcome if more resources were made available. Resource sharing and agency cooperation can help fill the gap between goals and the resources available to achieve them (*see* Sarason 1972). 'A broad view of community resources must be taken. Resources, ideas, assistance and support are everywhere in the community' (Bloom 1973, p. 10).

Unfortunately, there are no facilitating or coordinating structures to allow agencies to know the problems and plans of other agencies. However, if agencies can set up a series of contacts or networks with each other it may then be possible for cooperation and sharing of resources to become established to the mutual benefit of all the parties concerned. Not only will scarce resources be more productively utilised in this way but individual agency's goals will be more easily met. A further advantage to resource sharing is that it has the effect of significantly increasing an individual's sense of capability and worth. The process involved increases people's knowledge and experience of other people and agencies and produces in them satisfaction with their own work and a sense of contributing to that same feeling in others (Sarason 1977a, p. 50).

For police, interagency resource sharing is a logical extension of a policy of working with the community. Government, private and voluntary agencies are part of the community and in many instances their goals are very closely aligned to those of police. An example of how interagency

resource sharing can work is the PCIP (Broadmeadows) Cease-Fire Project.

The problem. During the summers of 1981 through to 1984 there were approximately 500 fires in an area of Broadmeadows known as 'the valleys'. (Broadmeadows is a working class suburb north of Melbourne which was the site of the second PCIP.) The valleys area was an overgrown, neglected urban wasteland on which car bodies, shopping trolleys and other rubbish were regularly dumped. Residents whose properties adjoined this land felt unsafe and under threat because of the regular and deliberate lighting of fires which occurred there. In addition to the worry of fires, residents also had to endure the noise of mini-bikes and rowdy parties held in these areas by local youth.

Although not the controlling statutory authority for fighting fires, police along with the rest of the community, have a responsibility to assist whenever fire occurs. The Victoria Police manual states that 'all members must be diligent to check the careless use of fire more especially in grassland and bush . . . and shall render every assistance to officers of the Forests Commission, Country Fire Authority and Metropolitan Fire Brigade in preventing fires and enforcing the laws relating to fire' (Victoria Police 1981b, para. 12:7). In addition, the State Disaster Plan lays the responsibility for coordination on police District commanders in disasters and potential disasters including those involving fire. In 1984 a major burn-off for the valleys was considered but was not carried out because it was thought to be too dangerous. No other plan had been developed to reduce the fire hazards. One other solution had been considered and that was to run goats and other animals along the valleys but this experiment was abandoned when it was discovered it generated more problems than it solved. The only other answer seemed to be an extensive beautification project, but the financial outlay necessary was unacceptably high.

Consultation. Inquiries by Broadmeadows PCIP staff found that the valleys area was controlled by three separate regulatory bodies and two different fire brigades. Neither the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works, Ministry of Housing nor the local council of the City of Broadmeadows, who were all responsible for the area, had been able to provide a solution to the fire hazard. Initially, PCIP staff contacted the local Metropolitan Fire Brigade and the Country Fire Authority to ascertain their perception of the problem. Whilst collecting this information it was discovered that there was a disparity in the philosophies of the two fire departments. The Metropolitan Fire Brigade perceived their primary role as extinguishing fires. This was also an objective of the

Country Fire Authority but the Country Fire Authority also actively encouraged burning off as a means of minimising the risk of fire.

In 1985 the Inspector in charge of PCIP at Broadmeadows, who was also a member of the local community corrections committee, put forward the idea of using pre-release prisoners, under the supervision of officers from the Office of Corrections, to clear areas prone to grass and scrub fires within the City of Broadmeadows. It was also proposed that the prisoners be used to develop a passive recreation park for public use in the valley area. Once the proposal had been prepared by the Inspector in charge of PCIP and the program supervisor from the Regional Office of Corrections, it was presented to the manager of the Regional Office of Corrections. The proposal was accepted since it offered multiple benefits. From the Office of Correction's point of view it was as important for pre-release prisoners to have a sense of accomplishment in their work as it was to eradicate a fire hazard and beautify the area. Ultimately too, it was hoped the local community would be able to see that the people who had harmed their society were indeed making reparation.

The Broadmeadows Council was formally approached with the plan which proposed a clean up of the banks of the Merri Creek just inside the City's border. Meanwhile the informal network of planners in this scheme continued to grow. A person involved in administering the prison's north-west attendance centre was found to have a personal interest and qualifications in horticulture. He surveyed the Yuroke Creek Valley and prepared a proposal containing an analysis of the site, its problems and the possible solutions. The proposal included maps and listed the types of trees and shrubs best suited to the valley.

Four individuals now became responsible for overseeing the plan. They were the City Engineer's representative, the Office of Corrections horticultural adviser, the program supervisor from the Office of Corrections and the officer in charge of Broadmeadows PCIP. When the proposal was formally placed before the Broadmeadows Council, it was done so (rightly or wrongly) on a confidential basis. This was thought to be necessary in the early stages in case there was an outcry from the public who might be prejudiced against prisoners working in their neighbourhood. It was thought that the project would be accepted more readily if it could be shown that the work could be undertaken with no demonstrable rise in crime or any other problems. Also, by the time it became public there would be tangible results to show in the way of reduced fire hazards and the replacement of a wasteland with an attractive recreation park. The plan was formally accepted by local government.

Implementation. An allocation of $10,000 in Council funds was set aside to cover the cost of heavy equipment usage, purchase of seedlings,

top soils, fertilisers and weed retardants. The plan also included the building of picnic, barbecue and toilet facilities. Materials came from the Office of Corrections. Within twelve months Broadmeadows had gained substantial recreation facilities and had solved the fire hazard and nuisance problems associated with the valleys area.

Evaluation. No formal evaluation was conducted. However, the problem appeared solved to the satisfaction of all involved. The Office of Corrections was very happy with the Cease-Fire Project because it was a project which was satisfying to pre-releasees. The fire brigades gained because they would attend less fires and could appreciate that a major fire hazard had been eliminated. Police gained because they had prevented outbreaks of fire and vandalism in the valleys areas and had made people feel safer in their homes as a result. (This is an assumption based on word of mouth reports rather than a formal survey.) The local council benefited because it was able to acquire and provide for its residents a huge recreation area for relatively little financial outlay. The valleys had been an eyesore, a danger and a problem in Broadmeadows for years, yet within twelve months the problem was virtually solved. All that had been required was a little imagination and interagency cooperation.

Protective Behaviours

A project which was also developed by Victoria police with community members, but which did not emerge from PCIP, was the implementation of the Protective Behaviours program throughout Victoria and then Australia. It is an example of yet another method of planning and implementing community involvement projects.

The problem. The issue of child abuse in the home had been receiving publicity in Victoria since the late 1960s when two medical doctors published an article on the subject in an Australian medical journal (*see* Birrell 1966; Birrell & Birrell 1968). An analysis of child abuse cases reported to police in Victoria showed that approximately 83 per cent of all incidents were committed by a family friend or member whilst less than 4 per cent involved a stranger. These proportions relate only to reported cases. In the United States, research has shown that sexual abuse perpetrated by a friend or family member is less likely to be reported, so it seems reasonable to suppose that if all cases of child abuse were reported to police the proportion of 83 per cent involving a friend or family member might be considerably increased. This was of concern to police since the only existing police prevention programs (Stranger Danger and Safety House) at that time were aimed at the risk of abuse from strangers.

Concern was brought to a head by a letter received by police from a concerned member of the public who wanted to know why police continued to focus attention on the danger from strangers, when it appeared that the greater danger was from persons known to the victims.

Consultation. In order to address this problem, Inspector Oldfield, (who had been officer in charge of PCIP at Frankston), approached several organisations and individuals who were known to have an interest in the field of sexual abuse and child protection. In May 1984 these people formed the Crime Prevention Education Consultancy Group. The group was set up to address the specific problem of preventing crimes against children. Following an extensive community consultation process and an extensive literature search, this group selected the Protective Behaviours program which had been developed by social worker Peg Flandreau-West in Wisconsin, in the United States.

Summary of the program. The Protective Behaviours program teaches children that there are practical, physical and psychological steps which can be taken to create personal safety and support. Protective Behaviours is based on two simple themes:

- *We All Have A Right To Feel Safe All The Time;*
- *There Is Nothing So Awful We Can't Talk With Someone About It*

These themes are not so much taught as internalised through 'theme reinforcement', described below. The program is not a step-by-step teaching guide but rather a conceptual framework for empowering the individual. The child is taught to identify safe and unsafe situations. The child is encouraged to identify situations in which it is all right, even fun to feel scared. For example, when watching a horror movie, when riding a bike down a hill at breakneck speed, when riding on the roller-coaster and so on. The concept of feeling safe is passed on to children by teaching them to identify what is termed in the program 'the early warning signs'. It teaches awareness of bodily reactions to threatening situations. For instance the child would be asked to describe the first way their body lets them know when they are not feeling safe. This sign might be that they can hear their heart beating loudly, their tummy feels strange, they go weak at the knees and so on. Once the child has identified his or her own specific early warning signs they will then be able to apply this feeling to an understanding of when they are in an unsafe or dangerous situation.

An important part of the program is learning to 'network'. The concept that victims themselves can get the help they need is integral to the concept of networking. The child is encouraged to identify others to whom he or she can turn for encouragement, assistance, action and other help when they are feeling unsafe. With younger children, the teacher would have the child draw the outline of their hand, and in the fingers they would be asked to draw a picture, or to write the initials of grown-ups to whom they could ask for help or advice. (The concept of networking is equally applicable and important to professionals involved in the area of preventative education because they need to identify others to whom they can turn if abuse is disclosed to them).

In order for the core concepts to be practised with greatest effectiveness, Protective Behaviours uses five strategies.

- *Theme reinforcement.* The two themes, 'we all have a right to feel safe all the time' and 'nothing is so awful that we can't talk about it with someone' are repeated throughout the program and are reinforced afterwards by way of posters, stickers and so on.

- *Networking and network review.* After the child has identified a personal network of trusted, helping adults to whom they can turn if they are not feeling safe, it is essential to have the child regularly review those selected. This review ensures that the persons nominated are available to the child, and that the child still feels safe with that person. Whilst participating in the program it is sometimes the case that children may become aware that something which has been happening to them for some time is in fact an abusive act. Since statistics show that more than 80 per cent of abuse occurs with adults the child knows, trusts and is usually dependent upon, it is necessary to review the network and allow the child to remove any person with whom they have detected their early warning signs.

- *One step removed.* This strategy relates to the teaching process. All problems posed in course sessions are done so in the form of: 'What if a friend told you . . .', 'Suppose . . .', 'What could you do if . . .'. By using this one step removed strategy in class, a victim of abuse can practise a very effective way of checking out attitudes and getting information. For instance, if a child who is being abused decides to take a first step in telling, he or she can do that by saying first, 'I have a friend who is having trouble at home'. Judging by the response, the victim can gauge whether this is all right or not. One step removed also prevents the re-

victimisation that can occur by allowing someone to disclose abuse publicly (*see also* the strategy, 'protective interrupting').

- *Persistence expectation*. This provides one of the major departures from other programs designed to arrest abuse. Most other programs, kits, colouring books and so on teach children the 'No, Go, Tell' sequence. That is, when faced with abuse the child says 'No', then must 'Go and tell' someone about it. Protective Behaviours takes this message one step further by recognising that many victims of abuse have gone and told someone and nothing was done. It is not just enough that the child is believed, although often just finding someone to believe the story is difficult in itself. The person selected by the child to receive the disclosure must also take action to make the child feel safe. By using his or her early warning signs, the child alone is the judge of when enough has been done to enable the early warning signs to go away. Victimisation must not be allowed to be reinforced by telling just one person who may then do nothing. This leads to feelings by the child that nothing can be done, that failure is inevitable and the problem insoluble. For this reason 'persistent expectation' is an important part of the program.

- *Protective interrupting.* This is the process of stopping someone from self-disclosing in a context that would increase their victimisation. In teaching Protective Behaviours, it is not always possible to ensure that sufficient group confidentiality can be established to provide children with enough protection from gossip. Gossip does not lead to effective intervention and merely serves to increase a child's jeopardy and their feelings of powerlessness. Encouraging or even allowing a child to tell too much in a group setting is irresponsible, as well as resulting in increasing the child's feelings of hopelessness, vulnerability and despair. With 'protective interrupting', situations are put into the one step removed mode. If a child should begin to disclose in front of the group the teacher interrupts with something like, 'You may not feel safe if you told us that. Right now I want you to pretend a friend told you that . . . Later on, after the class you can tell me.'

Protective Behaviours is a program which teaches skills and attitudes to protect an individual from all kinds of abuse including sexual and physical abuse within the family, being caught up in fights between parents or being picked on in the schoolyard. The strategies taught are even useful in such situations as a child being locked out of their house or being lost. Its core

theme is to help children recognise they are not helpless, they can do something about the problems which are affecting them, and that they have a right to feel safe at all times. A major difference between Protective Behaviours and other programs is that in the 'unwanted sexual touching' session, the areas mentioned as vulnerable include the mouth. Most other programs and literature only describe 'those areas normally covered by a bathing suit' as being vulnerable. Statistics show that coerced oral sex is a common form of sexual abuse of children. The Protective Behaviours program is aimed at producing a shift in the way children see themselves in regard to abusive adults and teaches them concrete skills to avoid becoming victims. Psychologist Dr Bob Montgomery, speaking on a Melbourne radio station, had the following to say about the program:

> I thought it was a very clever program, I was very impressed by it. If you asked them, most parents would of course say, 'I'd like to see my child safe.' There is no dispute about that goal but most parents either don't know how to help the child be safe or they're scared of approaching the topic. What often happens is that a child in an abusive situation does not see themselves as having any rights. Children do not have the experience to say to themselves 'this is not the way it should be', nor do they realise there is anything they can do to stop abusive behaviour. Children are more likely to accept what is happening as normal even though it feels bad. The Protective Behaviours program raises a concept in children that they should be able to feel safe and good most of the time and if they become aware of a situation they feel bad or threatened in then they can do something about it. Survivors of child abuse have been asked to comment on the Protective Behaviours program and were asked if they thought it would have made a difference to their experiences as a child if they had had a chance to do a program like it. The survivors were unanimous in saying yes. They said, 'if only I had known I could have talked to someone about it; I wouldn't have had to spend the nights weeping away by myself, thinking what is wrong with me, why is this happening to me.' As child victims these people had had no idea they could ever tell anyone about what was happening. An important element in the Protective Behaviours program is to expel the secrecy associated with abuse.
>
> I was astonished, and this probably reflects my prejudices about the police, I was astonished at the commonsense and practicality of their approach to the problem. The way they had systematically gone about involving the community and through that involvement they have set up a committee of various representatives of organisations with an interest in the area, so they see themselves as facilitating something from the community .. . it's directly sponsored and controlled by the police. They chose the Wisconsin Protective Behaviours program and I think their choice was excellent . . . Back in the olden days when I used to work at La Trobe University, one of the things I taught in a Master of Psychology course was a stream called community psychology. The aim in community psychology is on the prevention side rather than waiting for people to get into strife and then needing one to one therapy. It's a very expensive rescue operation so you do prevention programs whenever possible. A good example would be setting up programs to prevent heart disease rather than waiting until someone needs open chest surgery. It's much more cost effective. To my astonishment, under our nose for at least some years now, there are a few people up in Police Headquarters who have been

> doing excellent community psychology . . . I thought Protective Behaviours was a really good example of this process, and they ought to get the Montgomery prize for practical community psychology.

The Protective Behaviours program has a very wide application. For example, it has been implemented in Women's Refuges by trained refuge workers, it is being taught to intellectually handicapped adults and children, children in Youth Training Centres and elderly citizens.

Training of teachers. In April 1985 the first training and information seminar was conducted by the Crime Prevention Education Consultancy Group and was attended by volunteers from a broad spectrum of the community. After their training in Protective Behaviours (two full days), these volunteers then trained people within their own professional areas. Later in 1985, the author of the Protective Behaviours program, Peg Flandreau-West was flown to Australia to help in the training process and to help establish a network of trainers.

At present the Victorian Protective Behaviours Network is the umbrella organisation for Protective Behaviours in Australia. With a staff of two and funding from government and private organisations it manages the maintenance, development and evaluation of the program in Victoria. Other states of Australia have now adopted the Protective Behaviours program and in Canberra and South Australia it forms part of the school curriculum. Protective Behaviours networks extend throughout Australia and internationally.

Summary of Frankston PCIP projects

Other projects and activities which resulted from the identification of problems and concerns raised by police and community members are listed below. In the first twelve months of operation, twenty projects and activities were developed, implemented, monitored and evaluated by PCIP staff.

1981

Schools Appraisal
The Police Role—Primary Schools
Glenda Wurburton Evaluation
'Police and You' Secondary Schools Legal Studies
Bike-Ed
Bike Identification
Miscellaneous Services to Schools
Anti-shopsteal
Safety House
Elderly Citizens and Crime Prevention
Off-Road Motorcycle Project
Problem Youth
Honorary Probation Officers
Mornington Peninsula Holiday Period
Persistent Offenders
Youth Recreation Appraisal
Winlaton Girls Detention Centre
PCIP Public Affairs Section Evaluation
PCIP Administrative Section Evaluation
Media Project

It was estimated that by the end of the first twelve months 35,124 people were involved in PCIP projects (This includes operational police) (*see* Appendix J).

1982

Police in Schools Report
Secondary Schools Project Evaluation
South Zone Schools Evaluation
Northern Zone Schools Evaluation
Drug Appraisal
Zone 1 Schools Appraisal
Zone 3 Schools Appraisal
Zone 4 Schools Appraisal
Lord Mayors Children's Camp
Pines Forest Youth Club

1983

Bike-Ed Evaluation
Non-Project Evaluation
Bike-Id Evaluation
Safety House Evaluation
Target School Project Statement
Target School Seaford Evaluation
Target School Mornington Evaluation
Target School Baxter Evaluation
Target School Ballam Park Evaluation
Target School Aspendale Evaluation
Target School Monterey Evaluation
Target School Dromana Evaluation
Operational Police in Secondary Schools Evaluation
Elderly Affairs Assessment
Anti-shop Steal Evaluation
Holiday Program Evaluation
Langwarrin Youth Appraisal
Foreshore Project Evaluation
After-hours Referral Evaluation
Neighbourhood Watch Project
Police Telephone Directory Project
Out of Schools Youth Project Evaluation

1984

Solvent Abuse Appraisal
Solvent Abuse Project Evaluation
Small Business Security Evaluation
Peninsular Law, Education, Resources Committee Evaluation
Anti-shopsteal Project Evaluation
Peninsular Alcohol and Drug Dependant Project

In addition to work with projects, PCIP staff received and serviced numerous requests for 'one-off' services. These involved speaking to clubs etc. Services requested were supplied according to whether they met the objectives of PCIP and whether the resources were available. Any unmet requests were classified and prioritised for future consideration. Monitoring and evaluation of services requested and supplied (and not related to existing projects) was conducted using information from 'contact sheets'.

Monitoring and Evaluation

An important component in the development of community involvement must be monitoring and evaluation. Without monitoring and evaluation there is no way to know what is happening during the course of a project, whether objectives are being met; or whether the objective remains the most appropriate or important; or whether the project is still effective in its present form. The present chapter will describe some of the monitoring and evaluation processes used at PCIP which enabled informed decisions to be made about the various projects.

The Process of Evaluation

The fact that extensive evaluation was undertaken by PCIP staff was one of the main features which sets it apart from community involvement initiatives undertaken elsewhere. Procedures for monitoring and evaluating PCIP, and the projects it developed, were built into its work procedures and management structures. These procedures were developed during the planning stages, before projects began operating, and were then built on or modified over time as needs dictated. Evaluation was systematically carried out throughout the life of PCIP. Each PCIP staff member was responsible for monitoring and evaluating each project and activity they were involved in.

The issue of monitoring and evaluating PCIP and its projects was a high priority in the early planning stages because it was known then that the program would not be given approval to continue beyond its twelve-month pilot period unless it could demonstrate it was effective. Evidence of success was also necessary in the early stages to show an ambivalent state government that community involvement in policing was a legitimate and effective policing strategy. However, the newly elected government, which was elected into office shortly after PCIP commenced, did not appear to be interested in proof of success. The very fact that so many citizens were enthusiastically involved in the various projects appeared to be enough to justify its existence to them. Even though evaluation was no longer necessary to convince government of the program's worth, it was still considered to be an essential component of PCIP; firstly to justify its existence to the wider police population, and secondly to provide information on which to base future crime prevention projects.

Evaluation was carried out to: demonstrate the efficiency and effectiveness of a particular project or service; demonstrate the relevance of each project or service to meet perceived community needs; enable an informed decision about the future of the program or service; and for use

in comparison and duplication of programs at a later time if appropriate. Evaluation was also done to:

1. Identify types of problems likely to require a police/community response.
2. Estimate the likely extent of community involvement.
3. Demonstrate the capacity of police to respond to community involvement in crime prevention programs and to respond quickly to changed needs of police and the community.
4. Demonstrate to sceptics (mostly police) that community policing was an effective policing strategy.
5. Identify ways of utilising management information to maximise the cost-effective use of police resources (Research and Development Victoria Police 1983, p. 19).

Overall, PCIP succeeded in achieving points one, two, three and five. As an activity, point four was also achieved in Frankston. However, whilst the effect of PCIP was demonstrated to operational police, it did not have the effect of winning them over to an acceptance of PCIP as a useful or effective policing strategy, nor to obtain operational police commitment and participation in projects. The experience of PCIP showed that for commitment from operational police to be achieved it would be essential for them to be involved in the identification of local problems and the planning of solutions. Unless some mechanism is put into place to allow operational police to problem solve themselves, as is discussed in Chapter 5, operational police cannot be reasonably expected to have commitment to community policing. They might be induced and supervised into performing the motions of community policing, but real commitment will not be achieved and this will have many subtle costs to the philosophy and performance of community policing within any policing organisation.

PCIP projects fell into one of two categories. They were either appraisal studies, which described a situation or area of interest as factually and accurately as possible, or they were projects.

Appraisal Studies

Reasons for conducting appraisal studies were:

- to collect detailed factual information that described an existing situation which would increase the investigator's familiarity with a particular phenomenon and provide the basis for decisions about what action should be taken;
- to identify problems or justify current conditions and practices;
- to make comparisons with other similar situations;
- to determine what others are doing with similar problems or situations and benefit from their experience in making future plans and decisions; and
- to lay foundations on which to base more precise future research.

Projects

Projects were activities which involved the development of skills or new approaches designed to solve problems or address areas of concern. The purpose of project monitoring and evaluation was to demonstrate the ability of a particular project to address the identified problem in an efficient and effective manner. The characteristics of project monitoring and evaluation were:

- the development of an orderly framework for problem solving which is superior to the more common impressionistic, fragmentary approach to new developments; and
- that it be flexible and adaptive, allowing changes during the trial period and sacrificing control in favour of responsiveness and on-the-spot experimentation and innovation.

Format for Monitoring and Evaluation

A step by step guide for use by PCIP staff in the establishment, monitoring and evaluation of appraisals and projects developed. The guide was as follows:

1. Define the Problem Area

Identify and describe the problem or situation using available social and statistical data and on personal observations gained through local knowledge and informal discussions and questions with key people: Document The Findings And Sources

2. Judgments

What conclusions can be made from the information collected?

Is there a need for some action or plan?

Which areas are of concern? (If there are several, list them in order of priority. It may be more productive to tackle part of the problem rather than the whole.)

3. Purpose and Objectives

Set out the purpose and objectives of the proposed action in a clear and detailed form.

Definition of purpose. What you hope will happen in the long term as a result of the proposed project or service and as a result of achieving the project or service objectives.

Objectives. These must be specific, action-orientated statements. It is essential that these are kept specific, realistic, measurable and time-bounded so that they may be achieved. They must be referred to constantly during the monitoring phase and when writing up the evaluation report. If the objectives had to be abandoned, modified or added to during the course of the program, simply say so and explain why. Document failures and errors made. These can be just as important to any subsequent projects as documentation of the successes.

