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Australian Institute of Criminology

Evaluation of a Suburban Crime Prevention Team

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Technical and Background Paper

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Acknowledgments

Disclaimer

This research report does not necessarily reflect the policy position of the Australian Government.

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Introduction

The Crime Prevention Portfolio (CPP) of ACT Policing introduced the Suburban crime prevention team (SCPT), a community policing initiative, into the Canberra suburb of Narrabundah in late August 2002. This team of two uniformed officers was deployed to Narrabundah for a six-month period and given the task of operating as community policing officers exclusively within the suburb boundary. This report is the final evaluation of that initiative.

The report is divided into four sections. Section 1 is a literature review that briefly outlines the background of the development of community policing within contemporary policing organisations and the subsequent reprioritisation of community crime and safety concerns, traditionally considered beyond the purview of police, to be given a central place in operational strategies.

Section 2 outlines the Suburban crime prevention team initiative, the subject of this evaluation. It provides an overview of the key components of the project, including the identification of the initiative's core objectives and the methodology employed for the evaluation.

Section 3 reports findings from the evaluation, addressing each of the eight objectives individually. Multiple methodologies (involving qualitative and quantitative data) were utilised in the evaluation of this project, including both process- and outcome-based measures, in order to comprehensively assess the SCPT's performance with regard to each objective. Thus, for each objective the process of the initiative's implementation is the subject of analysis in addition to the substance and the impact of the initiative.

Section 4 provides a conclusion summarising the project's outcomes and offering key recommendations for future community policing initiatives.

1　Background

Crime prevention is now a major component of ACT Policing's effective crime management system (SCRCSSP 2003) and within this, community policing has become a central aspect of the philosophy of the organisation. This has prompted the development and implementation of a number of community-specific interventions via a variety of operational and evidence-based strategies. A number of research studies have been conducted (both independently and collaboratively with other stakeholders) to expand the evidence base of what works and what does not in crime prevention police initiatives. Such activities have included:

- an evaluation of a specific police operation designed to target increasing property crime in the Territory (see Ratcliffe 2001, 2002);

- an exploration of the dynamics of repeat victimisation of residential burglary and victims responses to burglary (see Payne & Makkai 2003);

- targeted enforcement of manufacturers and dealers of ecstasy combined with an educational awareness-raising-campaign for the potential consumer group (ACT Policing 2002); and

- an experimental community policing initiative focused on local community concerns.

This report focuses on the last of these, a community policing initiative developed by ACT Policing's Crime Prevention Portfolio, known as the Suburban crime prevention team.

Contemporary policing: background

Policing organisations in recent times, both nationally and internationally, have undergone 'a period of significant change in both operational tactics and organisational structures' (Ratcliffe 2003: 1). Contemporary policing has moved into an era of community policing, the rhetoric and practice of which has been adopted to varying degrees in different locations (Thurman, Zhao & Giacomazzi 2001). The commitment to community policing is indicative of a paradigm shift within policing organisations that encompasses a wide range of new and emerging policing operational practices such as problem-oriented policing and intelligence-led policing (see Ratcliffe 2003 for a detailed introduction to intelligence-led policing). Community policing can be defined as:

> a new philosophy of policing, based on the concept that police officers and private citizens working together…[in partnership] can help solve contemporary community problems related to crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighbourhood decay. (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux 1990: 5)

However, the definition of community policing has been the subject of extensive debate regarding the substance of the competing definitions (many exist) and the impact that the lack of definitional clarity has upon the long-term understanding of the potential benefits and the development of best practice in relation to such policing, as it is applied to a wide array of tactics and programs (see Bayley 1994: 105; Moir & Moir 1992: 224; Moore 1992; Mastrofski 1998: 12).

Community policing is multifaceted and is not defined by a single program. Theoretically it is an organisational strategy that is implemented at every level of the policing organisation, though in practice it tends to be implemented as specific, short-term intervention initiatives (Brereton 2000). Community policing often manifests itself in such operational strategies as beat policing, police shopfronts, Neighbourhood Watch, local community meetings and order maintenance policing (see Cheurprakobit 2002). Community policing shifts the focus of policing organisations to make crime and safety issues of primary importance.