4. Literature Review

Read the available literature to learn whether others have already done something similar to what is proposed or have met similar problems or achieved related objectives. This information may provide valuable information for the proposed project.

5. Plan the Program and Research

What are the particular things which will be done in an attempt to meet the objectives, and how will they be carried out. Establish what resources (personnel and equipment) will be required.

6. Monitoring

Incorporate some means of checking the progress and direction of the project or service so that you can tell *what* is happening and *how much* is happening. Proper documentation of how the project was implemented and how it progressed is essential. The report must be clear and detailed yet concise, so that any duplication of it in the future will be successful and the same mistakes and problems you had will be avoidable.

7. Outcome

Did the project or service meet the stated objectives? (If they did not, it may not matter. You may have met unforeseen, new objectives which were more important or just as important.) What impact did the project or service have on:

- the group of people it was aimed at?
- the problem it was aimed at?
- the police initiating it. Did it place strain on resources?

Was any other project, service or community group indirectly affected by the project?

8. Evaluation

Costs. How many personnel hours were spent in information gathering, project planning, activity and evaluation and on report writing? What were the resource costs? What degree of mental/physical pressure was placed on staff?

Effectiveness. This can be documented in two parts:

- *Qualitative data*. This includes evidence of achievement such as letters, perceptions of attitude/behavioural change in the participants, any sort of feedback from participants and a recording of any 'spin-off' effects of the project or service.
- *Quantitative data*. Statistical facts. Conclusions and inferences which can be backed up by clear, countable data.

Success Criteria

Some of the outcomes which were considered to be indicators of success of projects were:

- achievement of PCIP and individual project objectives;
- minimal police input into project maintenance;
- a large number of community members and community groups actively involved in the crime prevention projects;
- evidence of long-term community commitment to projects;
- ease of setting up projects; and
- positive media attention.

In general, evaluations of projects showed that at least some of the success criteria were achieved in each of the projects. Where there were problems in achieving indicators of success, particularly in relation to minimum expenditure of police resources in relation to outcomes, the project was modified or abandoned.

The Report

Written PCIP reports on appraisals and projects were based on the following style:

1. Title.
2. Sub-title.
3. Problem statement.
4. Significance of the problem.
5. Purpose.
6. Objectives.
7. Staff and resources needed/available.
8. Estimated time schedule for the whole appraisal or project.
9. Description of the project or appraisal.
10. Sources and methods of collecting information about the project for evaluation purposes.

11. Analysis of the information.
12. Findings.
13. Conclusions.
14. Recommendations.

Some of the mistakes which PCIP staff were taught to avoid were: the gathering of information and data without a well-defined plan of purpose, hoping to make some sense of it afterwards; taking existing data and attempting to fit meaningful research questions to it; defining objectives in general or ambiguous terms; failing to recognise or admit the limitations of the approach selected; and undertaking a project without reviewing the existing literature on the subject beforehand.

Evaluation by Project Practitioners

PCIP and its individual projects were monitored and evaluated by PCIP staff—with the assistance of participating community groups and individuals. It was thought to be essential that monitoring and evaluation should be carried out by the PCIP practitioners rather than by some external body. Firstly, only the practitioners are in a position to truly know what went right and what went wrong with projects. Secondly, the possibility of staff glossing over mistakes and exaggerating the success of projects would be minimised if monitoring and evaluation was not undertaken by 'experts' external to the program. Lastly, scrutiny by outsiders could possibly have had a poor effect on staff morale.

One of the greatest problems in evaluating PCIP was that the evaluators had no training or experience in evaluation (or in any sort of research except the gathering of evidence for court). Particularly problematic was the requirement of staff to identify and document mistakes and if possible suggest better or more appropriate ways of doing a project or appraisal. All previous experience of PCIP staff within the police organisation supported the notion that it was prudent not to identify—let alone document—mistakes. It was thought that this problem could be minimised through training and through the new management style of PCIP which did not sanction mistakes made in good faith. PCIP staff received some training in project monitoring and evaluation during their initial training and received ongoing assistance from more experienced police members from the Research and Development Department.

It was emphasised constantly to staff that the evaluation side of PCIP work was extremely important. It was impressed on staff that evaluation was the only way of seeing whether PCIP and its projects were working as intended and was also the only way in which to justify to Command that

the PCIP should continue. It would be unrealistic to imagine monitoring and evaluation of projects is simple and easy in practice. Most of the PCIP staff found the evaluation part of their duties tedious, difficult and time consuming as revealed in the following quotes from PCIP staff.

> . . . I became much less enthusiastic and motivated when the high 'practical' productivity and activity ceased and I was forced to document and evaluate the projects I had been connected with. This new type of paper work procedure was very foreign to my nature and I initially handled it very badly and my outlook and attitudes dropped .. . The ability to handle the paperwork did improve, with familiarity, but the dislike and dread of doing it was hard to overcome, and I found it difficult to retain any enthusiasm when I and all other members were held back by the necessity to complete it (Miller 1986, p. 3).

> I think that having to do evaluations of every project has slowed the project down considerably and disheartened some of the staff. I believe that the one thing that will turn this project sour is being snowed under with paperwork (Miller 1986, p. 2).

Initial difficulty for police in carrying out a new method of documentation is of course no reason to dispense with evaluation. Evaluation is the only means by which those involved in a project can estimate whether it has been, and is continuing to be, truly effective. Without monitoring and evaluation there is no way of knowing whether the project or activity has, or is likely to, achieve the desired outcomes. There is also no other way to make informed decisions about the future of a project—does it need to be altered, modified or abandoned? Do the objectives themselves need to be changed? Is the project or activity providing value in relation to the resources committed to it. Monitoring and evaluation is vital to any project and should be planned for in the planning stages—not during or after implementation.

In addition to monitoring and evaluating each project undertaken in PCIP, documented reviews and evaluations of PCIP as a whole were also done, primarily by the two support staff from the Research and Development Department—of which the author was one. The first document reviews the first seven months of PCIP operation. The second—in four volumes—reviews PCIP after the completion of the first twelve months of operation. A third report reviews PCIP after two-and-a-half years of operation. This report makes recommendations that Frankston PCIP be wound down, since it had fulfilled its function of demonstrating the viability and potential of project/community development as an effective policing strategy. The report further recommended that the resources of PCIP be channelled into the development of a computer system to enable more efficient handling of information on which operational policing strategies could be based. Several smaller progress reviews were also written during the lifetime of PCIP.

Chapter 4

The Neighbourhood Watch Project

The Problem

During a seven-year period from 1977 to 1983 (inclusive) the burglary rate in Victoria doubled. It increased by approximately 5,000 burglaries each year, except in 1982–83 when it rose by 10,000. In 1983, 80,000 burglaries were reported. The rise was out of all proportion to other crime rates, or population increases. In marked contrast to this rise was the solution rate which remained constant for the entire period. Only approximately 15,000 burglaries were solved each year (Victoria Police, *Statistical Review of Crime*, 1977–1984). Traditional policing efforts over a number of years had failed to make any impression on burglary rates or solution rates. As a result there was a real sense of urgency within Victoria Police in the early 1980s. The possibility of trying Neighbourhood Watch as a possible solution to the escalating burglary rate was proposed by PCIP staff.

Neighbourhood Watch was a program which had been running in the United States for a number of years. The Crime Prevention Bureau of the Victoria Police together with a Melbourne Permanent Building Society had previously tried to implement Neighbourhood Watch in the mid-1970s, and again in 1980 but the program failed. In both cases the program did not succeed because the project did not have the necessary supports. For example, the early attempts at Neighbourhood Watch had not developed the program with the active participation of the residents. The attempts were also not supported by evaluation or by the type of organisational structure present in PCIP. When Neighbourhood Watch was developed within the framework of PCIP, along the same lines as other PCIP community involvement projects, the project did succeed—in a very big way.

Because of the enormous burglary problem it was proposed in 1982 that PCIP test the appropriateness and effectiveness of Neighbourhood

Watch. As a result of previous PCIP experience in developing community involvement projects there was never any question of adopting a Neighbourhood Watch program from overseas and applying it to residents in Victoria. Past experience showed that it would have been difficult to successfully introduce the program as a pre-planned package because it would probably have been received with mistrust, apathy or at worst total rejection. This would have been a natural and understandable reaction. It was felt that if commitment and enthusiasm for Neighbourhood Watch was to be generated, then the residents involved must be allowed to feel they owned the program. To develop a sense of ownership residents were given control of the program's direction and were encouraged to fully participate in the decision-making involved. The ultimate result of this approach was a tailor-made Neighbourhood Watch program which consisted of the best parts of several overseas Neighbourhood Watch programs, blended with ideas from local community members and police.

The Objective of Neighbourhood Watch

The objective of Neighbourhood Watch is to reduce preventable crime, particularly household burglary, through the proactive activities of residents. There are four main ways in which this is achieved: by marking/photographing household items; educating residents to recognise and report to police suspicious behaviour; increasing residents' awareness of personal and household security; and to signpost the areas where Neighbourhood Watch is operating (Victoria Police 1983, p. 4).

Early Beginnings¾Testing the Concept of Neighbourhood Watch

In 1983, PCIP staff tested the concept of Neighbourhood Watch on 600 residents in the suburb of Kananook in the City of Frankston. Two neighbourhood block areas were selected for the experiment. One area participated in the program and the other, demographically similar area, did not participate. In this project, residents had not approached police with an identified problem as had occurred in most other projects, nor had they proposed a possible solution. It was therefore necessary for PCIP staff to make people aware of the problem of burglary, and to generate interest in the possible Neighbourhood Watch solution. To arouse interest in Neighbourhood Watch, a crime survey was delivered by police to the 600 residents of one neighbourhood block area. About 20 per cent of the residents surveyed indicated they were interested in Neighbourhood

Watch. A public meeting of interested residents was then held. Enthusiasm was generated to the extent that twenty people volunteered as zone leaders (thirty houses per zone). From then on zone leaders participated in all decisions about the program's development.

Police from PCIP attended committee meetings in the role of mediators, advisers and observers. As with the Safety House project, members of the Neighbourhood Watch zone committee could not always agree on decisions. It was a community member who suggested a solution to this problem by the formation of sub-committees so that ideas could be presented in the form of proposals to the main committee. Four sub-committees were subsequently established. One developed the Neighbourhood Watch logo; a second worked on obtaining financial assistance; the third had the responsibility for ensuring all items in households were engraved with an identifying serial number; and the fourth was responsible for distributing information and publicity material to residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area.

Not all residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area were enthusiastic participants. As would be expected, particularly with something new, quite a lot of apathy existed. However, to maintain resident interest, keep community members in touch with each other, and to heighten resident knowledge of crime in the local area, a monthly newsletter was circulated to all residents. This incorporated details of local crime, Neighbourhood Watch issues and the progress being made by the committee. According to zone leaders, the newsletter did produce a wider spread of interest over the Neighbourhood Watch area.

Not only was the quantity and quality of information received by police markedly improved from the experimental Neighbourhood Watch area, but the burglary rate was also reduced. The number of burglaries in the Neighbourhood Watch area decreased by 15 per cent whilst the state of Victoria showed a 16 per cent increase in burglaries. The control area also showed a small rise in burglaries over the same period. Because of the perceived success of the pilot Neighbourhood Watch program, it was decided to introduce the program state-wide. On 14 March 1984 the Neighbourhood Watch program was officially launched in Victoria. Two years later, by 30 June 1986, approximately 780,000 Victorians, or 19 per cent of the total state population were living in Neighbourhood Watch areas. In 1992 that figure had climbed to 2.1 million people. The table below shows the growth of Neighbourhood Watch in Victoria over an eight and a half year period. In other Australian states the growth of Neighbourhood Watch has also been rapid.

Table 3

Number of Neighbourhood Watch Areas in Victoria

Date	No.
31 December 1984	61
31 December 1985	227
31 December 1987	361
31 December 1990	919
31 December 1991	1009
31 December 1992	1059

Central Administration

Whilst residents have full control of running the Neighbourhood Watch program in their own neighbourhood (within the guidelines of the program), Victoria police have retained responsibility for coordinating Neighbourhood Watch state-wide in order that the aims and operationalisation of the program remain true to their original aims and constant across the state. Neighbourhood Watch is coordinated by the Neighbourhood Watch State Coordinator's Office which is located in the Special Projects Implementation Office. A survey conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in the Adelaide Statistical Division in October 1985 found that 56 per cent of persons thought police, once they had set up the Neighbourhood Watch program, should continue to take responsibility for coordinating Neighbourhood Watch (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1985, p. 21).

Integration with Operational Police Work

Support for Neighbourhood Watch by local police was essential to encourage residents to be confident in handing information on to police, even very (seemingly) trivial information. If residents were to receive any negative reactions from the police they were reporting to, either implicit or explicit, the program would not have been successful because there would have been doubts in the community mind about the commitment of police to the program. The lessons learnt in the early years of PCIP about the importance of involvement and its relationship to increased commitment

were put into practice when Neighbourhood Watch was extended into each police District in the state. Operational police from the Crime Car Squads in each District were given the task of setting up Neighbourhood Watch in their Districts. The strategy of allowing participants to have active involvement in development and decision-making worked and commitment from operational police was obtained. Like anyone else, police are much more likely to give their support and commitment to programs if they feel they have ownership.

Police Liaison Officers

In each Victorian police District there is at least one Neighbourhood Watch District Police Coordinator. Local police are delegated for varying periods of time, as Police Liaison Officers, and they attend Neighbourhood Watch meetings. Prior to the establishment of a new Neighbourhood Watch area the District Police Coordinator obtains crime data for the specific area. This includes burglary rates and total 'other crime'. After the area's establishment as a Neighbourhood Watch area the Police Liaison Officer continues to supply monthly crime data to the Neighbourhood Watch committee for inclusion in their newsletter to all residents. The information supplied includes type of offence, street name or approximate location, approximate date and time, mode of entry, property stolen or damaged, and value. Names of victims and street numbers are not disclosed.

The Police Liaison Officer tries to attend each monthly meeting of the local Neighbourhood Watch committees. His or her role at the meetings is to provide information on crime in the area during the previous month for inclusion in the newsletter and to provide a point of contact between residents and local police. The Police Liaison Officer and the committee may also propose strategies to counter local problems involving crime or disorder. The Police Liaison Officers are available to answer questions from residents and provide whatever assistance and re-assurance is required. Two-way communication between residents and police is considered vital to the effectiveness of Neighbourhood Watch in Victoria.

Raising Community Awareness

Another factor which probably contributed to the almost instantaneous success of the PCIP Neighbourhood Watch project was the role the media played in highlighting the problem of burglary and other property crime. Prior to the official launch of Neighbourhood Watch in 1984, Victoria Police helped to heighten public concern of burglaries by

highlighting the difficulties they had in providing adequate patrols in residential areas and of the inability of police to stem what appeared to be an alarming increase in rates of home burglaries. The media played a major role in highlighting the message police wished to convey—that is that the burglary rate was beyond police control and they needed the active assistance of community members. In the early 1980s the media adopted burglary as a public issue. Police supplied them with information about burglaries and put forward the idea of Neighbourhood Watch as one solution. Newspapers, magazines, radio and television all ran stories on the escalating burglary rate and the inability of police to cope without public assistance. In a cover article in *The Bulletin* magazine, a burglar was quoted as saying, 'People make it easy .. . they leave doors open, windows up. It's as if they're asking me to come in and scout around . . . Forget the old jemmy, mate. A thing like that attracts attention. You've just got to scout about, look for the right signs' (Stannard 1984, p. 67). This is typical of the type of reporting done, and it is obviously calculated to shock people. People were not only being shocked by statistics and narratives about burglary but also by the media pointing out that part of the problem was their own social attitude and lack of public spiritedness. 'People know what's going on but they won't look at you; they look down or away or get busy doing something else' (Stannard 1984, p. 67).

Another medium where the police message was put across to the public was at Neighbourhood Watch public meetings where the issue is presented on a more local and personal level. A public meeting of residents from a neighbourhood wishing to start Neighbourhood Watch is held prior to the adoption of the program. During the public meeting the crime rate for that particular neighbourhood is read out to the meeting by police and it is explained to residents how easy it is for burglars to get into a home and get away undetected. A video of a simulated burglary is shown to highlight this. Whilst most people in the community are now aware of the high incidence of burglary, it is at Neighbourhood Watch public meetings where this concern is heightened and made more personal through the disclosure of local crime figures by police and by descriptions of how vulnerable the average person is to burglary.

Criteria for Establishing Neighbourhood Watch

For an area to be considered for a Neighbourhood Watch program it must satisfy certain criteria. It must be an area containing approximately 600 households, have a significant crime rate comparative to the local area (especially burglary), and have demonstrated community interest in the

program. This latter criterion takes the form of a petition of residents, followed by a public meeting of residents.

A committee is elected from civilian volunteers who live in the Neighbourhood Watch area. An area Coordinator is appointed to be responsible for liaison between police and residents. Each Neighbourhood Watch area is divided into zones of approximately thirty homes. A leader for each zone, now called 'Zone Representative' is elected by the resident committee. It is the responsibility of zone representatives to foster cooperation between residents in their zones. The zone representatives and area Coordinator make up a Neighbourhood Watch committee which is divided into four sub-committees, each having its own area of responsibility which are:

- to produce a monthly newsletter and other publicity material;
- to raise funds to cover costs;
- to purchase street and house signs and arrange for their installation; and
- to ensure the security of each residence in the neighbourhood.

Closure of Neighbourhood Watch Areas

In Victoria there have been no official closures of Neighbourhood Watch areas. However, there are a few Neighbourhood Watch areas where interest has lapsed and residents no longer hold monthly meetings or provide newsletters to residents. In such cases the funds of the zone are put into a trust. The area though is still considered by police to be a Neighbourhood Watch area since signs are up, most property is engraved and residents generally have a heightened knowledge of when, what and how to report to police. The District police Neighbourhood Watch Coordinator is instructed to continue monitoring local crime for the area and to try and stimulate interest in a few years time, or earlier if crime rates for the area rise significantly.

Attempts to Politicise Neighbourhood Watch

About two years after the official launch of Neighbourhood Watch a petition was circulated in Victoria, via Neighbourhood Watch newsletters, regarding police strength. Many Neighbourhood Watch groups were signing petitions to the state committee of Neighbourhood Watch in support of increases in the number of police. One Neighbourhood Watch

committee was critical of the petition saying that Neighbourhood Watch was getting politically orientated, and they refused to sign the petition. There was a suggestion that the petition was a conspiracy organised by police. As a result, local police were having to replace doubts in the public mind as to whether Neighbourhood Watch was what it was being promoted to be. That was a very difficult time for local police. Whether Force managers were unaware of the problem and its ramifications, or whether they were hoping it would die down and go away is not known. However, the situation raised the alarm of the ex-officer in charge of Frankston PCIP, who was at that time a Chief Inspector in the northern Melbourne area of Williamstown.

Some months after the petition affair, the Chief Inspector was at a Police Association general meeting where there was to be a discussion of the issue of a policewomen's delegate:

> I just walked in for the one item on the agenda. I got there late, but just in time to hear them talk about the increase in subscription fees for the Police Association. [An official] in reply to a question, said, 'you have to realise the latest campaign we lodged over police strength cost a lot of money and next year we would like to mount another media campaign on police powers. It's going to cost up to $80,000 –$120,000. We didn't have the money to mount the police manpower one properly. You can spend a lot of money, or you can do it another way, for instance through your Neighbourhood Watch pamphlets.' He brought out the pamphlets about police powers where there is an advertisement which says criminals love this government because they reduce police strength. I was quite shocked.

As a result of hearing this, the officer in charge of Neighbourhood Watch was informed. His further inquiries revealed that a private citizens' lobby group had also been trying desperately to use the Neighbourhood Watch network to push the political aspects of police work and police powers. There was a definite thrust by the Police Association and others to politicise Neighbourhood Watch in the mid-1980s. Neighbourhood Watch has managed to shake this threat off and has so far been successful in remaining apolitical, although occasional, similar threats continue to arise from time to time.

The best way to defuse any criticism against any sort of organisation is to open it up. That is how Neighbourhood Watch is run in Victoria. Each small Neighbourhood Watch area runs itself with the help and cooperation of District police when it is asked for. The politicisation of any project can be guarded against. If the right management structure is put in place the projects become self-regulating and the people involved will not allow themselves to be bull-dozed by special interest groups. In the mid-1980s, Neighbourhood Watch was going through the same process that the Safety House project went through in the early 1980s.

During the development of Safety House there were many people who wanted to run it their way and change its structure, increase its role, change its objectives and so on. Then Safety House went through a whole series of people who wanted to become the 'knights and barons of the issue' and take it over. Today Safety House has its three tiered management structure, and if at any time anyone gets out of line, it is the little school safety house committees who bring them back into line. What was developed in Safety House is a community-based democratic process. Any community project is in danger of being overtaken by political interests unless this same democratic process takes its grip. The consulting and feedback processes between police and the Neighbourhood Watch committees is unique to Victoria and is one of the reasons for the program's success.

Measuring the Effect of Neighbourhood Watch on Residents

In 1986, the author conducted a study to test the effects of the Neighbourhood Watch program. The study consisted of a comparison between the attitudes and behaviours of residents living in an area which had had Neighbourhood Watch for twelve months, and residents living in an area demographically similar which did not have Neighbourhood Watch. What was found was that Neighbourhood Watch appeared to heighten the awareness of residents to the presence of crime whilst at the same time causing them to feel safer in their homes and less fearful of becoming victims of crime (Beyer 1986a). Despite the emphasis of the Neighbourhood Watch program on preventing house burglaries, the program did not appear to increase the fear and concern people have towards being burgled, nor to have affected residents' perceptions of the extent of house burglaries. Concern about house burglaries appeared to be already present in residents and was not exacerbated by participation in Neighbourhood Watch.

Those categories of persons who traditionally have the highest fear of crime—females, the elderly and to a lesser extent persons living alone—appeared to be the people most influenced to alter their perception of crime levels in the neighbourhood and to feel safer as a result of living in a Neighbourhood Watch area. The 1986 study showed that Neighbourhood Watch residents felt safer in their homes, were more likely to have taken crime prevention measures around the house and yard and to have spent more money on crime prevention measures, than were residents living in the area without Neighbourhood Watch. Whilst residents who lived in the area without Neighbourhood Watch had a higher fear of crime, they

nevertheless had spent less money on crime prevention and had taken less crime prevention measures around the house and yard[1].

Neighbourhood Watch residents appeared to be willing to assume more responsibility for their own safety by taking active steps to prevent burglaries.

Selection of the Sample

In the area without Neighbourhood Watch, 111 dwellings were selected (a stratified random sample) from an area which had a total of 1,402 dwellings. In the area which had had Neighbourhood Watch for one year, 114 dwellings were selected (a stratified random sample) from an area which had a total of 968 dwellings. The sample was selected by working systematically through each street of each neighbourhood, and selecting every sixth residence. A residence was classified as any house or unit used as a dwelling. Shops were not included.

Description of the Sample

In general, the survey areas were similar to the Melbourne average. However, the areas selected for the survey both had fewer residents who were aged under fifteen years and a higher proportion of residents aged over sixty years. The survey areas also had a higher proportion of professional and white-collar workers than did the Melbourne average and had a higher proportion of divorced, separated or widowed residents.