'Crime and safety' covers a broad spectrum of issues, as crime impacts upon people and society in multiple ways, such as financially, emotionally and physically (for example see Mayhew 2003 regarding the financial impact of crime upon the Australian community). Fear of crime, victimisation, the incidence of crime, satisfaction with the neighbourhood and satisfaction with the police all come under the crime and safety banner. The relationship between these issues is complex; many are interrelated and thus impacting upon one will invariably result in some degree of impact on others. It is difficult to isolate and address one issue independently. For example, an extensive body of empirical research exists in relation to fear of crime, its sources and its impact upon the community. Wilson and Kelling's (1982) well-known 'broken windows' thesis proposed that the cumulative effect of incivilities, disorderly behaviour, disorderly conditions and minor offences can, if left unattended or unaddressed, be as significant to citizens as serious felonies. Further, such problems have the potential to not only increase fear of crime but to result in urban flight, more serious crime and urban decay (Kelling 2001: 120).

The proposal of such a connection between the perception of disorder, fear of crime and the levels of serious crime, illustrates the complex web within which crime and safety issues exist and are linked together. Although the work of Wilson and Kelling has been the subject of some criticism (see Kelling 2001 for a discussion of some of the criticisms of the broken windows thesis) other work has supported the general principal. For example, survey research has found that disorder and perceived crime problems in a neighbourhood were significantly correlated (Braga et al. 1999: 548).

A number of key drivers were responsible for the development of community policing and continue to influence its strategic implementation in everyday policing practices. Three major factors were:

- refocusing traditionally low priority issues to high priority;

- prioritising community-identified concerns; and

- reorienting policing practice to the local area.

Refocusing traditionally low priority issues to high priority

Crime and safety issues, such as satisfaction with the police, have traditionally been considered low priorities compared with traditional law and order policing priorities such as reducing the level of crime. The recognition that different issues have complicated implications for police operations has led to a reconsideration of policing priorities. For example, public satisfaction with police services has been identified as a critical factor in the effectiveness of police work, as police are dependent upon the public to provide information (either as victims, witnesses or informants). Thus, citizen satisfaction with the police, both in general and as a result of their contact with police, is extremely important in terms of maintaining a positive police–citizen relationship and in order to maintain a high level of police intelligence (see Bayley 1994: 7).

Prioritising community-identified concerns

The marked difference between crime and safety issues prioritised by the police and those identified by the community has been noted widely in the community policing literature. Research has shown that:

> citizens define crime in very different terms than the police…[it seems] the average citizen's perspective is influenced to a much greater extent by the amount of disorder they encounter, what they hear from friends and family members, their personal victimisation and news media reports. (Stephens 1999: 58)

Community policing emphasises the need for the police to work with communities to identify concerns to enable police operational activities to address those issues the community has prioritised (see also Skogan 1999).

Reorienting policing practice to the local area

The crime and safety issues that confront each community vary in their nature, severity and form. Research has noted the tendency for particular crime and safety issues to concentrate within specific communities and areas within communities (see for example Sampson et al. 2002: 46). The nature of the tasks and priorities of police organisations should therefore differ accordingly, responding to the needs of the specific area. So in summary, community policing:

- reorders police priorities;

- defines police activities more broadly (enabling community-identified concerns and issues to be addressed);

- emphasises the central role of the community in focusing police operations; and

- broadens the scope of policing objectives to include, for example, fear of crime, perceptions of the local area and satisfaction with the police.

2 The Suburban crime prevention team

The Suburban crime prevention team (SCPT) was developed and implemented as part of the CPP's suburban policing initiative. The initiative is one aspect of the CPP's work towards addressing community-focused crime prevention objectives. The CPP has undertaken a number of evidence-based initiatives that have varied in scope, the level of community/stakeholder collaboration, and the key objectives that they sought to address. In 1996 a community town policing initiative was trialed in two suburbs of Canberra (Kambah and Kaleen) which an unpublished ACT Policing report indicated was very positively received by the residents of the targeted suburbs.

The SCPT was developed to 'provide ACT Policing with the capability to target suburbs with specific crime problems and deploy dedicated police resources to those areas for extended periods of time' (ACT Policing 2001: 13). It was decided that an experimental suburb would be chosen to be the subject of a comprehensive evaluation of the strategy. ACT Policing selected Narrabundah as the target suburb for the evaluation based on reported crime statistics and intelligence indicating that relative to other Canberra suburbs, Narrabundah was a high-needs community.

The strategy involved the deployment of a team of two police officers to Narrabundah for a six-month period. The officers worked exclusively within the geographical boundaries of the suburb. The SCPT were based at the CPP office at ACT Policing's city police station and all office-based work was conducted from this location. (From 2002, Narrabundah formally became part of the south division of ACT Policing, and now falls under the jurisdiction of Woden police station.) As community police officers, SCPT members were not required to undertake the role of general duties officers in the area. Rather, the officers were expected to work with the Narrabundah community to identify and respond to the specific needs and concerns of the community. The SCPT was allocated support equipment, including a police van with the SCPT's title painted across it. Other support equipment identified as necessary for the SCPT in the development of this project included a laptop computer, a mobile phone and a small budget to draw upon in order to be able fund the implementation of any projects or activities undertaken during the six-month period. Table 1 provides a brief overview of the SCPT initiative.