Development of the Survey

The survey used was developed over a four-week period with the assistance of Dr Rosemary Wearing, then Chairperson Sociology Department, La Trobe University; Dr L. Foreman, then Director Research Section, Ministry of Police and Emergency Services; and Dr S. James, Criminology Department, Melbourne University. Police staff from the Neighbourhood Watch State Coordinator Office were also consulted. Once developed, the survey to be used was tested on ten residents living close to, but outside the study areas. After giving an initial introduction about the survey and how it was going to be used the survey was read aloud to the resident. Responses and any difficulties in understanding and interpretation were noted on the survey. As a result of testing, the wording

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1 This appears to support the theory of learned helplessness, where people who perceive they are unable to influence certain outcomes—in this case crime—act in a passive way. Perhaps Neighbourhood Watch residents were more likely to attempt to prevent crime because they had been shown, through Neighbourhood Watch, that by certain actions local crime is to a large extent a preventable and therefore controllable factor in their lives (*see* Abramson et al. 1978, p 52).

in five questions were altered (*see* Appendix M for a copy of the questionnaire).

Data Collection

Data was collected with the assistance of students from the Criminology Department of Melbourne University. A two-hour interview training session was conducted by consultants from the Australian Bureau of Statistics in order to standardise the collectors approach to residents. Prior to the collection of data, a letter from the Assistant Commissioner of the Research and Development Department was delivered to each residence in the sample areas as a means of introducing and explaining the survey. Data was collected over seven days. First call was made by collectors during the daytime, and subsequent calls were made during evenings. In many cases, collectors had still not made contact with residents after three calls. These residents were posted a copy of the survey and requested to complete it and return it by prepaid post. Fifty-nine per cent of crime surveys were returned by residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch, 73 per cent were returned by Neighbourhood Watch residents.

Data Analysis

Data was analysed using the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) on the Victoria Police mainframe computer. Pearson's correlation coefficient and Chi-Square Test (independent attributes) was used to detect relationships between variables. Cluster analysis was also done on the data and the results of the hierarchical clustering were computed into a dendogram.

Results of the Study

Research Question 1
Are residents' perceptions of police different in a Neighbourhood Watch area?

Prior to the establishment of Neighbourhood Watch in Victoria there was considerable publicity about the problem police had in controlling the incidence of burglary or of apprehending the offenders. Both groups of residents surveyed had presumably been exposed to media hype regarding burglary. Their reactions regarding the solution to the problem of burglary, however, was very different. Whilst residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area made no reference to insufficient visible police presence in local public places this was a major concern of residents from the area without Neighbourhood Watch. These residents desired a much more

visible police presence and many mentioned a desire to see more police on foot patrol as well. Some of the comments were as follows:

> Police very seldom seen in area.
>
> I think it necessary for police to keep a high profile on random and car patrols along local streets after dark to keep idle groups of youths away.
>
> As a deterrent to crime in this and other areas, I would like to see regular foot patrols—foot police officers on our streets are much more reassuring than the occasional patrol car driving by.
>
> During the past year the only police I've seen on foot in the area were checking parking. Would like more personal contact police on foot patrol.

Residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch were also more likely to think police had inadequate powers to deal with crime:

> I think the police are doing a good job—I would like them to have more power to prosecute criminals and vandals.
>
> Believe police should be given greater power in fight against crime.
>
> Lack of reasonable punishment for those who commit crimes against society, and diminishing police power to detect and arrest the increasingly educated and violent criminal element.

Neighbourhood Watch residents did not express a desire to have greater visible police presence in their local area. The apparent difference in residents' desires regarding the level of police presence was not a result of any variation in quantity or type of contact with police. The study showed that both groups of residents had about the same amount and type of contact with police. Forty-one per cent of residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch and 39 per cent of residents from the Neighbourhood Watch area said they had had contact with police in the past year. Where contact with police had occurred, reasons for the contact were similar. In both areas the most common reason for contact with police was a request for police help, followed by providing information of some type to police. The presence of Neighbourhood Watch did not appear to increase the incidence of informal talks between residents and police. In fact, residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch were more likely to have had informal talks with police than were residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area—21 per cent compared with 12 per cent.

Perceptions of the extent of burglaries in the local area were similar in both survey areas. However, resident perceptions of how to counteract the problem were very different. Residents living in the area without

Neighbourhood Watch tended to place the responsibility for burglary control with the police. Solutions for the inability of police to cope were to give police greater powers, greater numbers of personnel and to increase visible police presence in residential areas. Residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area tended to see police as only partly responsible for counteracting burglaries. Police were seen more as the formal arm of social control with residents' being the first line of defence against burglary.

The study found that, not only does Neighbourhood Watch appear to influence perceptions of the police role, but also has an effect on people's level of satisfaction with police. In the Neighbourhood Watch area 60 per cent of residents who had reported crime to police were 'very satisfied' with the manner in which police had handled the reported crime, compared with only 41 per cent of residents who reported crime in the area without Neighbourhood Watch. An example of the numerous comments from residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area are as follows:

> Police very prompt and courteous.
>
> I have always found the police to be very cooperative, friendly and efficient.
>
> From all I hear, the local police are very helpful and courteous.
>
> Highly praise them, they have been wonderful to me.

Only two residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area criticised police. Both referred to the driving of police vehicles:

> Ridiculous speed of police vehicles at times in Williams Road travelling south, at night usually.
>
> I'd like to see police set example by driving properly themselves, for example, doing a right turn where signs explicitly forbid this, I witnessed a police car doing this!

Criticism of police was far more prolific from residents living in the area without Neighbourhood Watch and covered a wide range of issues including poor police driving, slow response to calls for assistance, poor attitude to crimes reported, unfriendly manners and so on. The following comments are only a small sample:

> Recently I saw a police car containing two policemen stuck in traffic on Toorak Road. One was smoking and it was obvious that they were not busy and all of a sudden the passenger policeman said 'Yeah, go on'. The driver turned on the siren, the blue lights and sped off down the tram tracks at very high speed. I was disgusted to say the least at this . . .

> What I dislike is how police can walk into a food shop whilst on duty and get free handouts. That sort of thing reminds me of the Mafia's style of protection where the public have to pay extra.

> Police were apathetic to our burglary, but we appreciate their problems, too many crimes.

> In the case of burglary there seems to be less concern if the police know you are insured.

> . . . they have an annoying tendency towards arrogance—almost aloof.

> . . . police have always been prompt. But then inquiries seem lax and unprofessional . . .

In summary, Neighbourhood Watch residents had the same level of victimisation as their non-Neighbourhood Watch neighbours and the same amount and type of contact with police and yet they did not desire a greater visible police presence and tended to express greater approval and satisfaction with police.

Research Question 2
Have deviant tendencies been counteracted by Neighbourhood Watch?

The study found that Neighbourhood Watch has no apparent effect on rates of victimisation or on the likelihood of residents reporting crime to police. In both areas, approximately 20 per cent of residents stated they, or a member of their household, had been a victim of crime in the last year. Of these, one in four, from both areas, had been victims on two or three occasions.

Residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch stated that a total of thirty-eight crimes had been committed on them in the last year. Of these four, or 10 per cent, had not been reported to police. Crimes not reported were one incident of major assault, two of minor property theft and one of minor property damage. A similar pattern was evident in the Neighbourhood Watch area where residents stated that a total of thirty-seven crimes had been committed in the last year of which five, or 13 per cent, had not been reported to police. Crimes not reported were one of minor assault and four of minor property theft. In both survey areas, reasons given by the victims for not reporting crime were either that they thought police would think it too trivial for them to take action, or because they thought police wouldn't be able to do anything anyway.

Residents' perceptions of the main crime and public nuisance problems in their neighbourhoods were similar, regardless of whether they lived in the Neighbourhood Watch area or not. For both groups of residents, house burglaries were considered to be the greatest problem

followed by theft of or from cars, other types of theft, and traffic problems. Whilst assault was listed as the most feared event it was only ranked as the fifth and sixth main crime problem in the neighbourhood by residents.

A 50–59 year old female living in the Neighbourhood Watch area commented, 'This neighbourhood has an extremely high robbery rate. I've been robbed twenty-two times before but not lately.' Many other residents from both areas mentioned specific incidents of robbery and wilful damage. Other most mentioned problems related to poor street lighting which made people feel unsafe, and traffic.

Research Question 3
Have the conditions under which crime and disorder operate been affected by Neighbourhood Watch?

Residents in the study areas were asked a series of questions about their local interests, communication with neighbours and participation in local affairs. Some residents made comments about the general effect Neighbourhood Watch had had on their neighbourhood:

> The introduction of Neighbourhood Watch has increased interest and contact of residents in the area and encouraged a feeling of greater security, lessening of crime.

> I consider Neighbourhood Watch a good step in community life, approve cooperation of mailman.

Residents who owned their own homes, who lived alone, who were engaged principally in home duties, or who spoke another language at home besides English, were more likely to increase their interest in the happenings of the neighbourhood if they were in the Neighbourhood Watch area. The frequency that male residents talked to their neighbours was also higher in the Neighbourhood Watch area. Very few people from either area were involved in local community groups, clubs or activities, although residents with children under eighteen years and residents who had lived in their present home for four to nine years were more involved and more likely to be involved if they lived in the Neighbourhood Watch area.

Neighbourhood Watch did not appear to influence residents' overall levels of interest in what went on in the neighbourhood. However, residents who lived in their own homes in the Neighbourhood Watch area were much more likely to say they were very interested in what went on in the neighbourhood than were home owners in the area without Neighbourhood Watch. There were no changes in levels of interest amongst other types of residents. It appears that home ownership may be

a factor influencing people to take a greater interest in local affairs. Another factor which seemed to influence residents' levels of interest in local affairs appeared to be size of the household. Neighbourhood Watch residents living alone and residents with four or more people living in the home were more likely to be very interested in what went on in the local neighbourhood.

Residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area who were principally engaged in home duties as an occupation were twice as likely to have a high level of interest in what went on in their neighbourhood than were those engaged in home duties in the area without Neighbourhood Watch. Contrary to what might be expected retired people, from both areas, were the occupational group most likely to be disinterested in what was going on in their neighbourhood.

Another indicator of resident interest in local affairs was how regularly they read the local paper. Most residents from each area said they read the local paper regularly. Three out of four residents in either area said they read the paper every week or nearly every week. Neither the presence of Neighbourhood Watch nor any personal characteristics of residents caused any variation in this pattern. Number of times residents spoke with their neighbours was only marginally higher in the Neighbourhood Watch area. However, male residents and residents who were retired, tended to speak with their neighbours more frequently if they lived in the Neighbourhood Watch area. Approximately 65 per cent of women in either area said they spoke with their neighbours at least once a week or more frequently and the presence of Neighbourhood Watch did not appear to influence this frequency. The proportion of men who frequently spoke to their neighbours however, was greater in the Neighbourhood Watch area. Sixty per cent of men in the area without Neighbourhood Watch spoke to their neighbours at least once a week, compared with 75 per cent of men in the Neighbourhood Watch area. One resident from the area without Neighbourhood Watch commented about the lack of communication between neighbours in his area:

> I wish there was more interaction between people in my street—those who live in houses have been here a long time and we know each other, but there are a lot of flat dwellers who remain very private.

It does not appear that Neighbourhood Watch affects involvement in community affairs. It seems likely that having children and length of time lived in the neighbourhood and home ownership are the factors influencing involvement.

Research Question 4
Have levels of fear of crime been reduced by Neighbourhood Watch?

Overall, levels of fear of becoming a victim of crime were the same for both areas. However, the study found there was a difference in the levels of fear of previous victims of crime, females, the elderly and those living alone. The study also found that in general, residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area were less fearful of becoming victims of crime themselves but were twice as likely to be very fearful of crimes happening to their immediate family. Neighbourhood Watch residents appeared to feel safer in their homes but were more likely to consider the streets an unsafe place to be alone after dark. The study found that residents not in Neighbourhood Watch tended to go for more frequent walks in the neighbourhood than did people in the Neighbourhood Watch area. Males from both areas were more likely to go for walks than females.

Whilst Neighbourhood Watch residents were more likely to think it was unsafe to walk alone in their neighbourhood after dark, their fear of specific events was almost identical to the events feared by residents living in the area without Neighbourhood Watch. Events most feared were assault, robbery, sexual assault, traffic accidents and abuse by drunks (in that order). Residents living in the area without Neighbourhood Watch were much more likely to think the crime level in their neighbourhood was high (42 per cent compared with only 30 per cent of residents living in the Neighbourhood Watch area). Neighbourhood Watch residents were more likely to think the crime level was average or low.

Those groups of people traditionally most fearful—previous victims, women, the elderly and persons living alone—were generally less fearful if they lived in the Neighbourhood Watch area. Residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area who had been victims had a lower fear of a criminal entering the home than did victims in the non Neighbourhood Watch area (12 per cent compared with 23 per cent). Victims not in Neighbourhood Watch were more likely to say they were 'very fearful' than were victims in the Neighbourhood Watch area (27 per cent compared with 20 per cent in the Neighbourhood Watch area).

In the area without Neighbourhood Watch just over half of all females thought there was a high level of crime in their neighbourhood compared with only 28 per cent of females in the Neighbourhood Watch area. Perceptions by males of the level of crime in the neighbourhood was similar for both areas. Females in the Neighbourhood Watch area had perceptions of crime levels which were closely aligned to the perceptions of males in both areas, whilst females in the area without Neighbourhood Watch had a significantly higher tendency to think that crime levels in the

neighbourhood were high (54 per cent compared with only 28 per cent of females in the area without Neighbourhood Watch).

Elderly residents (seventy years and over) were less likely to think the crime rate was high in their neighbourhood if they lived in the Neighbourhood Watch area. Residents living alone in the area without Neighbourhood Watch were twice as likely to think the local crime rate was high (45 per cent compared to only 22 per cent of persons living alone in the Neighbourhood Watch area).

It appears that the presence of Neighbourhood Watch may have the effect of reducing fear of crime amongst those classes of people traditionally most fearful. In each of these categories perceptions of levels of local crime appear to be considerably lower in the Neighbourhood Watch area as were fears of a criminal entering the home.

Research Question 5
Are Neighbourhood Watch residents more likely to intervene if they personally witness crime and disorder?

Neighbourhood watch residents were no more, or less, likely to call police to, or assist in, incidents not affecting them personally. A total of six residents said they had reported incidents which did not effect them personally. Four residents were from the Neighbourhood Watch area and three were from the area without Neighbourhood Watch. The incidents were as follows:

- phoned to report youths damaging a car in the street;
- assistance to victims after armed robbery at neighbour's house;
- to report neighbour's alarm ringing while neighbours away;
- to report strangers trying to unlock door of home;
- to report a drunken/destructive neighbour;
- witness to a car accident.

To see whether Neighbourhood Watch residents were more likely to take responsibility for their immediate environment they were asked what their response would be if they observed some fifteen to sixteen-year-old youths pulling up young trees in a local park. Sixteen per cent of residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch said they would do nothing, compared with 10 per cent of residents from the Neighbourhood Watch area. Comments by residents were:

> I'd be too lazy/apathetic.
>
> Too lazy to do anything.

It appeared that Neighbourhood Watch residents were only a little more likely to take some action against deviant behaviour observed in a public place, either by speaking with the youths themselves or by notifying the council. Very few residents said they would ring police if they observed the vandalism. Reasons given by people for not notifying police about the incident were proportionally very similar, regardless of the area residents lived in. The reason most frequently given was that police would think the incident too trivial for them to take action:

> Police are nearly always too understaffed to attend to this sort of problem in my experience.
>
> Police are often too busy.

Residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch were more likely than Neighbourhood Watch residents to say they would not report the matter to police because they feared for their own safety. Only 16 per cent of residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch and 18 per cent of residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area said they would take some action themselves to stop the deviant behaviour. All said they would do this by talking to the offending youths. It seems that the presence of Neighbourhood Watch has little effect in enhancing the likelihood of residents doing something about deviant behaviour occurring in a public place. Further analysis revealed that females were more likely than males to report the vandalism to police.

Residents were also asked whether they would report seeing an unfamiliar vehicle in their neighbour's driveway and someone in the neighbour's house whilst the neighbours were away on holiday. A greater majority of residents in the Neighbourhood Watch area said they would report the matter. Comments made by residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch show that their actions would very much depend on their familiarity with the neighbour in whose home the suspicious behaviour was occurring:

> It depends on whether I know the neighbours or not.
>
> Would report it to police depending on how well I knew the people.
>
> The person could be a family member/friend from interstate using the house.

The most favoured method of contacting police in both survey areas was to ring local police. This is despite the fact that one of the major themes in

the Neighbourhood Watch program is to educate people to use the 11444 central number to report crime. Male residents were more likely to use the central number than were females. Residents' perceptions of the most important types of information to give police when reporting a possible burglary in progress were similar for both groups. Residents from both areas thought the most important information to give police was the vehicle registration number, second most important information was a description of the person seen, thirdly colour and description of the vehicle, accurate location details rated fourth most important piece of information, then time of the incident and finally the name and address of the person making the report.

One of the major themes of the Neighbourhood Watch program is for residents to make it difficult for burglars to detect when no one is at home, and also to make unlawful entry to the home more difficult. In the Neighbourhood Watch area residents reported taking an average of 3.4 different crime prevention measures to protect their home, compared to 2.5 different crime prevention measures undertaken by residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch.

Approximately 60 per cent of residences in both areas had deadlocks fitted to their doors. In the case of all other crime prevention measures though, Neighbourhood Watch residents were more likely to use, or to have taken crime prevention measures. In addition to the crime prevention options provided in the survey, one resident employed a security guard and another had installed a remote control gate. Twenty per cent of Neighbourhood Watch residents had spent between $500 and $5,000 on crime prevention measures compared with 11 per cent of residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch. Residents in the area without Neighbourhood Watch were also more likely to spend $200 or less on security measures (74 per cent), compared with 51 per cent of residents living in the Neighbourhood Watch area who had spent $200 or less.

It appears that even though residents in Neighbourhood Watch are spending more money on, and using more crime prevention measures it has not resulted in a reduction of interactions with neighbours. It appears as though Neighbourhood Watch residents are successfully combining an increase in crime prevention measures whilst slightly increasing their community interaction.

When away from the home on normal day-to-day activities Neighbourhood Watch residents were no more likely to take precautionary crime prevention measures than were residents living in the non-Neighbourhood Watch area. Approximately one in three residents from both areas said they took no special precautions when they were away from the home. Of the residents from both areas who took some precautions, 40 per cent said they locked all doors whilst driving alone;

36 per cent said they did not go out alone at night; and 31 per cent said they notified others of their movements.

Conclusion

It appears from this study that Neighbourhood Watch may have altered some of the social and physical characteristics of the neighbourhood in which it was functioning. Whilst the study did not show a reduction in the incidence of crime or disorder in the Neighbourhood Watch area, it did indicate that the conditions under which crime and disorder operate had changed and that the consequences of crime and disorder on residents, particularly with regards to fear of crime, had also been altered.

One of the primary aims of the Neighbourhood Watch program is to reduce the incidence of household burglary. This study did not show any reduction in the incidence of burglary or other crimes[2]. Crime rates are possibly of dubious value in measuring the success of Neighbourhood Watch—anyway it is impossible to calculate crimes deterred. Even if Neighbourhood Watch does not reduce crime in neighbourhoods but succeeds in achieving the effects of reducing fear of crime and lessening citizen apathy and feelings of helplessness, as this study indicates, then Neighbourhood Watch has succeeded in achieving desirable results. As Cohen rightly points out, 'to abandon [a] program on the grounds that it does not reduce crime is simply to assign too much importance to crime' (Cohen 1985, p. 264).

Theoretical Context of Neighbourhood Watch

Urban areas in Australia are made up of people who have great mobility, who '. . . work in one place, live in another, spend their week-ends in another and annual holidays in yet another . . .' (Department of Tourism and Recreation 1975, p. 30). Urban areas are also made up of people from a great variety of backgrounds. Both these factors tend to lead people to rely on kinship and interest groups, rather than on neighbours, for support. As a result, urban areas are often not communities, but rather a collection of individuals who merely live near each other and amongst whom informal social control mechanisms are virtually nonexistent. Without community based social control, deviants and criminals can function with virtual impunity because they are not easily identifiable.

At a Neighbourhood Watch public meeting in the area studied for the Victoria Police study of Neighbourhood Watch (Beyer 1986b, p. 198) it

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2 In any case the size of the study was too small, numbers of crimes were too low and the study period too short to have drawn any firm conclusions about the impact of Neighbourhood Watch on crime rates.

was stated by some residents that because they lived in high-rise security flats there was no need for Neighbourhood Watch in their case. Their method of coping was to lock themselves into their own private space and have little or no contact with anyone else living near them. Many residents at the meeting said they had deliberately moved into high-rise units because of the security such flats offered. This sort of withdrawing response to fear of crime causes divisiveness in communities and allows communal space to be more accessible to deviant behaviour:

> Crime in their midst undermines confidence that there are locally shared norms. Withdrawing from public life, distancing themselves from other community members and losing faith in moral consensus, public places fall under control of potential predators (Skogan & Maxfield 1981, p. 230).

Neighbourhood Watch has, in effect, shrunken the vast urban sprawl into distinct neighbourhood areas so that deviants and deviant behaviours are able to be more easily identified, prevented and controlled. This is the theory, but the small amount of research which has been done into the effect of Neighbourhood Watch has not shown that it affects the type or frequency of criminal or deviant behaviour in neighbourhoods. The research does, however, seem to indicate that Neighbourhood Watch may have an effect on levels of fear of crime. Residents in a Neighbourhood Watch area are often more familiar with the 'normal' happenings in their neighbourhood and more familiar with the people who live around them. Baumer and Hunter suggest that familiarity with one's neighbourhood has the effect of reducing fear of crime, 'familiarity with the people and usual patterns of behaviour in a neighbourhood may be an important factor to be considered when explaining fear. Simply being familiar with other residents may reduce the number of strangers encountered and therefore reduce fear' (Baumer & Hunter 1978, p. 4). Toseland and Rasch also found that ease of making friends in the neighbourhood, the helpfulness of neighbours and involvement in community affairs all helped to increase people's satisfaction with their neighbourhood (Toseland & Rasch 1976, p. 5). In another study using data from the 1976 General Social Survey by the National Opinion Research Centre, University of Chicago, Toseland found that the quality of the neighbourhood environment is associated with levels of fear of crime (Toseland 1982, p. 199).

Fear of crime should be just as important a consideration for policy makers as people's actual experience with crime. Patterns of fear of crime substantially outstrip actual victimisation in the community and therefore fear of crime has a greater potential to generate behavioural changes which seriously interfere with people's quality of life (James & Wynne 1985, p. 2). Fear of crime therefore requires at least as much consideration by policy makers as actual crime rates. It appears that Neighbourhood Watch

may be a factor which reduces the rate of fear of crime and on this basis alone the project would have to be rated a success.

Chapter 5

Issues of Implementation

A Discussion of Different Approaches to Crime Control

In the recent past, society's response to criminal behaviour and deviance has been to study its causes and then attempt to change the anti-social behaviour of individuals through various programs and treatments. Individuals though are not amenable to persuasion, counselling, treatment or re-education and 'to employ these benevolent methods exclusively is simply not productive' (Wolfgang 1979, p. 69). A more effective approach might be to, 'alter known effects rather than to reach the enormous chain of variables attached to the notion of causes' (Cohen 1985, p. 214). This could be achieved by 'the manipulation of systems, spaces, opportunities and environments, as a way to prevent anti-social behaviour' (Cohen 1985, p. 214). This approach offers the prospect of changing behaviour sequences rather than trying to change individuals. This was the approach put into practice by PCIP. In effect PCIP, in conjunction with community members, designed projects to control and prevent crime and disorder by fitting projects (social controls) into populations. Implementing alternative, more effective methods of controlling crime is particularly imperative when one considers that most causal indicators of crime in our society point toward an increase in conventional crime, and a blossoming and development of 'unconventional' crime:

> Virtually every single causal indicator—economy, ecology, family, education, values, immigration, population, community—points to increasing rates of crime and delinquency . . . At the same time other changes in technology, political legitimacy, property relationships and corporate organisations, are likely to increase unconventional crime—white collar crime, political crime, political corruption and official lawlessness (Cohen 1985, p. 214).

To control an escalating crime rate whilst at the same time avoiding any control mechanisms which might infringe on the freedom and privacy of individuals, future policing, judicial and welfare policies need to be geared

towards management, systems analysis, information gathering and a reduction of opportunities to commit crime. Community control of crime and deviance in partnership with police has the advantage of being more effective, more humane, less stigmatising and much cheaper in the long run than are policies directed at crime fighting. The experience of PCIP showed that such an approach is possible in practice.

In a study of crime and the residential environment it was found that a substantial portion of the variance in crime depended on the opportunities provided by the social and physical characteristics of the community (Roncek 1981, p. 91). Cohen and Felson came to a similar conclusion. They concluded that the transformation of potential offenders and potential victims into offenders and victims was very much dependant on the environment (1979, p. 605). The judgment by a potential offender that an opportunity is favourable partly depends on their perception of the probability of detection and apprehension at a particular place at a particular time (Block 1976, p. 3). 'An offender may alter the rate at which he commits crime not because the actual chance of being caught has increased but because he perceives that it has . . .' (Wilson & Boland 1978, p. 32). Certain types of places in cities provide settings for crime by impeding observation and intervention by community members (Newman 1972, p. 68). Because of the diverse nature of large cities and the diminished sense of community within geographical areas, citizen intervention is not a normal response to crime. Crime therefore has the potential to flourish unchallenged. Knowing that most crime and disorder is situational, means that in most cases crime and disorder is preventable and therefore a potentially controllable factor in peoples' lives. Developing community involvement programs is a way of enhancing the potential of community members to exercise 'informal social control' over crime and disorder.

What is social control? The concept of social control appears in a number of academic disciplines including psychology, criminology, history, philosophy, mental health, anthropology and sociology. The definitions of social control used by sociologists Parsons and Roucek are the most relevant, and explain how social controls (community involvement projects) can be introduced into a population of people for the purpose of controlling crime and the consequences of crime. Talcott Parsons defined the study of social control as being, 'the analysis of those processes in the social system that tend to counteract . . . deviant tendencies, and of the conditions under which such processes . . . operate' (Parsons 1964, p. 297). Parsons saw social control as being a natural process for the maintenance of equilibrium and stability in social systems of every type, from bureaucratic organisations to boys' gangs.

> Deviant motivational factors are always operating .. . the mechanisms of social control account not for their elimination but for the limitation of their consequences, and for preventing their spread to others beyond certain limits (Parsons 1964, p. 298).

Roucek defines social control as, 'a collective term for those processes, planned or unplanned, by which individuals are taught, persuaded, or compelled to conform to the . . . life-values of groups' (1970, p. 3). Informal social control is a powerful modifier of behaviour. As a member of a group, an individual will develop a consciousness very sensitive to the values and reactions of other members in the group (Cooley 1964, p. 390).

As mentioned previously, many people do not feel crime is a controllable factor in their lives. Laboratory experiments with both humans and animals have found that when a person or animal feels helpless and out of control, the likelihood of them making a response to the problem decreases and they become depressed and apathetic about their lack of ability to alter the situation (Abramson et al. 1978, p. 52). To alleviate feelings of helplessness, the expectations of people need to be changed 'from uncontrollability to controllability by training them in the necessary response skills' (Abramson et al. 1978, p. 62). Community policing projects which involve community members at every level, especially during development, are a means through which individuals can learn to regain some control over the likelihood of crime happening to them. Therefore, such projects have the potential to increase, in at least a small way, people's quality of life.

Police organisations *can* effectively and efficiently prevent crime and disorder, reduce fear of crime, improve public satisfaction with their service and increase (in a painless and uncontroversial way for police) the accountability of police to the public. They can do this by working as an *equal* partner with community members in the development and implementation of small and local crime/disorder projects. A by-product of this process may be the establishment of new social control mechanisms and the enhancement of feelings of community in a collection of individuals. The process may also teach individuals, both public and police, to value and appreciate cooperation and communication as an essential component to crime prevention and control (Khinduka 1975, p. 210).

Discussion of Possible Reasons for the Success of Police Community Involvement Projects

The successful introduction of new community development projects is a complex process which should not be entered into without careful planning. The lifestyle, values and characteristics of most Australians would seem at first glance to work against the successful introduction of community involvement crime prevention projects. Australians value privacy, individualism and materialistic achievement and, in addition, have an inherent mistrust of authority which leads them to prefer low profile informality (Veno 1982, pp. 239–53). In the context of collective values which promote insularity, of high mobility and a mistrust of authority, it is immediately apparent that Australians would not be amenable to programs imposed on them by police. Why then were so many police community involvement programs so successful? The following are some possible reasons:

- Perhaps one of the fundamental reasons for their success is that police and the great majority of members of the public have a common basis of values and interest from which agreement is obtainable. People are vitally concerned with their own and their family's personal safety and the safety of their property. To a lesser extent they are also concerned with the cost of crime to the community in general. Similarly, police also have an interest in protecting life and property.

- It was quickly realised from practical experience during the pilot PCIP, that unless people have been able to discover the need for some sort of cooperative action themselves, and to have equal control of each aspect of projects, the projects would fail. No amount of statistics, persuasion or coercion will motivate people to commit themselves to projects introduced externally and in which they have little or no say. The ability of any agency to give control of a project to clients seems to be rare, but is nevertheless essential if a project is to continue to attract support and commitment from the members of the community involved in them.

  Withholding control is unfortunately a common approach to service delivery which is especially out of place in community development, welfare orientated-type programs. Program developers and coordinators who set themselves apart, or worse, above their clients find that service recipients turn away from active participation and passively 'leave it to the experts'. Police

forces, like any other human service organisation, cannot financially or functionally afford this type of public attitude. Because PCIP involved community members in the discovery of the need for change and allowed them to share equally in the decision-making processes, active support and assistance was forthcoming from members of the community. Commitment to each project then naturally follows because each individual involved can strongly identify with other group members and feel confident that their contributions are meaningful, both to themselves and to the group. Ongoing commitment to a program is assured if the participants are gaining personal satisfaction, either through group or personal accomplishments, or by the mere fact of association with one another (Khinduka 1975, p. 175).

The emphasis at PCIP was always on the need to link consultation with a commitment to improve service delivery. To be effective, consultation needs to be with the broadest base possible within a community, and localised. Large-scale consultation processes tend to become politicised and representative of the vocal minority as opposed to the silent majority.

- Projects originating from PCIP were concise, easy to understand and well planned which probably made them more appealing to members of the community.

- The enthusiastic community support for projects originating from PCIP might also be explained by more subtle influences. For example, most individuals carry a feeling of vague unease about their insignificance in society. They are aware that they are only a very small part of numerous local, national and global networks. It is very rare for people to feel the satisfaction of meaningful participation—instead they usually feel unimportant and unable to participate. Sarason states that at the core of these feelings is a rebellion against narrow work roles, unused talents, unexploited interests, personal isolation in a sea of humanity and a cult of efficiency which makes people servants of technology (Sarason 1977b, p. 122), People are eager to participate in what they consider to be socially beneficial exercises which introduce challenge and interest into their lives. Such participation, to a small extent, alleviates some of those uneasy feelings described above, and introduces an element of control and participation into community life (Sarason 1977b, p. 122). Police/community involvement projects provided a vehicle for people to take control

of at least one aspect of their lives and in the process linked them into personal relationships with others in their local community.

- In general, there is dissatisfaction in the community about the very low correlation between increased expenditure of public money on resources and the promised increased benefits and returns. Coupled with this is the knowledge that resources are limited and in many cases misused. PCIP was able to obtain enormous and far-reaching benefits for the community for a relatively small allocation of resources. It did this through the use and coordination of already existing resources within the community and through its problem-solving activities. Police organisations have the potential to obtain enormous benefits for the community for a relatively small cost if the organisation can be orientated towards problem-solving.

- One final contributing factor to project success is possibly the perceptions of the majority of the public about police. Police are not seen in the same light as experts in other fields of social service. Community members (perhaps unconsciously) tend to think of police as doers not theorisers. Police are seen to have a practical, no-nonsense, results-orientated approach to their work and this makes community members more confident in the success of their own involvement.

Community Policing Incorporates Aspects of Community Psychology

Any practitioner or student of community policing would find it of value to look through the literature available on community psychology. Community psychology theory is useful because it puts a clear focus on many of the aspects of community policing and community involvement crime prevention programs. The term community psychology was first used at the Swampscott conference on the education of psychologists for community mental health in Boston, USA in 1965 (Bennett et al. 1966). At this conference it was unanimously agreed that there should be a broader perspective for preventive rather than reactive responses to mental health. This same sentiment should also apply to crime and disorder (that is, to prevent in preference to—and as well as—reacting to crime and disorder). A definition of community psychology is as follows:

> The profession and science of behaviour which seeks to facilitate the abilities of available personnel and resources, to observe and describe their relevant eco-

> system, to establish short and long term goals, to develop appropriate, efficient and effective strategies of intervention which foster a psychological sense of community, and to systematically evaluate the effects of this entire process on the eco-system (Gardner & Veno 1979).

A review of literature shows that community psychology in Australia is quite a limited field. American literature on the other hand is far more prolific. The American style of community psychology differs from that of Australia (Veno 1982, pp. 239–53) because the emphasis tends to be on the product or program, with the client being merely a recipient of services introduced by experts. Such an approach is unlikely to succeed in countries like Australia since to be an expert in the Australian context often means alienation (Veno 1982, pp. 239–53). Except for this cautionary note though, the literature on community psychology is a rich source of information which is of value to any contemplation of the practical implementation of community policing.

Customer Service Complements Community Policing

Another rich source of literature which has practical application for planning, implementing and integrating community policing into mainstream policing is customer service. Customer service is a much more complex organisational and strategic concept than it might appear at first glance and is as relevant for non-profit government organisations, like police, as it is for profit-driven companies. The overriding theme in customer service is that the whole organisation needs to have the customer as its central focus. To provide excellent service, organisations need to identify who their customers are and what their various needs and expectations are. This is done through customer research (very similar to the appraisal studies of PCIP) and through other market research techniques. The focus in customer service is very much on the positive—what it is that people value most in the service they receive from police, rather than focusing on what they do not like. This is the first step in developing a systematic and measurable strategy to address local community needs and expectations, in developing a management environment which allows police to be flexible and responsive.

Customer service literature points out that in service organisations particularly, quality of service given to external customers depends heavily on how front-line personnel are managed. To be productive and effective in solving problems and in providing excellent service, front-line police need to be managed in a way which encourages and supports them.

Some police forces in Australia, notably Victoria and New South Wales, are developing customer service strategies and plans, although these are not far advanced in implementation.

Integrating Community and Operational Policing

Nearly every police force which has had a community involvement unit or branch has experienced the problem of convincing police who are not directly involved with it that it is a legitimate, practical, effective and cost-saving crime prevention strategy. The attitude of operational police is an obstacle to the success of specialised community policing units. On the one hand it affects the morale of police working in the specialised unit, which in turn affects work performance. On the other hand the negative or indifferent attitude of operational police can be picked up by community members resulting in an undermining of the work of community policing units and raising questions in the public mind about police commitment to the concept of police and community working together. It seems clear that specialised community policing units are of limited value in a police organisation.

Immediately after the establishment of PCIP in Frankston, attempts were made by PCIP staff to give regular briefings on PCIP, its objectives and role, and on the work done and project results. This was done via conferences, notices and other more formal channels. Great resistance—and on occasions outright hostility—was encountered from operational police. PCIP staff were not able to convince operational police that the PCIP and the community projects it facilitated were legitimate, let alone that they were an effective and cost-effective way of reducing crime and fear of crime and increasing levels of public safety. This was despite evidence of success which was constantly being put in front of operational police. Operational police tended to dismiss PCIP as another public relations exercise which took personnel away from the police response field. Despite its best efforts, PCIP was unable to convince operational police that there were great advantages to be gained from actively courting and nurturing community participation. When a second PCIP was established in Broadmeadows a decision was taken not to put so much energy into trying to get operational police 'on side'. Instead research into police attitudes was undertaken to try and discover what the problem was.

Research into Police Attitudes

A police attitudes study was conducted in August 1985 in an area roughly coinciding with the municipal boundaries of the City of Broadmeadows, a suburb north of Melbourne, where the second PCIP had been operating out of a shop in a large indoor shopping complex.

Questionnaire Design

The proposed questionnaire was panelled by the Victoria Police Force Statistician, the Inspector in charge of PCIP Broadmeadows and two research officers from the Research and Development Department. The questionnaire was also tested on operational police officers before it was printed for distribution. Background questions were compiled using categories based on those used in the Australian Bureau of Statistics census. The questionnaire was designed to be self administered to ensure confidentiality (*see* Appendix N for a copy of the questionnaire used).

Sample Selection

Three police stations situated closest to Broadmeadows PCIP were selected to participate in the survey. These were Broadmeadows, Glenroy and Campbellfield. The personnel of these stations had been exposed, either directly or indirectly, to the concept and practical work of PCIP for a total of just under three years. However, length of time working at the police stations varied from individual to individual. The sample included uniformed and general duties police from Constable to Senior Sergeant level.

Description of the Sample

A total of forty-six police completed the questionnaire. (Official strength was sixty-nine police. However, many of these were on leave and could not be contacted. Other police positions were vacant through transfers and secondments of officers to other branches.) Eighty per cent of the sample were male, 15 per cent female, 5 per cent did not specify their gender. Constables made up just over half the sample whilst the remainder were of Sergeant, Senior Constable and Senior Sergeant rank, in that order. Most police in the sample had served in the force for either three or four years (39 per cent) or for over ten years (35 per cent). Forty-one per cent of the sample had worked in the District for less than one year. Just over 80 per cent of the sample had been in the District for four years or less.

A little over 80 per cent of police in the sample were aged between 20 and 39 years. Most were aged between 30 and 39 years. More than half the respondents (61 per cent) were educated up to year eleven or less whilst just under one-quarter had passed year twelve. Three respondents had done some tertiary studies and a further two were university graduates. Fifty-seven per cent were married, 35 per cent had never been married and 4 per cent were divorced. Forty-six per cent had children and 49 per cent had no children.

Data Collection

Data was collected over a two-week period so that as many police as possible, including those on night-shift, days off and sick leave would be included in the sample. Questionnaires were distributed, via correspondence lockers, by the Senior Sergeant in charge of each police station.

Data Analysis

Results from the survey were analysed using the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) on an IBM personal computer linked to the police main-frame.

Results and Findings

The survey findings revealed that constables, police who had been in the force a short time and police who had been in the District for the least amount of time were the ones who tended to have a favourable opinion of PCIP. Sergeants, police who had been in the force for a longer time and those who had worked in the District for a number of years tended to have an unfavourable opinion on PCIP. All police had no clear idea about the function and work of PCIP.

The effect of rank on attitudes towards PCIP were consistent for each of the ten indicators used to measure operational police perceptions of PCIP. In each case, Constables were more likely to approve of and have a favourable opinion of the PCIP than were Sergeants. The attitudes of Senior Constables were consistently midway between that of Constables and Sergeants. Despite their unfavourable opinion of PCIP though, Sergeants had a positive attitude to community involvement in general. In fact Sergeants were more likely than Constables to have a positive attitude to community involvement, whilst at the same time having a low opinion of the benefits of PCIP.

A majority of police from all ranks, except Sergeants, thought there should be a PCIP in every police District. Only 40 per cent of Sergeants

agreed that a PCIP was necessary in each police District. Similarly, Sergeants were least likely to think PCIP was a necessity in a police force and were far more likely to think PCIP was a waste of personnel. Sergeants were also the group least likely to think PCIP had improved the police image with either school children or local residents. Fifty per cent of Sergeants thought having a PCIP in Broadmeadows had made no difference to operational police.

The idea that PCIP-type duties should be incorporated into operational police duties was not supported very strongly by police of any rank. Only 31 per cent of Constables, 30 per cent of Senior Constables and 13 per cent of Sergeants supported the idea.

Age of police was another characteristic which seemed to be linked to attitudes. It appeared from this study that police aged 20 to 24 years had the most favourable attitude towards the concept of PCIP. As age increased this favourable attitude correspondingly decreased. In response to the question of whether PCIP duties should be incorporated into operational police duties, police aged 20 to 24 years were most likely to think they should (40 per cent), whilst agreement by older members was very much lower (10 per cent agreement for police aged 25 to 29 years and 28 per cent for police aged 30 to 39 years).

It was found that most operational police had a positive community involvement outlook, irrespective of any differences in background characteristics. Eighty-nine per cent agreed police and local citizens should work together to prevent crime. Eighty per cent thought local police should take account of local residents' concerns, and 59 per cent thought police and welfare workers should cooperate and consult with each other more to overcome local problems. However, at the same time as having a positive community involvement outlook, most police did not think they had the support of local citizens. Ninety-one per cent of police thought the general public was not doing enough to prevent crime and only 17 per cent of the police surveyed thought the public in Broadmeadows were pro-police. Of the five indicators used to measure the community involvement outlook of operational police, only two appeared to be influenced by the independent variables of background characteristics.

When asked if they thought the public in their District were pro-police, Constables and police with shorter lengths of service in the force were least likely to think so. Only 5 per cent of Constables thought the public were pro-police and no police with a service length of two years or less thought the public were pro-police. Twelve per cent of police with three or four years service and 31 per cent of police with ten or more years service in the force thought the public had a favourable attitude towards police.

Rank and length of service in the police force also influenced attitude about whether police and welfare workers should cooperate and consult with each other more to overcome local problems. Constables, and police with shortest lengths of service, were least likely to think police and welfare workers should cooperate and consult with each other more.

In summary, it was found that the majority of police had a positive community involvement outlook but they did not think they had the support of the public. Junior police were more likely than other police to think the public did not support them.

The findings of this study also suggest that police who had been in the District before the establishment of PCIP were more likely to have an unfavourable opinion of PCIP. Perhaps these police felt PCIP to be an intrusion, or a sign that someone at headquarters thought local police were not doing a good enough job. One police member who had been in the District for a long period of time had this to say about PCIP:

> A pity they didn't take their heads out of the clouds and come down to earth. Trying to present themselves as an elite who'll solve the problems of Broadmeadows by soft sell. Perhaps if they addressed themselves to the problems members faced they would gain more respect. At present the general police community attitude is DISNEYLAND.

An area of concern to operational police was the lack of communication between PCIP staff and operational members:

> Unfortunately I think both parties are to blame in that I appear not to have had anything to do with the PCIP nor have they visited this station to inform us of what they are doing.

Operational police expressed curiosity about what PCIP personnel did and about the results of its projects. Nearly three out of four operational police thought the purpose of PCIP was that of public relations at the local level. This was the same for police who had been involved in PCIP projects and for police who had had no involvement. Only 11 per cent of police thought the purpose of PCIP was to involve the public in crime prevention.

Police were also asked to rate a number of policing measures in order of their effectiveness for reducing crime over the next ten years. The score for each policing method was obtained by averaging the ratings given by the respondents. The higher the score the more effective police thought this measure would be in reducing crime over the next ten years.

As can be seen in Table 4, the measures which were considered by operational police in Broadmeadows to be the most effective in reducing crime were to do with strengthening and improving traditional police responses to crime fighting. It appeared that police believed the

apprehending and bringing of offenders before court was more effective than were attempts to prevent crimes.

Peer Pressure

The majority of police did not oppose the PCIP concept, particularly those with less service experience and of a younger age. However, staff of PCIP had a perception, based on experience, that operational police of every rank, age and length of service *displayed* a negative attitude towards PCIP and community policing generally. Why would young, inexperienced police exhibit behaviour which would lead an observer to conclude they had a negative view of PCIP, when the 1985 study showed clearly that this group of police approved of and were in favour of PCIP? Sociological action theory provided a starting point in the search for an answer. Sociology is concerned with 'the interpretation of action in terms of its subjective meaning' (Sandler & Mintz 1974). So, what subjective meaning can be attributed to the observed actions and behaviour of young police in relation to PCIP?

Table 4

Police measure seen to be most effective in reducing crime over the next ten years

		Score
1.	Increase police powers to allow the taking of fingerprints, photographs and body specimens, tap telephones, search suspects, conduct identity parades, demand name and address and increase detention time	6.7
2.	Have more police working operational duties at stations	6.6
3.	Streamline the system of processing offenders	5.6
4.	The use of more advanced technology	5.5
5.	Put more emphasis on community involvement by introducing more state-wide, standard, crime prevention programs such as Neighbourhood Watch and Safety House	4.8
6.	Educate children about their responsibilities in the community and the role of the police	4.7
7.	Put more emphasis on community involvement by having a police/community involvement group in each police District	3.0
8.	Put more emphasis on community involvement by encouraging officers in charge of police stations to develop community involvement programs to suit their own sub-Districts	2.3

When a person enters the police organisation, the first task of the instructor at the training academy is to instil in that person a sense of group cohesion and kinship with his/her fellow trainees. This notion is reinforced at every opportunity in the five months of recruit training. The system of training is based on team efforts rather than individual ones. It is a very real need of junior police, (and possibly of every police officer of whatever rank) to be accepted by their work peers. To be accepted they must be perceived as thinking and acting in harmony with their colleagues. Also, quite apart from the need to belong and be accepted, junior police know that they will be subjectively rated by a Sergeant and that this rating will form part of their permanent file record and will affect promotion prospects in the future. If junior police officers are not thinking and acting like their peers, and more particularly like their Sergeants, they may

perceive that they are in danger of being given a low or poor rating. The need to belong, and a knowledge of the rating system are the most likely reasons for the observed behaviour of junior police and explains why they exhibited behaviour which mirrored that of Sergeants.

It was not within the scope of the 1985 study to seek reasons for the attitudes of police with various background characteristics. However, it may be guessed that younger police, particularly those new to policing, have an attitude which is more open to change and receptive to different policing strategies, whereas more experienced police tend to be conservative, more cynical and as a result unreceptive to new strategies (Rippy 1990, p. 138). Older, more experienced police tended to view PCIP as an 'airy-fairy' idea. Younger police were aware of the attitude of older police to PCIP so, although in private they considered the concept of PCIP as being a good idea, their outward behaviour reflected the reverse.

Lack of Operational Police Involvement

Probably the most significant factor which influenced operational police attitude to PCIP was the lack of operational police involvement in it and in individual project planning. Operational police did not participate in the discovery of the need for PCIP and were involved only minimally in the decision-making processes. If local operational police had had greater involvement in problem-solving and had been given the time and opportunity to discover problems and work on ways to solve them, they would probably have more readily accepted the concepts of PCIP. It is understandable that, just as community members cannot be expected to support a project with which they had no personal involvement or feeling of ownership, police would also find it difficult to show commitment and support for something which lacked their input or feeling of ownership.

The study of operational police attitudes also seemed to indicate that the negative operational police attitude towards PCIP may have been caused, or influenced, by the separatist structure of PCIP itself, rather than from any real resistance by operational police to community participation in policing. This provides a strong argument against the adoption of community policing in a form separate from mainstream operational policing.

Change in Police Organisation and Culture

As has been shown above, when PCIP was first introduced in Frankston and then Broadmeadows, there was great resistance to it by operational police and scepticism about the worth of its projects and the ways in which they were measured. Police now, though, tend to accept most of

the PCIP concepts. Regardless of everything which did not work in the operational police and PCIP police relationship, something positive did result. The change in attitude is probably due to a range of complex factors including a younger, more educated personnel. Also perhaps, through the ongoing relationship and improved communication between operational police and members of the public through projects like Neighbourhood Watch, Safety House and Police in Schools. In the mid-1980s police attitudes were also, to a certain extent, manipulated towards change. For example, one of the ways the Assistant Commissioner of the Research and Development Department used to inject different ideas into the organisation was to get hold of the questions for the selection boards and promotions boards and use the promotions boards to promote new ideas.