Table 1: The Suburban Crime Prevention Team	
Personnel:	Two uniformed police officers
Location:	Narrabundah
Deployment:	Six months (1 September 2002–1 March 2003)
Organisational location:	Crime Prevention Portfolio
Functions:	Proactive policing (not general duties) Unspecified daily duties
Equipment:	Dedicated support vehicle and additional equipment

Central to the development of this initiative was the unspecified nature of the SCPT's activities. Drawing upon the principles of the Narrabundah community policing paradigm, the SCPT was developed to be able to respond to the needs of the community as identified by the team through working in collaboration with the community. A list of potential key stakeholders was identified in the project's scope, although the possible nature of each stakeholder's role was not specified. The identified stakeholders included:

- ACT local government;

- schools within Narrabundah;

- businesses located in the suburb;

- community groups;

- government agencies;

- non-government welfare agencies; and

- residents.

The SCPT objectives

From the original list of objectives, eight key objectives were operationalised by the researchers in collaboration with CPP members, for the SCPT initiative to achieve during the implementation of the project. These included both traditional operational policing objectives and objectives more recently given priority by the community policing paradigm. The eight objectives were:

1. reduce crime;

2. reduce fear of crime;

3. gather intelligence;

4. increase community satisfaction with the police;

5. improve police–stakeholder relations;

6. improve residents' perceptions of their suburb;

7. identify and address community problems; and

8. educate the community about crime prevention.

1. Reduce crime

Lanier and Davidson (1994) noted that, 'regardless of the methods employed, reducing crime is the explicit objective of law enforcement agencies.' Although community policing is indicative of the reprioritisation of policing objectives, it does not seek to replace this traditional policing objective. Rather, community policing supports new approaches to reducing crime and simultaneously promotes the consideration of other equally important and influential priorities. Narrabundah was chosen, in part, due to its relatively high level of crime. Therefore, reducing the level of crime was a central objective of the project. The intention of a community policing initiative is not to focus specifically on crime-reduction activities but rather for the reduction of crime to be achieved less directly through other objectives. These might include increasing community satisfaction with police to encourage the flow of intelligence to the police, or encouraging community pride in the area.

2. Reduce fear of crime

The development of the community policing paradigm has resulted in the increased predominance of fear of crime as a principal concern for policing organisations. Addressing fear of crime is central to community policing for a number of reasons, particularly as it impacts significantly upon residents' quality of life (see Muir 1987). Importantly, fear of crime is not directly linked to *experience* of crime – in fact, fear of crime is more widespread than victimisation (Myers & Chung 1998). Fear of crime is influenced by multiple factors, including an individual's assessment of his or her own level of vulnerability, cues from the environment (both social and physical), and personal and vicarious experience (Muir 1987). Efforts to address fear of crime within the community policing model may include:

- reducing incivilities and disorder;

- improving communication between police and the community in order to identify and address fear of crime-related concerns; and

- maintaining a more visible and consistent police presence on the streets of a community (Grabosky 1995; CJC 1994).

3. Gather intelligence

A potential benefit of community policing is the ability for more accurate and immediate intelligence to be gathered by community police officers. This intelligence can direct the officers' work in the local area and can be fed back into the police intelligence system. Gathering intelligence is an important aspect of police work, as the information provided by the public is fundamental to police knowledge about crime, allowing crimes that occur to be investigated and, ultimately, for the law to be enforced more effectively.

The expectation that the SCPT will be able to gather intelligence is based on the presumption that community policing practices increase the flow of information between the police and the community. Research has indicated that 'citizens who are dissatisfied with police are less likely to contact them or provide officers with information about criminal activity' (Decker 1985 cited in Brown & Benedict 2002: 545). Thus, the ability of the SCPT to gather intelligence will be influenced by many factors, including the extent to which they are able to achieve other objectives such as increasing community satisfaction with police and improving police–stakeholder relations.

4. Increase community satisfaction with the police

Generally, citizens tend to be fairly satisfied with police services (Davis 2000: 3; Smith et al. cited in Brown & Benedict 2002). However, satisfaction with police remains a key objective for community policing initiatives as community satisfaction may influence the level of police–citizen communication and thus impact upon the conduct of police work. It has been noted that 'the police seem to be capable of having a stronger negative than positive impact on the public's evaluation of their services' (Dean 1980: 467). Thus, it is important for police to at least maintain levels of satisfaction if they are unable to increase the overall level of satisfaction (a more difficult result to achieve).