> You'd hear screams in the Districts about 'Fancy asking us about that stupid bloody stuff! How would we know what they're doing in there? [ie. at Research and Development Department]' The fact of the matter was that they would try and find out before the boards. After it had occurred over four boards people were saying, 'Well I've got all the answers they want but I don't know what I'm talking about.' By the time it has happened three years in a row they do know what they're talking about (Tape recorded interview with Chief Inspector Oldfield, May 1986).

That was how these new ideas filtered out to operational police and eventually had a real influence on attitudes.

There has been a marked change in attitudes and expectations of police to management which has occurred gradually over the past six years. Police are beginning to think in management terms rather than supervision terms, even at Sergeant level. It is a subtle change, but has been very powerful. The ex-officer in charge of Frankston PCIP was working as a Chief Inspector in a western suburb of Melbourne in the late 1980s and she recalls an occasion when the Sergeants were all 'screaming and spitting' about personnel levels. What happened illustrates clearly the change which is occurring. The Chief Superintendent of the District decided to hold a meeting of Sergeants. The idea was to get the Sergeants together and give them a verbal smack about the ears and tell them to get into line and get on with the job. What he got was unexpected. The Sergeants started lashing into administration saying, we want this and that and Neighbourhood Watch is driving all the stations mad with the extra work. The Chief Superintendent had the sense to turn around and say, 'well what are your suggestions?' In the end the Sergeants started arguing about what the suggestions were and so they were told to go away and have a meeting of their own and then meet again in a month so he could hear from them. Hence, they established the Sergeant's monthly

conference. It was so well organised that Sergeants started to affect management decisions.

One example of their influence on management was in relation to trainees. The police trainees used to be at a station for five weeks and would then be off somewhere else. It created an enormous paper trail of all sorts and types. Members would go out with the trainee and teach them how to put a Brief together and before they were two-thirds through it the trainee would be off on phase one and gone. The member was then left to finish the Brief, get the evidence together and all the rest. Then there were sick leave forms and all the other administrative matters with trainees – the stations were being driven mad by the system. The Sergeants severely criticised the probationary constable training system. They said, 'We need the troops, but it is a tremendous amount of paper work.' The end result was that the training program was reviewed and the District administration then referred it back to the District Sergeants' committee for comment. What District administration proposed was what the District Sergeants suggested. Probably other sections of the force suggested the same thing, but what was significant was the fact that Sergeants in that District were acting in a united and organised manner. This would have been unheard of in the early 1980s.

A further spin-off from this experience was the realisation that both lower, middle and management levels had similar conceptions about how service delivery could be improved—a fact previously hidden through lack of communication between the ranks. Sergeants were thinking about constructive solutions and were influencing management because they were acting as a united group. Morale in the District was boosted enormously as a result of the new system of management. What happened in this police District was actually very ad hoc. It was really just started by the Chief Superintendent getting himself out of an embarrassing situation. He was a good, quick thinker. For such a thing to occur in other Districts would depend very much on the Chief Superintendent of each District.

The original PCIP management processes have not been introduced into the Victoria police organisation but those types of management structures are being put forward at lectures at the Police Officers' College and Sergeants' courses, and police are beginning now to have an appreciation of the processes. Many people are re-inventing the wheel and discovering that management is a legitimate part of policing. The power within the community which was awakened through community involvement programs like Safety House and Neighbourhood Watch are having a spin-off effect within the Police Force—the power of groups when they act together.

Organisational Issues Affecting Community Policing

Whilst the rhetoric on community policing is strong within most police forces it is evident that community policing, and crime prevention generally, does not have a high status within most traditionally organised police services. 'Despite the importance that has officially been attached to it, crime prevention has traditionally been the cinderella amongst police specialisms' (Weatheritt 1986, p. 45). Police resistance to the notion of community policing is due, in part, to the assumptions and myths on which police traditionally base their policy, priorities and practice. It is important to examine these myths and assumptions because it is these which provide the block to comfortable adoption of community policing in police organisations. They also tend to get in the way of rational debate about policing.

The most powerful assumption within police forces (which is generally unchallenged and unquestioned) is the belief that the most important function of police is crime fighting:

> Both police and popular culture embody views of policing and its purposes which are at odds with the reality of police work. They exaggerate the extent to which policing is concerned with serious criminal offences, and overestimate the capacity of the police to deal with criminality by detection and deterrence (Reiner 1985, p. 198).

When crime is committed it is obviously the duty of police to investigate and bring the offender to justice. However, whilst crime detection is an important component of police work it should nevertheless be a secondary priority for police organisations. In his report on the Brixton disorders, Lord Scarman emphasised that public tranquillity must take priority over law enforcement:

> The conflict which can arise between the duty of the police to maintain order and their duty to enforce the law, and the priority which must be given to the former, have long been recognised . . . (Scarman 1982, p. 63).

Crime Fighting

Because policing is set up primarily to respond to calls for assistance it is mostly in times of need or crisis that people have any contact with police. People gain their impressions of police work from personal experience, hearing of the experiences of others, and from what they see in the media. In a United States study of prime-time television shows screened between 1958 and 1988, it was found that an average of between one-quarter and one-third of all shows involved crime and law enforcement (Dominick

1978). Crimes were characteristically depicted as serious and involving violence or valuable amounts of property:

> criminals are depicted as rational, high status, middle aged white men driven by greed. If law enforcers are professional they are usually detectives; the law enforcer solves the crime through the exercise of remarkable personal skill and daring (Reiner 1985, p. 148).

Representation of crime, criminals and law enforcers in news was found to be remarkably similar to that depicted in fiction (Pandiani 1978; Garofalo 1981, pp. 325–7). Yet, the elements depicted are almost precise opposites to the pattern of real offending and policing. Reiner argues that the media is the basis for the myths surrounding law and order (Reiner 1985, p. 161). It is actually only a very small number of atypical, but prominent cases which have any resemblance to popular images (Lambourne 1984).

It is clear from all the evidence that the majority of police work consists of activities other than fighting crime:

> The historical and sociological evidence should have made clear that crime fighting has never been, is not, and could not be the prime activity of the police. To see it as such is a part of the mythology of media images and cop culture, but presents a stumbling-block to sensible discussion or policy-making. The core mandate of policing, historically and in terms of concrete demands placed upon the police, is the more diffuse one of order maintenance (Reiner 1985, p. 171).

Sandler and Mintz found that between 80 and 90 per cent of police work consists of service and peacekeeping functions (1974, pp. 458–63). Similarly Goldstein et al. (1977) found that 80 per cent of police time is devoted to the service aspects of policing. In a study of Queensland police it was found that 50 per cent of police tasks were human service, 20 per cent peacekeeping and 30 per cent law enforcement (Wilson 1987, pp. 99–104).

> Equating the police mission with their crime [fighting] function ignores .. . key realities (Robinson 1989, p. 173).

> If we are to restore any semblance of faith in the police by the public—and the police themselves—we must . . . [define] the police role very carefully so that it does not distort reality (McDowell 1975, p. 51).

It appears that police may be the victims of a social setting which clouds and confuses their role (Wettenhall 1970). Bayley's observation of police forces was that, 'most police forces in the world literally do not know what they are doing' (Bayley 1983b). Unfortunately, the crime fighting myth has been so powerful that most police forces have organised and orientated themselves almost exclusively around crime fighting, despite the

fact that crime fighting represents less than one-quarter of their total work. Since status and promotion within police forces is also strongly linked to successes in crime fighting, the assumption is further strengthened that it is the most important function, whilst:

> Skill in preventive work, excellence in community relations and the ability to sympathetically handle victims of crime is undervalued in police culture and unrecognised in police organisations (Jones 1980).

Acceptance by both public and police that crime fighting is the most important role of police is a stumbling block to any rational debate about policing. Too much emphasis on law enforcement and crime detection is also extremely expensive for police, the judicial system and ultimately the community. In any case, traditional methods of fighting crime are not particularly effective as will be shown.

Police Effectiveness in Crime Fighting

Research has shown that traditional police responses to improving police effectiveness in crime fighting are very limited. Several studies have shown that uniform patrol has no effect on crime. (Bright 1968; Schnelle et al. 1977, pp. 33–4; Kelling et al. 1978). Other studies show that increasing visible police presence in marked cars 'does not appear to have any effect on the crime rate . . . nor to reassure the citizenry about their safety' (Wilson 1975, pp. 96–7; Police Foundation 1981). Some of the reasons why police patrol in vehicles is not effective are that most offences occur away from public places, or in places least accessible to police intervention. Also, crimes which are committed in public are quick and without warning (Clarke & Hough 1984, pp. 6–7). In addition, most citizens are unable to tell whether police patrol has been increased or not so it does not affect their feelings of safety. The two studies (New York Police Department 1955; Chaiken et al. 1974) most often quoted in support of the effectiveness of patrol were subject to data rigging according to D.J. Farmer (1980).

Studies in both the United States and the United Kingdom have shown that even when four times the number of police are on patrol, they have no effect on the level of crime. Also, it appears that police staff levels have little effect. In London, a police division was staffed at full strength for a year with no better results than the undermanned divisions (Laurie 1972, p. 303). Decreasing police response times to crime has also been shown to be largely irrelevant to the apprehension of offenders. Rather, the time between commission of the offence and police receipt of the call appears to be the most critical factor (Ekblom & Heal 1982; Kansas City Missouri

Police Department 1978; Bieck & Kessler 1977). Other than for emergency calls, response time probably has less effect on public satisfaction with police than would a telephone call from police to notify of a delay in police attendance, or the behaviour of the officer when he or she attends the call.

Crime Statistics as a Measure of Effectiveness

Police have traditionally measured their effectiveness by the collection and analysis of statistical data in relation to the number of offences committed and the number of offenders per crimes obtained. At best, this gives an indication of police success (or otherwise) in approximately 20 per cent of their activities. Very little, if anything, is known of police success or effectiveness in the other 80 per cent of their work.

Perhaps because it is easy to count clearance rates (offenders for crimes) traffic figures, level of complaints against police and so on and to put them into neat tables, they have been clung to doggedly by police managers as indicators of police effectiveness. Whilst these types of figures can perhaps tell police what is happening—if the figures are genuinely accurate—they cannot tell police how *well* they are doing. For example, an increase in the rate of reported crime can as easily be interpreted as an indicator of increased police effectiveness as it can be of decreased police effectiveness (Grabosky 1988, p. 167).

> Increases in the incidence of reported crimes need not necessarily mean that police are less efficient. It could rather be the product of a harder working police organisation and a cooperative citizenry willing to report crime (Avery 1981, p. 84).

The reliance of police organisations on crime statistics as a measure of organisational effectiveness is faulty on several fronts. Crime statistics are mere social artefacts and only imperfectly represent reality. They may just as easily reflect a change in the recording methods of police or an administrative change. It must also be acknowledged that crime, in all its various forms, is influenced by a myriad of consequences outside police influence and are related more to societal influences. Depending on whom one speaks to, crime is caused by:

> The baby boom, permissive parents, brutal parents, incompetent schools, racial discrimination, lenient judges, the decline of organised religion, televised violence, drug addiction, unemployment or the capitalist system (Wilson & Herrnstein 1985, p. 25).

If police are to have an effect on the incidence of crime they perhaps need to address societal influences and the settings of crimes rather than focusing predominantly on individual crimes. Crime statistics also have a problem in that they 'only pertain to reported crime' (Pilla 1985, p. 51):

> [Crime statistics] do not necessarily demonstrate efficiency and effectiveness .. . there is the issue of the recurrent gap between reported and unreported crime demonstrated by groups including the ABS [Australian Bureau of Statistics (1986)] and by individual researchers (Minnery 1988; Lidgard 1989, p. 23).

A further problem associated with the assessment of police performance on the basis of statistics such as number of traffic tickets issued, arrests, convictions, security checks, and persons spoken to on a shift, is that it promotes abuses. In order to obtain recognition and promotion, police may feel compelled to distort their role so that they fulfil administrator's expectations, rather than in providing the kind of police performance the community wants and needs (Trojanowicz & Belknap 1986; Wilson & Herrnstein 1985).

It appears then, that not only is approximately 80 per cent of police work not reviewed or evaluated for its effectiveness, but the police work which is attempted to be measured in terms of effectiveness is very far from adequate and fundamentally faulty in many of its assumptions. This should be of concern to police managers who are trying to get the best value out of their contracting budgets. Police managers need to:

> make the effort to establish more detailed information about the nature of policing and how [it] might be even better organised in terms of effectiveness . . . All aspects of police work . . . have to be examined against the measures [of] what is intended; what is achieved and at what cost; and does it deliver what the community wants? . . . (Hurd 1988, p. 12).

Police exist, not only to uphold the laws of the state, but to address the many social problems and tensions in society. This huge undefined area of police operations is not generally legitimised or measured within police organisations. It makes sense for police to legitimise the service side of their work since it occupies so much of their time. A more accurate measure of police effectiveness needs to include the number and quality of informal police/citizen contacts, victim satisfaction levels, the extent to which joint police/community decision-making exists (Robinson 1989), and the extent to which community needs are being met. It also needs to include factors such as measures of the level of fear of crime, levels of

public satisfaction with police, ability of police to prevent crime, ability to address the causes of crime, public nuisance behaviour and so on. Glynn (1975) suggested that levels of community support and respect should be used as key elements in evaluating police efficiency and effectiveness. A variety of complimentary measurement techniques would give a truer and more accurate picture of police effectiveness.

> . . . the real issues of police effectiveness may not always lend themselves to statistical assessment, but it is still important to ask critical questions about what policing is achieving and whose interests it is serving (Glynn 1975, p. 29).

Police managers need to ask themselves if the traditional activities of policing are of more importance than the outcomes? The PCIP Out of Schools project, described in Chapter 3, illustrates the trap into which many police have fallen. In this project PCIP police developed regular contact with local 'troubled' youth. The project produced a better attitude towards police by many youth and resulted in several arrests for burglary. However, even with the accomplishment of crime fighting goals, local patrol police would not take over the liaison and regular visiting of the youths which was necessary for the project to continue. Instead of spending quiet patrol time talking with these youth, police drove around neighbourhoods on 'preventive patrol'. For patrol police, the activity of patrol appeared to be more important than the possible outcome of the activity. They were probably supported in their attitude by the expectations of their Supervising Sergeants who would have thought liaison with the local trouble-makers was 'soft' and bad for the image of police.

The Need for Change in Police Organisations

Over the last two decades a growing body of research has revealed some disturbing evidence which questions the effectiveness and efficiency of traditional policing methods.

It is probable that the traditional style of police organisations and their traditional activities have been developed as far as they can be in a democratic society. In the 1990s and beyond, police organisations will be facing a number of new and increasing pressures, both internal and external, most of which are due to changes in the needs and expectations of society. The question which must be asked and confronted is, are traditional police policies, practices and priorities and the present style of organisation and internal management of police, appropriate now? The traditional style of police organisation was perhaps appropriate prior to the 1960s when the community was relatively homogenous culturally and

racially and relatively stable socially. However, in the last three decades society has changed rapidly and is likely to continue to be in a state of constant change. Society now has a more highly educated and increasingly well informed population. It has strong civil liberties groups and other articulate minority groups, a large multicultural population, a policy of deinstitutionalisation and a policy of increasingly severe budget restraints on government departments, including the police. Police organisations are finding it increasingly difficult to meet growing public and government expectations that there be measurement of police effectiveness to justify expenditure. They are finding it difficult to provide a better educated police personnel with a satisfying work environment and are having difficulty in providing a police service which fulfils the public's needs, including the ability to respond easily and rapidly to social change.

In the past the usefulness of police activities in achieving their intended effects 'has been more or less taken for granted' (Weatheritt 1986, p. 10) Only relatively recently have decisions by police, about what are the 'right things' for them to do, been called into question. Assertions that:

> police need to guard their autonomy from the political process; that no-one who has not served in the organisation can really understand it; the police organisation does not need to justify itself, since its social value is self evident (Bracey 1988, p. 153),

and so on, have never before been seriously questioned. Such assertions have, in the past, given police a defence against outside scrutiny and a buttress against the possibility of change. Historically, police administration and methods of operation have been kept out of sight of any sort of external scrutiny short of a formal inquiry, however, secrecy as a reaction to external pressures from government and public is now far less likely to be tolerated. Similarly, lower ranking police are increasingly less likely to accept without question the decisions and orders of those of higher rank.

Demands for Increased Police Effectiveness

In the present climate of tight budgetary restraints, police are being forced to look more closely at the value of their practices. The former Federal Minister for Justice, Senator Michael Tate, expressed what is typical of present government sentiment:

> The modern climate of budgetary restraint has made it even more important that I, as Minister, am able to satisfy myself as to whether maximum value is being received for dollars spent and, if I am not satisfied, to take action to ensure that it is (Tate 1988, p. 6).

Similarly Joan Kirner, the former Victorian Premier, stated in a radio interview in 1990 that, 'The police, like any other organisation is going to have to do its share of rethinking how you deliver effective service with less money' (3AW Radio station, 29 August 1990). The current trend of government and public to demand value for money has put police under pressure to demonstrate efficiency and effectiveness. In trying to carry out what is termed 'program budgeting', police have come to the conclusion that it is a very difficult task. Police response to government pressure has been to focus almost exclusively on the cost and use of easily measurable inputs and an emphasis on proving and improving efficiency rather than ensuring effectiveness. Productivity tends to be measured in terms of how to reduce input costs and this definition of productivity is then equated with efficiency. Outputs, which would indicate efficiency, are rarely measured and little attention is given to whether policing efforts are, in fact, being focused in the right direction (*see* Collins 1985, pp. 70–6; Bradley, Walker & Wilkie 1986, p. 45; Morris & Heal 1981, pp. 5 & 15).

> police 'experts' have increasingly adopted a philosophy of professionalism based upon managerial efficiency, with the implied hope that advancing technology will somehow resolve their dilemma (Skolnick 1966, p. 243).

As Robinson says, 'we ought not to allow the facade of efficiency in policing to become a substitute for the more difficult task of measuring effectiveness' (1989, p. 178). Many police managers delude themselves into thinking that bigger and better technology will solve their problems:

> There are still police managers . . . who believe that, with the introduction of the latest version of computerised command and control, policing is on the verge of some great qualitative breakthrough. To that extent they are out of touch with reality (Hogg & Findlay 1988, p. 178).

Police managers are now using a system of management which involves strategic planning and the setting of goals. However, this has not meant that the old notions have been left behind. Despite attempts to change, police managers, particularly at station level, tend to be:

> concerned with operational competency, assertiveness (sometimes aggressiveness) in dealing with situations, people and issues and enjoying favour of subordinates. This militaristic style of management was appropriate in a police environment where the primary function was to deal with hardened criminal elements . . . [and] where police were not expected to deliver . . . service, or have any great degree of interaction with the community (Nixon 1988, p. 109).

In some cases management by objectives appears to be another name for what police colloquially call 'the numbers game' in which objectives are based on assumptions, and statistics are gathered and manipulated in the

belief that they will somehow show police productivity. Policing by objectives is meant to systematise all police work (*see* Lubans & Edgar 1979). Whilst it is possible to design research which can measure final outcomes, this can never form part of a routine evaluation of police work because most of the outcomes are subject to complex social processes of which police are only a small one. Rippy observes that:

> many aspects of policing can't be analysed in the language of objectives without a sense of strain . . . also it is often impossible to know the results of policing actions, so objectives can only be defined as discharging specified duties [or] of fulfilling an agreed policy (1990, p. 261).

Management by objectives cannot successfully measure police effectiveness. In modern management practices the dominant principle of organisations has, 'shifted from management in order to control an enterprise to leadership in order to bring out the best in people and to respond quickly to change' (Naisbitt & Aburdene 1990, p. 218). In many cases police have been responding to pressures from state governments who appear to base their requirements for police on ungrounded assumptions. For example, in 1988, at least two of the principal objectives for police service delivery in Victoria, outlined by the government, were based on myths about policing effectiveness (Bourne 1988). The first of these was to 'extend patrol activities to enhance the community feeling of safety and security.' Here the objective appears to be starting with the solution rather than the problem, and assuming patrol is the most efficient and effective way of achieving feelings of safety in the community. A second principle objective for police service was to minimise response times for urgent calls. As a measure of public satisfaction, this indicator is fraught with difficulties. There is the problem of defining 'urgent'. The police definition and the community's definition of what is, or is not, urgent may not be the same, and therefore public satisfaction cannot be guaranteed to be increased by reducing response times alone. As a strategy to apprehend offenders, minimum response times for police seem to be less important than a range of other factors such as time between the occurrence of the offence and time of calling police.

Skolnick and Bayley point out that in the majority of cases crimes are solved because:

> offenders are immediately apprehended or someone identifies them specifically—a name an address, a licence plate number. If neither of those things happens, the studies show, the chance that any crime will be solved fall to less than one in ten . . . Detectives are important for the prosecution of identified perpetrators and not for finding unknown offenders (1986, p. 5).

This might explain why increased resources do not necessarily correspond to higher clearance rates. What appears to be the more crucial factor in identifying offenders is the willingness of members of the public to report crimes they have knowledge of and the accuracy of the information they pass on to police. A more effective method of deploying resources to achieve the goal of improving crime clearance rates (offenders for crimes) therefore, would seem to be that of police developing and enhancing strategies to improve community cooperation and the ability of police to retain and use the information passed to them. Perhaps there are other more effective ways of increasing the chance of apprehending the offender or of increasing public satisfaction with police. These need to be looked at prior to making a decision on how police resources should be deployed.

Lidgard (1989) has pointed out that police organisations tend to be 'product-orientated' instead of being 'customer-orientated'. Police make police 'products' which are easy to produce—and assess—and then try at considerable expense (via public relations departments and so on), to sell them. '[Police] think of . . . the public as existing to "buy" their output—rather than the [police organisation] existing to serve customers.' Lidgard argues that the customer should be given what they need, rather than being made to accept what is produced. Having defined themselves as crime fighters, police tend to interpret the 'outside world' in terms of fighting crime, irregardless of other possible interpretations of their role. The organisation by its very structure, 'maintains dominant control over demand and structures it to suit the organisation' (Reiss & Bordua 1967, p. 101). Whilst the external environment may have initially influenced the formation of policing culture, the shared internal assumptions within the police have then had the tendency to influence what is defined and perceived as the external environment (Schein 1986, p. 43).

Traditional Police Organisation and Police Personnel

Police organisations have been variously described as 'militaristic' (Lea & Young 1984); 'pre-emptive' and 'fire brigade' (Baldwin & Kinsey 1982); 'coercive' (Christian 1983); and 'authoritarian' (Hall et al. 1978). Policing in Australia (with the exception of remote country areas) tends to be organised around rapid response to calls accomplished via telephone, radio, computer technology, centralised control and a spread of patrol cars in expectation of calls. The internal structure of the policing organisation is bureaucratic and based on 'command and control' style management. As Warren Bennis points out, the bureaucratic organisational structure has some severe limitations:

- It does not adequately allow for the personal growth and development of mature personalities.
- It develops conformity and 'group think'.
- It does not take account of the existing informal culture within the organisation.
- It has difficulty coping with emergent and unanticipated problems.
- Its systems of control and authority are hopelessly outdated.
- It does not possess adequate means for resolving differences and conflicts between ranks, and most particularly, between functional groups.
- Communication and innovative ideas are thwarted or distorted due to hierarchical division (Bennis 1965, p. 32).

Bureaucracies tend to cherish form rather than content and place, 'priority on doing things right instead of getting the right things done' (Rippy 1990, p. 137). The discrepancy between procedural obligations and work realities produces many subtle costs to the organisation. Individual discretion is driven underground; creative/productive adaptations go unrecognised and unrewarded; the organisation fails to tap the potential abilities of its personnel; the ethos of 'stay out of trouble' stifles officers who are otherwise resourceful and assists officers who merely sit in their positions; and finally it helps foster a police culture characterised by suspiciousness, perceptions of great danger, isolation from citizens and internal solidarity (Kelling et al. 1988, p. 3).

The main feature of traditional police management, particularly at operational level, appears to be discipline. Fear is generally the most used 'motivational' tool in policing at all levels, but particularly at operational level (Kelling et al 1988, p. 3). This involves fear of a poor rating, fear of 'counselling' sessions with the officer in charge, fear of not having enough crime and traffic figures to please the supervisor and so on. Within the police organisation there is, 'a chronic fear of the risk-taking which is so essential to good management . . . members anticipate a lack of support for any risks they do take' (Sandler & Mintz 1974, p. 459). A junior Constable from PCIP described the debilitating effect of police station management:

> The rank structure and the station management processes of operational work meant that constables, in particular, were not able to express much individuality

> and initiative . . . operational work . . . stripped my self confidence and creativity (Frankston PCIP 1981e).

It is little wonder that police suffer from stress and low morale when they are regarded as 'god on the street' (Lidgard 1989), but where station management treats them like wayward children. A 1989 study of police resignations found that dissatisfaction with police management was the most cited reason for resigning amongst Victoria Police resignees (Hendry & James 1989, p. 52). This finding is supported by an earlier study which found that one of the negative influences most consistently cited by ex-police members in Victoria was that of, 'perceived lack of support from management and administration levels towards the junior ranks' (Research and Development Department 1988, p. vii).

The greatest resource the police organisation has is its personnel:

> productivity is about people. It is about the goals they are pursuing and how they pursue them. It is about conviction, team-work, morale, motivation . . . Management which fails to recognise that type of people organisation inevitably fails to maximise an organisation's productivity (Short 1981, p. 14).

Demands for Increased Police Accountability

'Accountability', like community, is in need of definition since it means different things to different people. Day and Klein's description is useful in pinning down the author's intended meaning of accountability:

> Accountability comprises an agreement about what constitutes effective performance by a particular person or body. There must be a common language of justification and explanation, sufficient control to demand the giving of accounts and sufficient control to demand change if the account does not satisfy (cited in Shapland & Vagg 1988, p. 190).

Accountability at a local level should not be seen by police as a burden but, 'as the only way in which they will be able, as most of them no doubt wish, to police with the consent of the community' (Gillford 1986, p. 110). Lord Scarman, in his report on the Brixton disorders stated that, whilst the police must exercise independent judgment and need to remain independent, they must nevertheless be accountable to the public for their actions since they were, in effect, servants of the community (Scarman 1982, p. 63). Police forces tend to resist taking responsibility for crime and public disorder by saying they are the consequences of long-term social forces which are, therefore, a community problem. By holding this view police then need only think of their managerial processes and about putting in the right resources. They do not need to think about outputs and outcomes (Shapland & Vagg 1988, p. 190). If police organisations

considered problem solving as a response to law and order problems, which was as equally legitimate as reactive responses, and had a participative style of management, police could be far more responsive to local community needs and be more locally accountable. Reiner (1985) points out that, whilst police must be accountable, they must be allowed to be actively responsible for ensuring correct performance themselves, rather than having it imposed on them from some external regulatory board, 'formal accountability is not the crucial issue, and struggles over nominal policy control which alienate the police may well be counter-productive' (Reiner 1985, p. 108). Accountability to a community is not dependant on particular mechanisms but rather on the spirit activating the system as a whole (Bayley 1983b, p. 149).

The way forward for police organisations lies, not in the adoption of a few community policing programs and in the introduction of more expensive and elaborate systems and equipment, but rather in the adoption of an holistic approach to community policing (that is, a problem-solving approach to work coupled with a participative management style and an organisational structure which tangibly rewards excellence in service, management and problem solving). This type of approach would involve the development of the greatest resource police have—personnel—and would give far more scope to police in the pursuit of organisational goals. Crime prevention and order maintenance need to be given priority over crime fighting—in practice as well as in rhetoric. Policing needs to be organised in such a way that it can be flexible enough, from the local level up, to provide a variety of different approaches to crime and public order problems in order to accommodate and reflect what local communities want and need.

A Change to Community Policing

If the community is to accept greater responsibility and involvement in crime prevention, why should it accept and be content with a situation where most of the major decisions are made by police? (Cameron & Young 1986, p. 190). Cameron and Young say police have avoided this difficulty by liaising largely with white, middle-class groups whose views of crime and its treatment are similar to those of the police. With Australia's policy of multi-culturalism, it seems certain that the difficulty will soon have to be faced. If community policing is to be the way of the future, appropriate avenues for local accountability must be developed. When Victoria's Police Community Involvement Program (PCIP) was established in 1981, there were real fears, expressed by police at all levels, that such a program might open up the Force and give away police

control. That attitude has virtually disappeared now because the fears were never realised.

> Community involvement in the policy and operations of policing is perfectly feasible without undermining the independence of the police or destroying the secrecy of those operations against crime which have to be kept secret (Scarman 1982, p. 93).

Problem-orientated policing, complemented by participative management (both described below) most closely represents what was meant, in practical terms, by the expression 'community policing' as it applied to Victoria's PCIP of the early 1980s.

Problem-Orientated Policing

In problem-orientated policing, operational police are given the time and opportunity to think about what they are doing instead of merely going from one job to another. Police Commissioner Francis Roache is quoted as saying:

> In Boston we run from one call to another. We don't accomplish anything. We're just running all over the place. It's absolutely insane (Kelling 1988, p. 4).

In problem-orientated policing, all operational police would be trained, encouraged and supported in organising resources within the community and within the police force, if appropriate, to resolve problems and meet community needs and expectations. In a study of calls to one United States police department, for example, it was found that 60 per cent of operational police work came from only 10 per cent of the addresses calling for assistance. The same addresses were being visited over and over by police. A more effective way of dealing with these calls would obviously be to work on ways to resolve the problems associated with the calls rather than merely react to each incident as it arose (Kelling 1988, p. 3).

The literature provides many ideas about how problem-orientated policing could be initiated, some of which closely parallel the practices of PCIP. One example is the suggestion that territorial responsibility of operational police be changed from the time-span of a shift to a geographical area. Whilst the 24-hour demand on a police service necessitates other police answering calls to an individual officer's geographical area, the operational police officer assigned the area will know they have principle responsibility. This forces the officer to be concerned with long-term problems, of which the incidents occurring there are probably only symptoms (Kelling 1988, p. 3). Supervising Sergeants would oversee the activities of police members and provide

advice and assistance to them where required. Having identified an area of concern in his or her personal 'District', operational police would liaise with the community to establish their needs and opinions and to seek out possible resources for the design and implementation of small-scale, local projects which will be designed specifically to suit local conditions and local community needs. Individual police would operate on a decentralised basis with emphasis on regular contacts with citizens (Kelling 1988, p. 4). This type of work structure and management practice has the potential to greatly enhance the ability of police to be truly in tune with, and responsive to, the various and diverse wants and needs within the community. The added advantage is the potential of police to be far more accountable to the public locally and ultimately centrally. 'The understanding between police and community, more or less explicit, establishes a mutual accountability' (Kelling, Wasserman & Williams 1988, p. 4).

It is important that solutions to identified problems do not come from preconceived programs but rather emerge from a study of the problem itself. Solutions to problems must emerge from:

> A rigorous evaluation of community crime problems; a re-examination of the locus of responsibility for specific crime problems; and a broad search for alternative solutions (Engstad & Evans 1980).

Unless this is done there is the danger of solutions and programs being ineffectual and 'faddish', giving the appearance of being effective when in fact they may not be. Solutions must not be simply the application of programs which are convenient for police to provide—they must be individually tailored around local community needs. Procedures to systematically monitor and evaluate the programs implemented must be incorporated in the *planning* of programs so that it becomes a matter of routine for participants (not necessarily police) to periodically review the programs and strategies for efficiency and effectiveness. PCIP showed that this strategy is a workable one, as seen in the descriptions of some of the projects developed by PCIP and the local community.

Participative Management

Problem-orientated policing requires personnel to take management risks. In the present style of police organisation, personnel are not prepared to take risks because of the perception of no support, or of actual sanctions. To be more productive and effective, operational police need to be encouraged to think laterally and imaginatively in seeking solutions to local crime and disorder problems. Mistakes made in good faith need to be responded to with additional guidance or training, with reprimands and punishment kept for the officer who acts in an irresponsible or

incompetent manner (Sparrow 1988). For problem-orientated policing to succeed, administration and leadership needs to be value-based rather than focused on detailed instructions (Sparrow 1988). Police instructions are designed to prescribe police action in every eventuality, but their effect is to push underground the initiative of police and to encourage the unproductive police philosophy of 'just stay out of trouble'.

Participative management assumes workers care about the substance of their work and it recognises the importance of informal leadership, resourcefulness and peer influence and uses them on behalf of the force mission. Management, supervision, promotion and training structures within the force would need to be changed to reflect the new management approach:

> The style of present and prospective police managers is a key part of an effective service organisation. The creation and encouragement of effective role models, with customer-orientated and community-based outlooks is a critical requirement if the style of the organisation is to change (Nixon 1988, p. 110).

Frankston PCIP provides an illustration of how such management practices support a problem-orientated approach to policing. Participative management has been in the private sector for some time. It is generally defined as:

> a method of improving services by utilizing the abilities, experience, and talents of *all* personnel .. . by soliciting their inputs and permitting decision-making at the lowest possible level (Sandler & Mintz 1974, p. 462).

Participative management actively involves rank and file police in the formulation of short- and long-term objectives, in setting priorities and developing strategies, as well as the implementation of them. What it means is that thousands of brains are working on problems instead of a few managers doing the thinking with the rest carrying out their ideas. At Frankston PCIP the rank structure was not used to wield authority, instead the group as a whole was responsible for 'supervising' individuals and their work. All individuals in the group were responsible for the identification of weaknesses, either in the system or with personnel, and all had input into providing advice, direction and correction, and in training or arranging training for those who wanted or needed it. There were no major problems with this approach. Personal development to improve job performance became a tangible, sought after and achievable goal. Police helped and supported each other to achieve personal development since it not only improved individuals but the performance of the whole unit.

Participative management clearly had an impact on morale. Features within the management of PCIP which were identified as increasing morale included: the ability to freely exchange ideas between staff; the allowance

of self-expression; a perception that all staff shared the same beliefs and objectives; ability to take part in the decision-making processes; perceptions of support from the public, local council and police hierarchy; and perceptions that the aims and objectives set were achievable. As a result of working at PCIP, where police were able to work towards solving problems under a participative management style, police came to realise that the traditional policing style had some serious shortcomings. PCIP police were expected to be innovative and to show initiative and creativity in their approach to their work. They were also expected to participate actively in the formulation of plans and in making decisions. Traditional police management was seen as totally inappropriate for the encouragement of these qualities.

Traditionally structured police organisations cannot successfully cope with rapid social and technological change nor meet greater demands by the public for local police accountability and demands for greater participation in policing by the public. It will also be increasingly difficult for traditionally structured and orientated police organisations to retain well-educated personnel who want a rewarding career. Police organisations need to critically and objectively examine their present management style policies, priorities and practices, particularly in light of *outcomes* for money spent.

Police are now much more relaxed in their interactions with members of the public. However, back in the early 1980s an effort had to be made at the PCIP training course, run immediately prior to the establishment of the pilot program, to teach PCIP police a different work style and method of interaction with each other, and with members of the public. As an example, there was a separate session in the PCIP training about how to address others. Police in Victoria, and probably in most other police forces in the early 1980s, introduced themselves to members of the public, and to police junior to themselves by stating their rank and surname; for example, Sergeant Smith or Senior Detective Jones. PCIP police had to be taught it was all right to introduce themselves to members of the public by using their given name, for example to say, 'my name is Janice Smith' or 'my name is Constable Janice Smith'. Even this seemingly trivial matter was seen by some police as being 'an erosion' of internal discipline and a weakening of the necessary social distance traditionally adopted when dealing with members of the public. These days such an issue is almost laughable, but it helps to illustrate how far policing has come and that, contrary to what many believed at the time, such changes do not undermine the organisation.

Planning for Change

The nature of the old, inherited police bureaucracy blocked attempts to make organisational change in the past. This is slowly changing. Officers in top management positions had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo in the organisation since they reached the top through the old system and their past contributed to the problem which now has to be changed (Rippy 1990, p. 136).

> If a company [police force] has had a long history of success with certain assumptions about itself and the environment, it is unlikely to want to challenge or re-examine those assumptions. Even if the assumptions are brought to consciousness, the members of the [organisation] want to hold on to them because they justify the past and are a source of their pride and self-esteem (Schein 1986, p. 292).

Two common attitudes of managers of bureaucratic organisations are complacency and pessimism which leads them to either deny the need for change or to deny the possibility of improvement. The attitude of complacency in many police managers is expressed by the philosophy of, 'whatever else is happening, however poor anything else is, we at least are doing the very best we possibly can'. The other common attitude is that of pessimism, 'whatever we do things cannot improve, we are the helpless prisoners of forces beyond our control' (Bradley 1988, p. 177). Both these attitudes provide a distorted view of the world and encourage a form of self-deceit which rationalises inaction.

> We are well aware that all blue prints for anything other than what already exists can be labelled utopian, and a thousand and one rationalizations produced by people with 'experience' as to why such proposals are unworkable .. . What is most definitely utopian is the expectation that current policies will lead to anything other than a worsening situation (Kinsey, Lea & Young 1986, p. 181).

Police attitudes and expectations should not in themselves be reasons for avoiding change. 'If community policing is to be taken seriously then questions about police policy and structure and accountability and community penetration by police must be taken seriously' (Cameron & Young 1986, p. 193).

> As long as the traditional police culture and organisation remains, community policing will simply be a name for a change in policing strategies to gain unpaid helpers and a target for scapegoating for the eventual failure to control crime (O'Connor 1988, p. 55).

Implementation of community policing, customer service and community psychology strategies require a major shift in the police psyche and management style for them to be successful.

For change to succeed personnel need to be convinced that they have more to gain personally from the new system than they have from the old. They need to be made to feel dissatisfied with the old ways of doing things. Desired behaviour needs to be rewarded within the organisation and constantly reinforced by positive feedback. A model of the new way must be demonstrated so that members can see what it looks like. Police leaders needs to create a vision of the new way of policing which is inspirational and be truly committed to it—in both words and actions (Rippy 1990, p. 138).

Personnel reaction to organisational change can be anticipated and therefore strategies to meet these reactions can be put in place. Rippy likens the personnel reaction to major change to that of the reaction of a patient to news that they are terminally ill. There is firstly denial, then anger, negotiation, depression and acceptance (Rippy 1990, p. 136). Because of these reactions, 'the police chief faces no greater political challenge than when he [sic] acts as an implementor of change' (Rippy 1990, p. 136). Plans to meet these reactions of personnel to change could include, in the case of denial, programs of education for employees about the meaning of the change: for anger, constant communication and for fear, answering questions and concerns honestly. At the negotiation stage employees need to participate in the change process and in the making of decisions. To counteract personnel depression employees need to be empowered through participation in the change process so they feel a sense of ownership, which will ultimately lead to commitment, which will lead to acceptance.

Holistic Community Policing

The establishment of separate community policing units like PCIP, with its resultant spin-off effects within the community and within the police organisation, mark what could be considered the first phase in the establishment of community policing within police organisations. In Victoria's case this covers more than a decade from 1980, when it was first planned, to the present. The concept of community involvement in crime prevention, together with a more relaxed attitude to personnel management, is now more comfortably accepted by the majority of police. In the first phase projects were successfully developed and implemented, demonstrating strong community support.

The second phase involves the development of management and work processes at operational level which allow operational police to identify local problems and to plan and carry out solutions with the community.

The experience of PCIP taught police many valuable lessons about how to successfully approach and achieve the task of problem solving. It also has provided a model to show the management context in which such an approach can succeed in practice. In the second phase of community policing this knowledge needs to be allowed to be put into practice at the operational level. It is at the operational level that police have greatest knowledge of the law and order problems in their own local areas and where interaction with local people is greatest. New management styles must be practice-led during the evolution of problem-orientation and customer service in police service delivery. Another ten years may be needed before problem-solving orientation of operational police becomes truly routine.

The third and (perhaps) final phase in community policing will involve some fairly major changes in Force organisation and culture, the ground work of which would have been done in phase two. For instance the 'Command and Control' structure of policing would need to be replaced with participative managerial approaches which could effectively and more efficiently support a problem-orientated policing style. The traditional Command and Control style of police management must eventually become obsolete except in specific police operations such as demonstrations, because there is mounting evidence that it is inappropriate to the majority of police work. By necessity, true change (that is change which will not be transitory) must be slow.

In a small organisation changes can be implemented quickly, but in a large organisation with strong traditions this cannot be a realistic expectation. Just as an ocean liner can only turn slowly in comparison to a smaller vessel, so police organisations turn slowly in comparison to smaller organisations. To turn an ocean liner, however, the rudder must *be* turned and then held firm. That means there must be real organisational commitment and willpower to hold the rudder of change firm, despite the inevitable storms, so that progressive police forces (like Victoria Police) can head confidently towards the challenges of the new century.

Conclusion

Policing in Australia has come a long way over the previous ten years, and change is continuing to happen. Change means new opportunities and greater scope for creative thinking about how things are done. To continue to be successful in the future, police organisations must look objectively and critically at their own organisational and management structure and have the courage to change it to better suit changing community and policing needs. Community policing by whatever name—customer

service, problem orientation, community development—does not mean changing the work of police. Rather it is a way of giving structure and status to the service and order side of police work which comprises so much of total police work.

PCIP's orientation and philosophy of community consultation and local accountability is important, but more important perhaps is the organisational structure which allowed this orientation to be achieved in real terms. PCIP represents a model of community policing which provides valuable lessons for the future of policing. Its internal practices and organisational structure provide a useful model for future considerations of the implementation and integration of community policing into operational policing. Ultimately, the way to encourage all police to wholeheartedly accept and adopt community policing as intrinsic to their working style and overall policing philosophy, is to alter the organisation of management to one which supports and encourages them.

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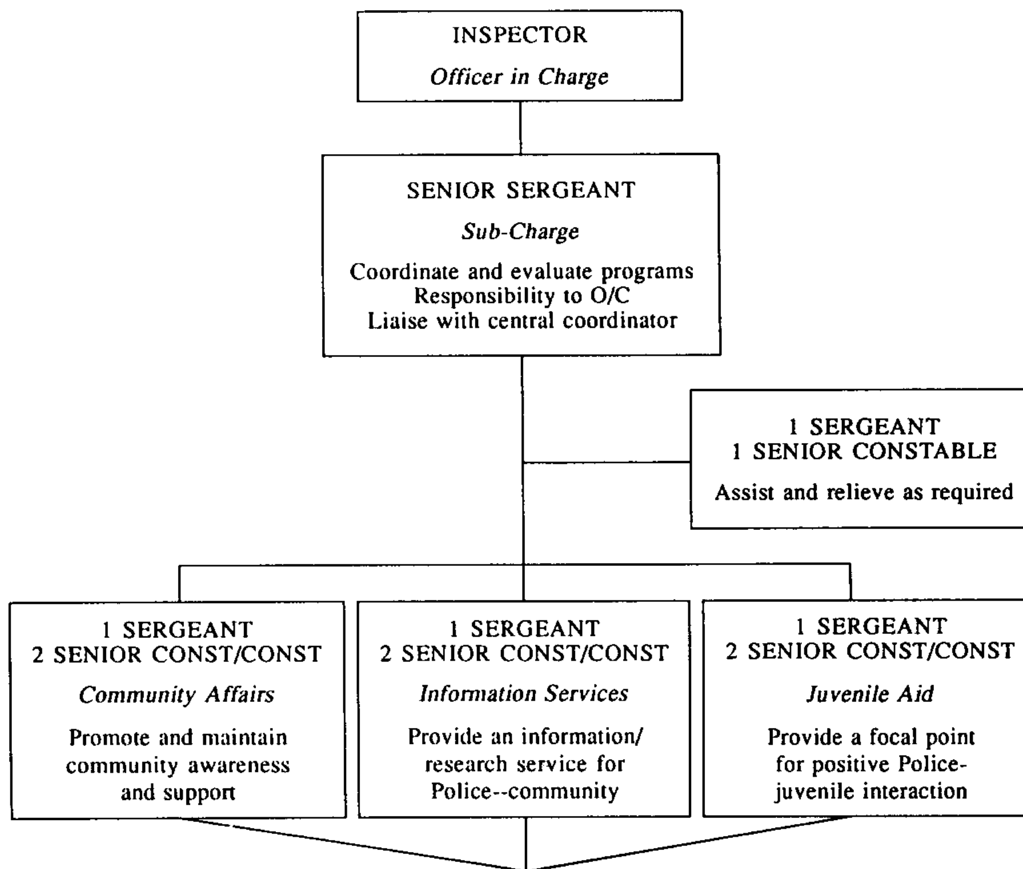
Appendix A

PCIP INTERNAL ORGANISATION (FIRST SEVEN MONTHS)

Police-Community Involvement Program
Staff and Function Concepts—District Level



Promote the objectives of the Police Community Involvement Program within specified areas of responsibility, and as a group, by:

* communication with Police, government agencies, voluntary organisations and others;
* the development of programs to meet specific needs; and
* obtaining and analysing 'feedback' from Police and the community.

Appendix B

PCIP Contact Information

(Final version 1982)

PROJECT CODE ☐☐ NO. ☐☐☐

TIME OF CONTACT	7–3 (1)	3–11 (2)	11–7 (3)			☐
DATE OF CONTACT					Month:	☐☐
METHOD OF CONTACT	Personal (1) Correspondence (3)		Telephone (2) Other (4)			☐
NAME OF CONTACT					Phone:	
ADDRESS OF CONTACT					District & Division	☐☐☐
ORGANISATION CONTACT REPRESENTS	Police Govt Agency Local Govt Voluntary Agency	(1) (2) (3) (4)	Business Individual School Other	(5) (6) (7) (8)	_________ _________ _________ _________	☐
STATUS OF CONTACT eg PRESIDENT	Give Title:					

<table>
<tr><td>WHO WAS THE CONTACT REFERRED BY?</td><td>If possible, give name:
New Contact PCIP gen. (1)
Prior Contact PCIP (2)
Police (3)
Government Agency (4)
Local Government (5)</td><td>
Voluntary Agency (6)
Business (7)
Self-motivated (8)
Schools (9)
Media (10)
Other (11)</td><td>☐</td></tr>
<tr><td>REASON FOR THE CONTACT</td><td>Request for information
Providing information
Request for a service
Providing a service
Other</td><td>– from PCIP (1)
– from contact (2)
– to PCIP (3)
– to the contact (4)
– from PCIP (5)
– from the contact (6)
– to PCIP (7)
– to the contact (8)
(9)</td><td>☐</td></tr>
<tr><td>PROJECT NAME</td><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>MEMBER TAKING OR MAKING THE CONTACT</td><td colspan="3">Name:</td></tr>
<tr><td>SUBJECT MATTER OF THIS CONTACT (Tick more than one box if necessary)</td><td colspan="3">____
____
____
Information not relevant to project ☐
Exposes a new area of concern ☐
Resources required ☐
Resources offered to PCIP ☐
A problem exposed or encountered ☐
Evidence of achievement ☐
Feedback from program recipients and partakers ☐
Statistical or countable data ☐</td></tr>
</table>

Final Version 1982 - back page

ADMINISTRATIVE USE ONLY:

Date entered in the Contact Book	Date: ____/____/____
Referred to the appropriate member	Referred / Not Referred Member's Name: ______________________ District: ______________________
Status of Contact	Official (1) Individual (3) Member (2) Other (4)

RECORD YOUR DECISION MAKING PROCESS	Consider:

— If there is a need for some action or plan
— If the information is valid to PCIP objectives
— Does it expose a new area of concern or importance
— Prioritise the areas of concern, if more than one
— Consultation about resources, planning and justification of decisions
— Need for further consultation?

____
____
____
____
____
____
______
____
____
____

FINAL OUTCOME:

COSTS: Man-Hours (Planning) _________ Man-Hours (Implementation) _________

Resources (Equipment, Literature, Number Of Personnel And From What Part Of The Force)

____

Any Other Costs: ____

PCIP CONTACT INFORMATION

(Second Version: used September 1981-January 1982)

Colour Code ☐ No. ☐☐☐☐

Time and Date	Office Use ☐☐
Method of Contact	Personal / Telephone / Correspondence / Other ☐
Name of Contact	Phone No.
Address	☐
Organisation Contact Represents	☐
Status of Contact	☐
Referred by	☐
Reason for Contact	☐
Relevant Comments made by Contact	☐
Team Member Contacted	☐
Does Contact Relate to Existing Project?	If so, state project: ☐
Team Members' Comments	☐
O/C's Recommendation	☐

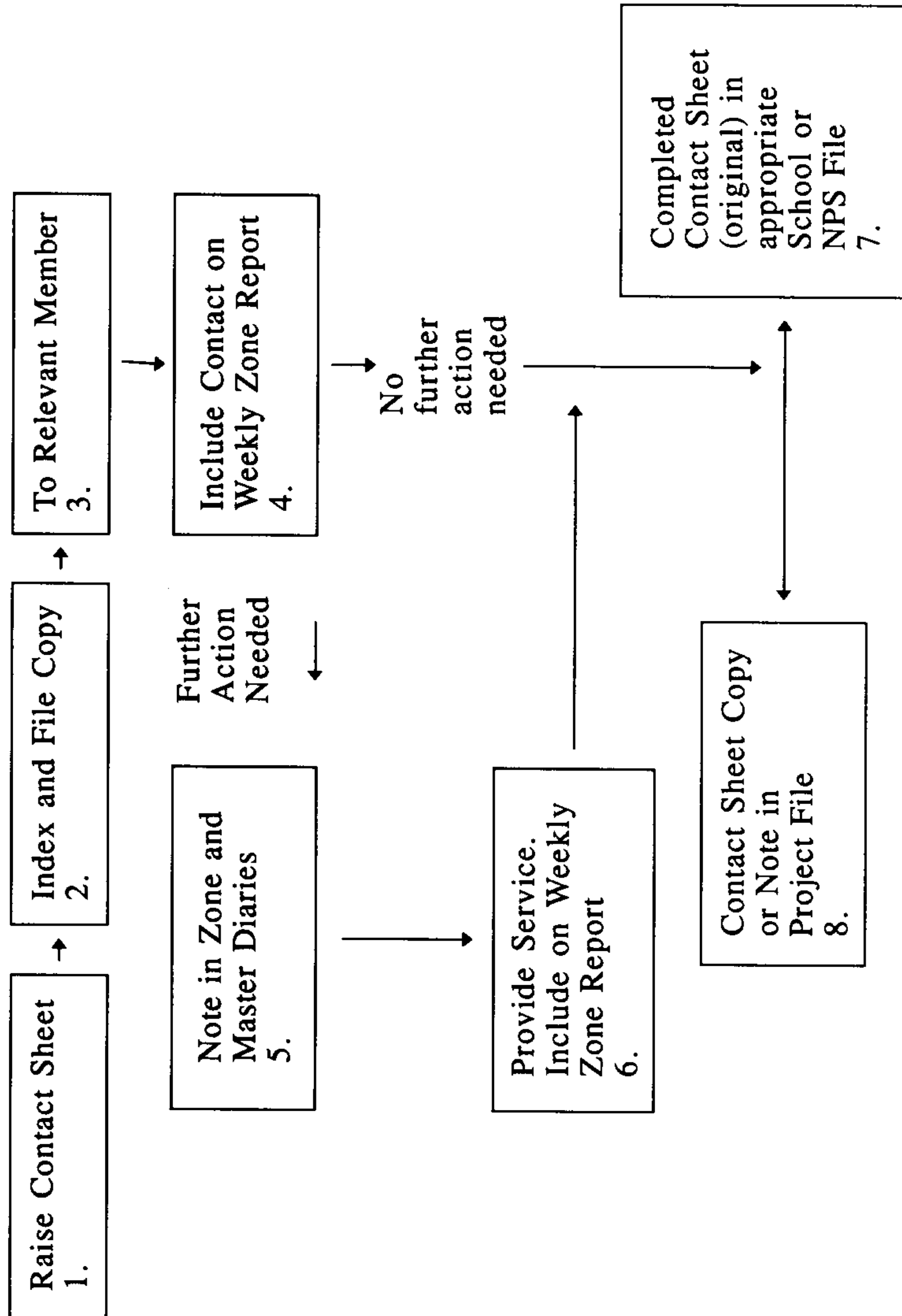
PCIP Contact Sheet

(First Version: Used February 1981-August 1981)

Time & Date	
Name of Contact	
Organisation	
Address	
Position Held	
Member	
Reason for Contact	
Comments Referred by	
Comments made by Contact	
Member's opinion Comments, etc.	

Appendix C

PCIP Information Flow Chart 1981



Appendix D

PCIP PROJECT REPORT SHEET

Week No. ___________
Project No. ___________
Phase No. ___________
Date / /

Group ___________

TITLE (static)	
OBJECTIVE (ultimate)	
OBJECTIVE (weekly) from previous future projection	
PURPOSE (to suit the weekly objective)	
STEPS (to be used in order to achieve weekly objective)	USE REAR OF SHEET ON COMPLETION OF PROGRAM

PROGRESS (What has been done towards achieving weekly objective)	
FUTURE WEEKLY OBJECTIVE (to form weekly objective for next week)	

Appendix E

PCIP PILOT PROJECT
WORKLOAD CHART

Group	Project	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Administration Insp. Barb OLDFIELD S/Sgt Dave BLIZZARD Sgt Steve DE GELTER P/W Const Karen DACEY	Office Systems		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Aussi Swim		–	—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	In Training					—	—	—	—	→			
	Portsea Lord Major's Camp Appraisal								—	→			
	Special Projects												
	Juvenile Alcohol Appraisal	–	—	–|									
	Honorary Probation Officers		–	—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Peninsula Foreshore Holiday			–	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Operation Argus					–	—	—	—	–|			
	Domestic Violence					—	—	—	—	→			
	Services: 23 to 14/9												

Group	Project	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Community Affairs Sgt Bill WARNER Const Peter PETROVICH P/W Const Lesley NIXON	Seaford Safety House Scheme		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Chelsea Heights Safety House Scheme		–	—	—	—	—	–|					
	Safety House Committee			—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Senior Citizens Education												
	Anti-Shop Steal Appraisal				—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Drug Appraisal				–	—	—	—	—	→			
	Overport Primary Safety House Scheme							—	—	→			
	Services: 30 to 14/9												

J F M A M J J A S O N D

		J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Information Services	Off Road Motorcycle Appraisal		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
Sgt Doug STONE	Bicycle Identification			–	—	—	—	—	—	→			
S/Const Chris COSTER	Media		–	—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Office Systems/ Resources			–	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Collators Sheet				–	—	—	—	—	→			
	Traffic Wardens					–	—	—	|				
	Education Appraisal												
	Research		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Community Profile			—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Contact Sheets				—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Services: 13 to 14/9												

		J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Youth Affairs	Frankston Schools Appraisal		—	–|									
Sgt Bernie HUTCHINS	Bike Education			—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
Const Wayne CHURCHILL	Education Program for Unemployed Youth		–	—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
P/W Const Barb BRAND	Police and You			–	—	—	—	—	—	→			
P/W Const Glen ZIMMER	Glenda Warburton	–	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Primary Schools												
	YMCA Outreach Youth			–	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	May Holidays			–	—	–|							
	Pre-Schools					—	—	—	—	→			
	Youth Recreation Appraisal		–	—	—	—	—	—	—	→			
	Human Relations					—	—	—	—	→			
	St Augustines School Crossing Supervisor			–	—	—	–|						
	September Holidays				—	—	—	—	—	–|			
	Kops and Kids					—	—	—	—	→			
	Services: 66 to 14/9												

APPROXIMATE STAGES 30/9/81

Appendix F

Summary of Factors Influencing Motivation and Morale, Identified by PCIP Staff

Positive Management Factors Present at PCIP

1. Democratic working environment.
2. The ability to freely exchange ideas between staff.
3. The allowance of self-expression.
4. A perception that all staff members at PCIP have the same beliefs and objectives.
5. Ability for the staff to use their own initiative.
6. Perceptions of not being constrained by 'orders'.
7. Working environment excellent and PCIP staff enthusiasm infectious.
8. Initial training increased staff excitement.
9. Ability to take part in the decision-making processes of the PCIP.
10. Authority not linked to the rank structure in PCIP.
11. Ability of staff to organise their own shifts.
12. All staff of all ranks did field work.
13. Pride in developing a new concept.
14. Perceptions that the aims and objectives set are achievable.
15. Pride in getting results.
16. Perceptions that the PCIP work and internal organisation was the way policing would be in the future.
17. Perceptions of support from the public, local council and police hierarchy.

Negative Management Factors Present at PCIP

1. The necessity to document projects.

Positive effect of the nature of PCIP work

1. Perceptions that PCIP had the ability to change police attitudes.
2. Perception of being able to regain community support.
3. Perception that PCIP could rectify public misconceptions about police and their work.
4. Perceptions of positive public reactions to PCIP and its staff.
5. A chance to work with the community.
6. The ability to meet people in a relaxed way.
7. The ability to share the responsibility for law and order with the public.
8. Perceptions of being able to explore the reasons for crimes being committed.
9. Perceptions that PCIP will improve the police and public relationship.
10. Perceptions that PCIP will be 'instrumental' introducing crime.
11. A chance for some staff to do the sorts of things they could only previously do whilst 'off-duty'.

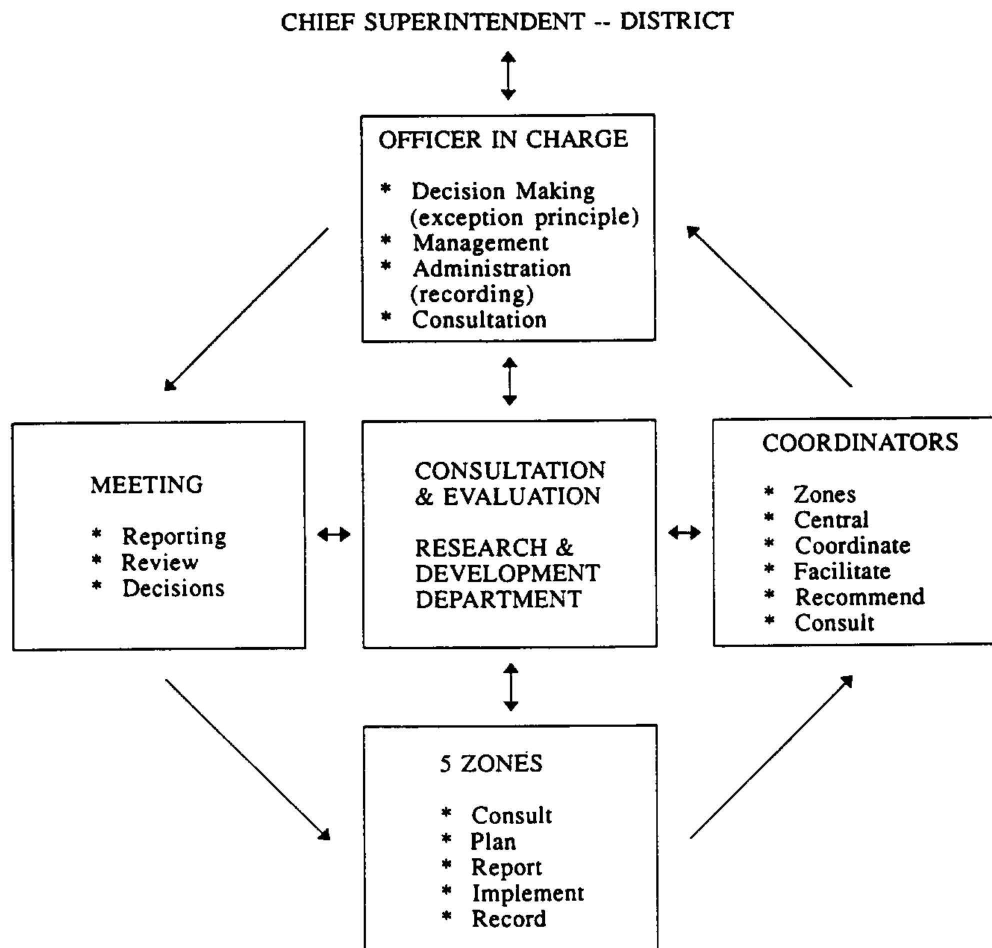
Other Negative Factors Identified

1. Realisation that there are serious flaws with conventional policing.
2. Realisation that the public is ignorant of the 'true' role of police.
3. Identification of the generally poor attitude police have towards the public.
4. Disillusionment of PCIP staff with conventional police work.
5. Perception that community policing is not apriority of the police organisation.

6. Perception that there is a total segregation of public and police.
7. Perceptions that the public have a distorted view of police work.
8. Perceptions that most police have a cynical view of their work.
9. Identification that the rank structure suppresses the initiative of constables.
10. Identification that there is very little police contact with law-abiding citizens.
11. Identification that police function in isolation from other organisations and the general public.

Appendix G

PCIP PILOT PROJECT ORGANISATION CHART



Appendix H

PCIP Pilot Project Operational Zones

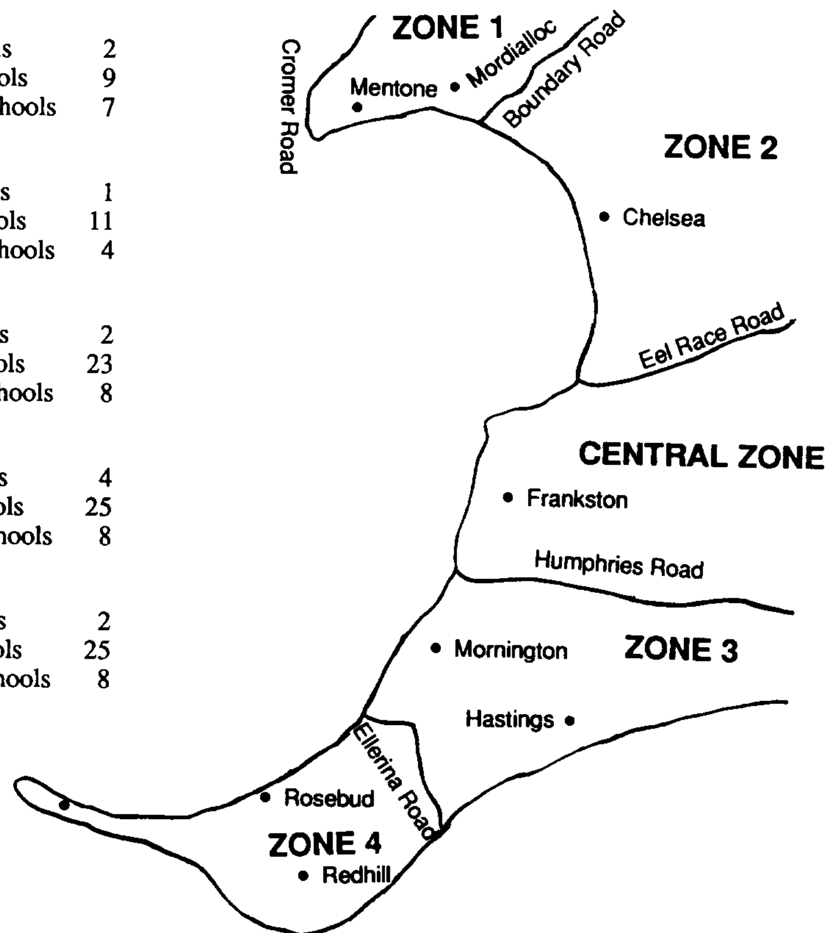
Zone 1	
Police Stations	2
Primary Schools	9
Secondary Schools	7

Zone 2	
Police Stations	1
Primary Schools	11
Secondary Schools	4

Zone 3	
Police Stations	2
Primary Schools	23
Secondary Schools	8

Zone 4	
Police Stations	4
Primary Schools	25
Secondary Schools	8

Central	
Police Stations	2
Primary Schools	25
Secondary Schools	8



Police Stations	11
Primary Schools	93
Secondary Schools	35
Total Schools	128

Appendix I

LIST OF COMMUNITY GROUPS CONTACTED IN THE FIRST TWELVE MONTHS OF FRANKSTON PCIP'S OPERATION

GOVERNMENT Commonwealth and State at Local Level	Department Community Welfare Services Commonwealth Employment Service R.O.S.T.A. Premier's Department Education Department (Regional) Health Commission — Hospitals National Parks Services
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	City of Frankston — Council and Departments Rosebud Foreshore Committee
VOLUNTARY AGENCIES and Groups receiving Government Funding	C.Y.S.S. Neighbourhood Development Scheme Bayside Youth Hostel Orwil Street Community Centre Pines Forest Community Centre Pines Forest Youth Club Frankston Resource Centre Peninsula Road Safety St Johns Ambulance State Emergency Service Westernport Regional Consultative Council Child Development and Family Service Council Frankston Family Education Employment Project Unemployed Youths

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES cont'd	Buoyancy Bayside Outreach Service Citizens Advice Bureau Early Childhood Development Y.M.C.A. Outreach
SERVICE ORGANISATIONS Clubs Voluntary Groups	Rotary — Frankston (and Rotoract) Frankston North and Rosebud Lions — Frankston and Rosebud Country Women's Association Local Church Group (combined) Frankston Motor Cycle Club Motorcycle Riders Association Elderly Citizens Groups (20) Probation Officers Association (Vic.) Honorary Justices Association
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS	Institute of Educational Administration Administrative Staff College State College Frankston Preston Institute of Technology Melbourne University Teachers Resource Centre Secondary Schools in 'Z' District (35) Primary Schools in 'Z' District (93)
BUSINESS GROUPS	Chamber of Commerce Retail Traders Association Major Stores and Shopping Complexes Business Groups

* This list represents many of the community groups participating in Police/Community based crime prevention programs. It does not include many of the groups, such as school committees and agency sub-committees, who are actively involved in these projects.

TABLE OF PCIP PROJECTS BY TYPE AND EXTENT OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT (FIRST TWELVE MONTHS OF OPERATION)

Project Title	*Purpose*	*Police/Community Involvement*	*Number of People Participating 1981*	**1982*
Schools Appraisal	Provide information for development of crime prevention education projects within schools	District police (11 stations), teaching staff (106) schools	220	
The Police Role – Primary Schools	Introduce students to police role by providing positive contact with police	District and specialist police units, teachers, pupils (6 schools)	2,880	40,000
'Police and You' Secondary Schools Legal Studies	Introduce a segment on the police role and citizen responsibility to middle and upper secondary school students	District police, teachers, students (9 schools)	1,300	2,500
'Bike-Ed'	Improve student knowledge of road laws and road courtesy/reduce road toll	District police, teachers, students, local businesses, City of Frankston (30 schools)	950	2,500
Bike Identification	To deter bicycle theft by ensuring proper identification marking of bicycles	District police, rotary clubs, schools	5,000	10,000

Project Title	*Purpose*	*Police/Community Involvement*	*Number of People Participating*	
			1981	**1982*
Miscellaneous Service to Schools	Promote responsible attitudes to law and order issues / promote awareness of police role / improve communication with young people	Local police, teachers, students, various agencies (50 schools)	12,000	
Anti-shopsteal	Reduce shopstealing	District police, teachers, students, Chamber of Commerce, Retail Traders' Association, media (25 schools)	7,000	20,000
Safety House	Preventive measure in protecting children from harassment travelling to and from school	District police, Crime Prevention Bureau, teachers, parents, media (23 schools – Westernport District) (28 schools – other districts)	1,633 2,271	2,450 3,400
Elderly Citizens and Crime Prevention	Reduce crime victimisation of elderly citizens through crime prevention education	CIB, police, elderly citizens' groups, service clubs	1,100	2,000

Project Title	*Purpose*	*Police/Community Involvement*	*Number of People Participating 1981*	**1982*
Off Road Motor Cycles	Reduce problems caused by off road motor cycles by establishing a recreational motor cycle park	Police, City of Frankston Municipal Recreation Officer, Neighbourhood Employment Development Scheme, Frankston Motor Cycle Club, Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation, residents	60	500
Problem Youth	Identify and assist community groups dealing with problem youth	DCWS, Pines Forest Youth Club, Pines Forest Community Centre, YMCA Outreach Program, Blue Light Disco	500	1,000
Honorary Probation Officers	Assist in developing a community-based probation officer service	District police, DCWS, Honorary Probation Officers' Association	60	60
Mornington Peninsula Holiday Period	Crime prevention during Christmas holiday period on Mornington Peninsula	District police, Rosebud Foreshore Committee, National Parks Committee, service clubs	100	200
Persistent Offenders	Define the persistent offender's problem from a police perspective with a view to alleviating the problem	Local police	50	

Project Title	*Purpose*	*Police/Community Involvement*	*Number of People Participating* 1981	**1982/83*
Small Business Security	Assist managers of small business to minimise their crime risk through the preparation of a small business security manual	Crime Prevention Bureau, Detective Training School, Frankston Chamber of Commerce, Frankston Retailers Association, Small Business Association, Small Business Development Corporation, Chisolm Institute of Technology		30
Peninsula Alcohol and Drug Dependents Committee	To alleviate the problems alcohol / drug abuse at local level	City of Frankston, Frankston Community Hospital, general practitioners, pharmacies, schools, health and welfare workers	21	30
After-hours Referral Service	To provide an 'after-hours' service for police to refer juveniles in non-offence crisis situations	Uniform Branch, Honorary Probation Officers, DCWS		10
Victims of Crime Assistance League	Promote assistance to victims of crime through the establishment of a VOCAL Branch at Frankston	CIB, community volunteers, victims of crime		110

Project Title	*Purpose*	*Police/Community Involvement*	*Number of People Participating*	
			1981	**1982/83*
Neighbourhood Watch	Test the effect of a Neighbourhood Watch project in minimising crime within a defined residential area	Uniform Branch, Crime Car Squad, CIB, Collator, Crime Prevention Bureau, City of Frankston, local residents		600

* projected

Appendix K

PCIP PROJECT/SERVICE PROPOSAL

Date: / /

Contact Sheet No. ☐☐☐☐

Officer in Charge,

_______________ Section

Team ☐

Program ☐

Project ☐

Service ☐

Category of Service (indicate which)	– Service not within an existing project – Further service within an existing project – Project proposal – Referral to other agency – Other ☐
Suggested Course of Action	☐

Appendix L

BAYSIDE YOUTH HOSTEL

TIMES	COMMENTS	MEMBER OF STAFF
3.00–3.15 pm	Youth from Bayside Hostel contacted me to let me know about a burglary which was to take place on pm 1/6. Obtained details and passed them onto CIB & CCS	S.C. DC
N/A	Received a note from [CIB] stating that the info from previous night was good. Three offenders had been caught and two more were still to be processed.	S.C. DC
7.00–7.45 pm	[Youth Worker] presents with three youths. One of the youths was the trouble maker at Transition workshop and at the earlier meetings he had been extremely rude to me. On this occasion he was extremely open with me and very polite. He was also one of the youths involved in the burglary the previous night.	S.C. DC
6.45–7.45 pm	[Coordinator of Hostel and Youth Worker] present with only two youths. Spoke with them about various things. Free and easy discussion.	S.C. DC
	Manhours: 1XPCIP member; 1 hour Resources: NIL	

Times	Comments	Member of Staff
1 hour	Attended at Bayside Youth Hostel and spoke to several youths. General conversation with good response.	SGT McP
1½ hours	Attended at Hostel and spoke with Coordinator of Hostel. Also spoke with four youths that are presently staying at the Hostel. Talked on several topics ranging from juvenile crime to media allegations of police brutality. A very positive response.	SGT McP
6.30–7.30 pm	Attended at Hostel and spoke to Coordinator and four residents. Three youths were new to me but accepted me after being introduced by the youth who had met me before. All were willing to talk to me.	S.C. DC
8.00–9.00 pm	Attended at Hostel, five youths present. one newcomer who made the remark 'What's the cop doing here?'. Reply: 'He's our friend'. Very open and responsive and told me things I wanted to know without asking them.	S.C.
5.30–7.30 pm	Attended Hostel and had meal with five youths. After meal had long discussion regarding street fighting.	S.C. DC
5.30–7.30 pm	Attended at Bayside Hostel and had a meal with [Youth Worker] and five youths. Spoke to youths about various matters. Good session.	S.C. DC

Times	Comments	Member of Staff
7.00–8.00 pm	Attended Hostel with placement student and spoke with [Coordinator and Youth Worker]. Three youths only present as two have run-off and one was sent back to YTS. Kids took to the student and did not mind her being there.	S.C. DC
5.30–7.30 pm	Attended at Hostel and spoke with [Coordinator and Youth Worker]. Spoke with youths and then partook of a meal.	

Appendix M

VICTORIA POLICE
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

ATTITUDE SURVEY 1986

Please read the following questions carefully and place a tick in the bracket which best represents your answer.

1. Would you feel safe if alone in your own home after dark?

No, very unsafe	( ) 1
No, somewhat unsafe	( ) 2
Yes, somewhat safe	( ) 3
Yes, very safe	( ) 4
Don't know	( ) 5

(If you feel safe, skip to Question 3)

2. If you feel unsafe in your home alone after dark, why? (Indicate your greatest fear only)

Unable to cope with possible household problems, eg electrical failures	( ) 1
No help if I had an accident	( ) 2
A criminal might enter the home	( ) 3
Fearful, but of nothing in particular	( ) 4
Other (please specify) __________________________	( ) 5

3. In general, how fearful are you of becoming a victim of any sort of crime?

Very fearful	( ) 1
Quite fearful	( ) 2
A little fearful	( ) 3
Not at all fearful	( ) 4

4. How fearful are you of crimes happening to members of your immediate family?

Very fearful	( ) 1
Quite fearful	( ) 2
A little fearful	( ) 3
Not at all fearful	( ) 4

5. Would you feel it was safe for any adult member of your family to walk alone in your neighbourhood after dark?

No, very unsafe	( ) 1
No, somewhat unsafe	( ) 2
Yes, somewhat safe	( ) 3
Yes, very safe	( ) 4
Don't know	( ) 5

6. What sort of event would you be fearful of if *you* walked alone in your neighbourhood after dark? (List any or all of the options in order. 1 = the main event you are fearful of.)

Verbal harassment	( ) 1
Robbery	( ) 2
Abduction	( ) 3
Assault	( ) 4
Traffic Accident	( ) 5
Abuse by drunks	( ) 6
Sexual Assault	( ) 7
None at all	( ) 8
Other (please specify) ______________________	( ) 9

7. What sort of event would you be fearful of if *any adult member of your family* walked alone in your neighbourhood after dark? (List any or all of the options in order. 1 = the main fear)

Verbal harassment	( ) 1
Robbery	( ) 2
Abduction	( ) 3
Assault	( ) 4
Traffic Accident	( ) 5
Abuse by drunks	( ) 6
Sexual Assault	( ) 7
None at all	( ) 8
Other (please specify) ______________________	( ) 9

8. What do you think are the main crime and public nuisance problems in your neighbourhood? (List any, or all of the options in order. 1 = main problem)

Theft of or from cars	( ) 1
Theft, other	( ) 2
Unsupervised juveniles	( ) 3
House burglaries	( ) 4
Traffic problems	( ) 5
Drunken behaviour	( ) 6
Vandalism	( ) 7
Assaults	( ) 8
Drugs	( ) 9
Other problems (please specify) _______________	( ) 10
No problems	( ) 11

9. What level of crime do you think there is in your neighbourhood?

Extremely high	( ) 1
Somewhat high	( ) 2
Average	( ) 3
Somewhat low	( ) 4
Extremely low	( ) 5
Nonexistent	( ) 6

10. Have you taken any steps to protect your house and yard from burglary and/or theft? (Tick any prevention measure you have taken.)

Guard dog	( ) 1
Alarm	( ) 2
Extra outside lights	( ) 3
Deadlocks on doors	( ) 4
Security screens on doors or windows	( ) 5
Valuables engraved, photographed and serial numbers kept, etc.	( ) 6
Security warning signs	( ) 7
Radio, lights left on whilst house is empty	( ) 8
Neighbours asked to look after the house when it is empty during holidays, etc.	( ) 9
Other measures taken (please specify) ___________	( ) 10
No extra steps taken to protect the house or yard	( ) 11

11. Estimate how much money you have spent on burglary and theft prevention measures?

Nil dollars	( ) 1
$200 or less	( ) 2
$201–$500	( ) 3
$501–$1,000	( ) 4
$1,001–$1,500	( ) 5
$1,501–$2,000	( ) 6
$2,001–$5,000	( ) 7
$5,001–$10,000	( ) 8
Over $10,000	( ) 9

12. Are there any precautions you take to protect yourself from physical attack when away from the home? eg when shopping, visiting, not on holidays. (Tick any prevention you normally take.)

Yes, don't go out alone at night	( ) 1
Yes, don't go out alone at any time	( ) 2
Yes, carry a weapon	( ) 3
Yes, carry a personal alarm	( ) 4
Yes, have done self-defence training	( ) 5
Yes, lock all doors whilst driving alone	( ) 6
Yes, notify others of my movements	( ) 7
Yes, other precautions (please specify) ___________	( ) 8
No, I take no special precautions	( ) 9

13. If you observed some 15 to 16-year-old youths pulling up young trees in a local park, what would you do?

Speak with them myself	( ) 1
Do nothing	( ) 2
Notify police	( ) 3
Notify the council	( ) 4
Other (please specify) ________________________	( ) 5

(If you would notify police, skip to Question 15)

14. If you would not notify police in the above situation, why not?

Police would think it too trivial for them to take action	( ) 1
Fear for your own safety	( ) 2
Police would not be able to do anything anyway	( ) 3
Would not want to interfere	( ) 4
Other (please specify) ________________________	( ) 5

15. If you saw an unfamiliar vehicle in your neighbour's drive and saw someone in the house whilst your neighbours were away on holiday?

    (a) Would you report the matter to police?

    Yes ( ) 1
    No ( ) 2

    (b) If your answer is 'Yes', which police number would you ring?

    000 ( ) 1
    11 444 ( ) 2
    local police number ( ) 3
    I'd call at the nearest police station in person ( ) 4

16. Assuming you would report the above incident to the police, how important is the following information? (Please list these options in order of importance. 1 = most important.)

    Colour and description of vehicle ( ) 1
    Time of the incident ( ) 2
    Vehicle Registration Number ( ) 3
    Description of the person seen ( ) 4
    Accurate location details ( ) 5
    My name and address ( ) 6
    Anything else? (please specify) __________________ ( ) 7

17. Have you had any contact with police in the last year?

    Yes ( ) 1
    No ( ) 2

    (If you answered 'No' skip to Question 19)

18. If yes, why was the contact with police made? (Tick as many options as applicable)

    A request for police help ( ) 1
    Traffic warning or booking ( ) 2
    Other warning ( ) 3
    Summons or arrest ( ) 4
    Informal talk ( ) 5
    Providing information to police ( ) 6
    Other (please specify) __________________________ ( ) 7

19. Were you or a member of your household a victim of crime in the last year?

    Yes ( ) 1
    No ( ) 2

    (If your answer is 'No' skip to Question 27)

20. If your answer is 'Yes', how many times in the last year were you and members of your household victims of crime?

    Once ( ) 1
    2–3 times ( ) 2
    4–5 times ( ) 3
    6 times or more ( ) 4

21. What sort of crime(s) was it? (put the *number* of times occurring in the relevant bracket.)

    Minor assault (no physical injury) ( ) 1
    Major assault (with actual physical injury) ( ) 2
    Minor property *theft* (under $500) ( ) 3
    Major property *theft* (over $500) ( ) 4
    Minor burglary (from a building, under $500) ( ) 5
    Major burglary (from a building, over $500) ( ) 6
    Minor property damage (under $500) ( ) 7
    Major property damage (over $500) ( ) 8
    Other crime (please specify) ____________________ ( ) 9

22. Were police notified on *every* occasion?

    Yes ( ) 1
    No ( ) 2

    (If your answer is 'Yes' skip to Question 25)

23. If police were not notified on *every* occasion:

    (a) What was the most serious crime not reported?

    Minor assault (no physical injury) ( ) 1
    Major assault (with actual physical injury) ( ) 2
    Minor property *theft* (under $500) ( ) 3
    Major property *theft* (over $500) ( ) 4
    Minor burglary (from a building, under $500) ( ) 5
    Major burglary (from a building, over $500) ( ) 6

. . . cont'd next page

Minor property damage (under $500) ( ) 7
Major property damage (over $500) ( ) 8
Other crime (please specify) ____________________ ( ) 9

(b) Why was that crime not reported to police?

Police would think it too trivial for them to take action ( ) 1
Fear for my own safety ( ) 2
Police would not be able to do anything anyway ( ) 3
Wanted to forget about it ( ) 4
Other (please specify) __________________________ ( ) 5

24. If there was more than one crime not reported:

(a) What was the second most important crime not reported to police?

Minor assault (no physical injury) ( ) 1
Major assault (with actual physical injury) ( ) 2
Minor property *theft* (under $500) ( ) 3
Major property *theft* (over $500) ( ) 4
Minor burglary (from a building, under $500) ( ) 5
Major burglary (from a building, over $500) ( ) 6
Minor property damage (under $500) ( ) 7
Major property damage (over $500) ( ) 8
Other crime (please specify) ____________________ ( ) 9

(b) Why was that crime not reported to police?

Police would think it too trivial for them to take action ( ) 1
Fear for my own safety ( ) 2
Police would not be able to do anything anyway ( ) 3
Wanted to forget about it ( ) 4
Other (please specify) __________________________ ( ) 5

25. If police *were* involved on *any* occasion, were you satisfied with the manner in which police handled the case?

Yes, very satisfied ( ) 1
Yes, somewhat satisfied ( ) 2
No, somewhat unsatisfied ( ) 3
No, very unsatisfied ( ) 4

26. Are there any comments you would like to make about police response?

____
_____
____
_____
____
_____

27. How interested are you to know what is going on around this neighbourhood?

Very interested	( ) 1
Quite interested	( ) 2
Somewhat uninterested	( ) 3
Not at all interested	( ) 4

28. How often would you speak to other residents in your street or those adjoining your property?

Nearly every day	( ) 1
About once a week	( ) 2
About once a month	( ) 3
Hardly ever	( ) 4
Never	( ) 5

29. Are you involved in any local community groups, clubs or activities?

Very involved	( ) 1
Quite involved	( ) 2
Not very involved	( ) 3
Not involved at all	( ) 4

30. Do you regularly drive a car?

Yes	( ) 1
No	( ) 2

31. How often do you read the local paper?

Every week	( ) 1
Nearly every week	( ) 2
Hardly ever	( ) 3
Never	( ) 4

32. How often do you go for walks in the neighbourhood?

Nearly every day	( ) 1
A few times each week	( ) 2
Once a week	( ) 3
Occasionally	( ) 4
Never	( ) 5

33. What is your sex?

Male	( ) 1
Female	( ) 2

34. What is your age?

19 years or less	( ) 1
20–29 years	( ) 2
30–39 years	( ) 3
40–49 years	( ) 4
50–59 years	( ) 5
60–69 years	( ) 6
70 years or more	( ) 7

35. What is your *main* type of employment?

Full-time paid employment	( ) 1
Part-time paid employment	( ) 2
Unpaid voluntary work	( ) 3
Unemployed	( ) 4
Retired	( ) 5
Home duties	( ) 6
Student	( ) 7
Other (please specify) ____________________________	( ) 8

36. Which language is regularly spoken at home?

English only	( ) 1
English and another language(s)	( ) 2
Rarely speak English at home	( ) 3

37. What type of residence do you live in?

Unit (rented)	( ) 1
Unit (owned)	( ) 2
House (rented)	( ) 3
House (owned)	( ) 4

38. How many people live in your residence?

One	( ) 1
Two	( ) 2
Three	( ) 3
Four or more	( ) 4

39. How many children under 18 years live with you?

None	( ) 1
One or Two	( ) 2
Three or Four	( ) 3
Five or more	( ) 4

40. How long have you lived in this residence?

Less than 1 year	( ) 1
1–3 years	( ) 2
4–9 years	( ) 3
10 years or more	( ) 4

41. Are there any other comments you would like to make about police, crime or general problems in this area?

____
_____
____
_____
____
_____

Thank you for your cooperation

Appendix N

VICTORIA POLICE
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

ATTITUDE SURVEY 1986

Please read the following questions carefully and place a tick in the bracket which best represents your answer.

1. Would you feel safe if alone in your own home after dark?

No, very unsafe	( ) 1
No, somewhat unsafe	( ) 2
Yes, somewhat safe	( ) 3
Yes, very safe	( ) 4
Don't know	( ) 5

(If you feel safe, skip to Question 3)

2. If you feel unsafe in your home alone after dark, why? (Indicate your greatest fear only)

Unable to cope with possible household problems, eg electrical failures	( ) 1
No help if I had an accident	( ) 2
A criminal might enter the home	( ) 3
Fearful, but of nothing in particular	( ) 4
Other (please specify) ________________________	( ) 5

3. In general, how fearful are you of becoming a victim of any sort of crime?

Very fearful	( ) 1
Quite fearful	( ) 2
A little fearful	( ) 3
Not at all fearful	( ) 4

4. How fearful are you of crimes happening to members of your immediate family?

Very fearful	( ) 1
Quite fearful	( ) 2
A little fearful	( ) 3
Not at all fearful	( ) 4

5. Would you feel it was safe for any adult member of your family to walk alone in your neighbourhood after dark?

No, very unsafe	( ) 1
No, somewhat unsafe	( ) 2
Yes, somewhat safe	( ) 3
Yes, very safe	( ) 4
Don't know	( ) 5

6. What sort of event would you be fearful of if *you* walked alone in your neighbourhood after dark? (List any or all of the options in order. 1 = the main event you are fearful of.)

Verbal harassment	( ) 1
Robbery	( ) 2
Abduction	( ) 3
Assault	( ) 4
Traffic Accident	( ) 5
Abuse by drunks	( ) 6
Sexual Assault	( ) 7
None at all	( ) 8
Other (please specify) ______________________	( ) 9

7. What sort of event would you be fearful of if *any adult member of your family* walked alone in your neighbourhood after dark? (List any or all of the options in order. 1 = the main fear)

Verbal harassment	( ) 1
Robbery	( ) 2
Abduction	( ) 3
Assault	( ) 4
Traffic Accident	( ) 5
Abuse by drunks	( ) 6
Sexual Assault	( ) 7
None at all	( ) 8
Other (please specify) ______________________	( ) 9

8. What do you think are the main crime and public nuisance problems in your neighbourhood? (List any, or all of the options in order. 1 = main problem)

Theft of or from cars	( ) 1
Theft, other	( ) 2
Unsupervised juveniles	( ) 3
House burglaries	( ) 4
Traffic problems	( ) 5
Drunken behaviour	( ) 6
Vandalism	( ) 7
Assaults	( ) 8
Drugs	( ) 9
Other problems (please specify) _______________	( ) 10
No problems	( ) 11

9. What level of crime do you think there is in your neighbourhood?

Extremely high	( ) 1
Somewhat high	( ) 2
Average	( ) 3
Somewhat low	( ) 4
Extremely low	( ) 5
Nonexistent	( ) 6

10. Have you taken any steps to protect your house and yard from burglary and/or theft? (Tick any prevention measure you have taken.)

Guard dog	( ) 1
Alarm	( ) 2
Extra outside lights	( ) 3
Deadlocks on doors	( ) 4
Security screens on doors or windows	( ) 5
Valuables engraved, photographed and serial numbers kept, etc.	( ) 6
Security warning signs	( ) 7
Radio, lights left on whilst house is empty	( ) 8
Neighbours asked to look after the house when it is empty during holidays, etc.	( ) 9
Other measures taken (please specify) ___________	( ) 10
No extra steps taken to protect the house or yard	( ) 11

11. Estimate how much money you have spent on burglary and theft prevention measures?

Nil dollars	( ) 1
$200 or less	( ) 2
$201–$500	( ) 3
$501–$1,000	( ) 4
$1,001–$1,500	( ) 5
$1,501–$2,000	( ) 6
$2,001–$5,000	( ) 7
$5,001–$10,000	( ) 8
Over $10,000	( ) 9

12. Are there any precautions you take to protect yourself from physical attack when away from the home? eg when shopping, visiting, not on holidays. (Tick any prevention you normally take.)

Yes, don't go out alone at night	( ) 1
Yes, don't go out alone at any time	( ) 2
Yes, carry a weapon	( ) 3
Yes, carry a personal alarm	( ) 4
Yes, have done self-defence training	( ) 5
Yes, lock all doors whilst driving alone	( ) 6
Yes, notify others of my movements	( ) 7
Yes, other precautions (please specify) ___________	( ) 8
No, I take no special precautions	( ) 9

13. If you observed some 15 to 16-year-old youths pulling up young trees in a local park, what would you do?

Speak with them myself	( ) 1
Do nothing	( ) 2
Notify police	( ) 3
Notify the council	( ) 4
Other (please specify) ________________________	( ) 5

(If you would notify police, skip to Question 15)

14. If you would not notify police in the above situation, why not?

Police would think it too trivial for them to take action	( ) 1
Fear for your own safety	( ) 2
Police would not be able to do anything anyway	( ) 3
Would not want to interfere	( ) 4
Other (please specify) ________________________	( ) 5

15. If you saw an unfamiliar vehicle in your neighbour's drive and saw someone in the house whilst your neighbours were away on holiday?

    (a) Would you report the matter to police?

Yes	( ) 1
No	( ) 2

    (b) If your answer is 'Yes', which police number would you ring?

000	( ) 1
11 444	( ) 2
local police number	( ) 3
I'd call at the nearest police station in person	( ) 4

16. Assuming you would report the above incident to the police, how important is the following information? (Please list these options in order of importance. 1 = most important.)

Colour and description of vehicle	( ) 1
Time of the incident	( ) 2
Vehicle Registration Number	( ) 3
Description of the person seen	( ) 4
Accurate location details	( ) 5
My name and address	( ) 6
Anything else? (please specify) ________________	( ) 7

17. Have you had any contact with police in the last year?

Yes	( ) 1
No	( ) 2

    (If you answered 'No' skip to Question 19)

18. If yes, why was the contact with police made? (Tick as many options as applicable)

A request for police help	( ) 1
Traffic warning or booking	( ) 2
Other warning	( ) 3
Summons or arrest	( ) 4
Informal talk	( ) 5
Providing information to police	( ) 6
Other (please specify) ________________________	( ) 7

19. Were you or a member of your household a victim of crime in the last year?

Yes ( ) 1
No ( ) 2

(If your answer is 'No' skip to Question 27)

20. If your answer is 'Yes', how many times in the last year were you and members of your household victims of crime?

Once ( ) 1
2–3 times ( ) 2
4–5 times ( ) 3
6 times or more ( ) 4

21. What sort of crime(s) was it? (put the *number* of times occurring in the relevant bracket.)

Minor assault (no physical injury) ( ) 1
Major assault (with actual physical injury) ( ) 2
Minor property *theft* (under $500) ( ) 3
Major property *theft* (over $500) ( ) 4
Minor burglary (from a building, under $500) ( ) 5
Major burglary (from a building, over $500) ( ) 6
Minor property damage (under $500) ( ) 7
Major property damage (over $500) ( ) 8
Other crime (please specify) ____________________ ( ) 9

22. Were police notified on *every* occasion?

Yes ( ) 1
No ( ) 2

(If your answer is 'Yes' skip to Question 25)

23. If police were not notified on *every* occasion:

(a) What was the most serious crime not reported?

Minor assault (no physical injury) ( ) 1
Major assault (with actual physical injury) ( ) 2
Minor property *theft* (under $500) ( ) 3
Major property *theft* (over $500) ( ) 4
Minor burglary (from a building, under $500) ( ) 5
Major burglary (from a building, over $500) ( ) 6

. . . cont'd next page

Minor property damage (under $500) ( ) 7
Major property damage (over $500) ( ) 8
Other crime (please specify) ____________________ ( ) 9

(b) Why was that crime not reported to police?

Police would think it too trivial for them to take action ( ) 1
Fear for my own safety ( ) 2
Police would not be able to do anything anyway ( ) 3
Wanted to forget about it ( ) 4
Other (please specify) __________________________ ( ) 5

24. If there was more than one crime not reported:

(a) What was the second most important crime not reported to police?

Minor assault (no physical injury) ( ) 1
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Minor property *theft* (under $500) ( ) 3
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Minor burglary (from a building, under $500) ( ) 5
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Minor property damage (under $500) ( ) 7
Major property damage (over $500) ( ) 8
Other crime (please specify) ____________________ ( ) 9

(b) Why was that crime not reported to police?

Police would think it too trivial for them to take action ( ) 1
Fear for my own safety ( ) 2
Police would not be able to do anything anyway ( ) 3
Wanted to forget about it ( ) 4
Other (please specify) __________________________ ( ) 5

25. If police *were* involved on *any* occasion, were you satisfied with the manner in which police handled the case?

Yes, very satisfied ( ) 1
Yes, somewhat satisfied ( ) 2
No, somewhat unsatisfied ( ) 3
No, very unsatisfied ( ) 4

26. Are there any comments you would like to make about police response?

    ____
    ____
    ____

27. How interested are you to know what is going on around this neighbourhood?

Very interested	( ) 1
Quite interested	( ) 2
Somewhat uninterested	( ) 3
Not at all interested	( ) 4

28. How often would you speak to other residents in your street or those adjoining your property?

Nearly every day	( ) 1
About once a week	( ) 2
About once a month	( ) 3
Hardly ever	( ) 4
Never	( ) 5

29. Are you involved in any local community groups, clubs or activities?

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Not very involved	( ) 3
Not involved at all	( ) 4

30. Do you regularly drive a car?

Yes	( ) 1
No	( ) 2

31. How often do you read the local paper?

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Never	( ) 4

32. How often do you go for walks in the neighbourhood?

Nearly every day	( ) 1
A few times each week	( ) 2
Once a week	( ) 3
Occasionally	( ) 4
Never	( ) 5

33. What is your sex?

Male	( ) 1
Female	( ) 2

34. What is your age?

19 years or less	( ) 1
20–29 years	( ) 2
30–39 years	( ) 3
40–49 years	( ) 4
50–59 years	( ) 5
60–69 years	( ) 6
70 years or more	( ) 7

35. What is your *main* type of employment?

Full-time paid employment	( ) 1
Part-time paid employment	( ) 2
Unpaid voluntary work	( ) 3
Unemployed	( ) 4
Retired	( ) 5
Home duties	( ) 6
Student	( ) 7
Other (please specify) ______________________________	( ) 8

36. Which language is regularly spoken at home?

English only	( ) 1
English and another language(s)	( ) 2
Rarely speak English at home	( ) 3

37. What type of residence do you live in?

Unit (rented)	( ) 1
Unit (owned)	( ) 2
House (rented)	( ) 3
House (owned)	( ) 4

38. How many people live in your residence?

One	( ) 1
Two	( ) 2
Three	( ) 3
Four or more	( ) 4

39. How many children under 18 years live with you?

None	( ) 1
One or Two	( ) 2
Three or Four	( ) 3
Five or more	( ) 4

40. How long have you lived in this residence?

Less than 1 year	( ) 1
1–3 years	( ) 2
4–9 years	( ) 3
10 years or more	( ) 4

41. Are there any other comments you would like to make about police, crime or general problems in this area?

____
_____
____
_____
____
_____

Thank you for your cooperation