Satisfaction with the police is influenced by many factors. For example, a resident's personal experience with police has been found to be a major determinant of levels of satisfaction with the police (see NIJ 2002). Residents' perceptions of the neighbourhood quality of life, neighbourhood conditions and culturally transmitted norms and beliefs have also been identified as contributing factors (NIJ 2002: 5; Davis 2000: 2). As a result, community policing demands that officers engage in a broad range of activities to access the multiple points at which perceptions of police are developed.

5. Improve police–stakeholder relations

A cornerstone of community policing is the building of strong partnerships between police and the community (Zhao et al. 2002). Developing and maintaining strong police–community partnerships is essential for encouraging community participation in responding to crime and safety issues and making police practice more relevant to community problems (Crawford 1997; Hahn 1998; Rosenbaum, Lurigo & Davis 1998). Improving and maintaining police–stakeholder relationships is also fundamental to community policing initiatives, as stakeholders are a vital point of access to the community at large. Empowering communities to be responsible for their own safety issues, and to implement responses to address these issues, requires the support and practical assistance of stakeholders.

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6. Improve residents' perceptions of their suburb

Residents' perceptions of their local area are key to influencing, among other things, fear of crime, satisfaction with the police and the willingness of residents to assist the police. Working with police and other organisations to identify and address both physical and social disorder problems in the local area has been identified as critical to enhancing residents' satisfaction with and perception of their local area (Austin, Furr & Spine 2002). For community policing initiatives, the exact nature of the work undertaken to address this objective will vary substantially according to the nature and needs of the community.

7. Identify and address community problems

Community priorities tend to differ from traditional policing priorities. This has been well documented in community policing research (for example Stephens 1999). Residents draw upon a wide variety of sources when identifying the issues that are of concern to them in their community:

> [it seems] the average citizen's perspective is influenced to a much greater extent by the amount of disorder they encounter, what they hear from friends and family members, their personal victimisation, and news media reports. (Stephens 1999: 58)

A major objective of community policing is to address issues of concern to citizens and then working together to combat those problems. The SCPT's ability to meet a number of different objectives contributes to its ability to identify and address problems in the community. For example, without good community–police relations (achieved through maintaining high levels of satisfaction with police and developing good relations with key stakeholders) the community may not wish to actively work with the police; as a result problems may remain unidentified by police and continue to be neglected.

8. Educate the community about crime prevention

Community policing is built on the premise that empowering the community to share the responsibility for addressing crime and safety issues can be achieved, in part, through educating the community about crime prevention. Education assists the community to act independently to address crime concerns through preventative action. Increasing residents' knowledge about crime prevention is also anticipated to have flow-on effects that may include a reduction in fear of crime, an improvement in residents' perceptions of the suburb and an increase in general feelings of safety in the neighbourhood.

Conclusion

While there are eight specific SCPT objectives, the discussion of each individual objective reveals the interrelationship between them. The nature and complexity of these interrelationships is difficult to ascertain exactly. For example:

> some studies indicate that fear of crime lowers evaluations of the police [whereby low evaluations translate into decreased resident interaction with the police]…Thus it is conceivable that negative perceptions of the police contribute to a cycle of reduced police effectiveness, increased crime and further distrust of the police.' (Brown & Benedict 2002: 545)

The achievement of each objective is dependent upon the extent to which other objectives are achieved, such that some objectives will be addressed specifically while others will be addressed indirectly. These complexities will be further revealed and explored as the results from the evaluation are discussed in the following two sections of this report.

Research design: the methodology

The SCPT evaluation was undertaken using six methodological tools. Considering the complexity and breadth of the objectives being evaluated, and the findings from past evaluations in the extensive community policing literature, it was essential to the evaluation that multiple methodologies be used. The process of triangulation enhances the validity and reliability of the findings as different methodologies verify results and counterbalance the individual limitations of each methodology (Weisel 2003). As Thurman, Zhao and Giacomazzi (2001: 259) note:

> given the inherent limits of single research methods, the triangulation method of combining multiple sources of information seems to offer the best potential for measuring the effectiveness of community policing programs.

Table 2 outlines the methodological tools engaged for the evaluation of the SCPT. Appendix 1 describes each methodology in greater detail (in terms of how they contribute to the evaluation) and presents a brief discussion of the benefits and limitations of each. The evaluation was based on a quasi-experimental research design. Quasi-experimental design, as described by Senese (1997), is where experimental designs are undertaken in the 'real world'. The intervention is not randomly assigned; rather, a target for the intervention is chosen for specific reasons. In this case, Narrabundah was the target chosen for the initiative.

As part of the research design, a number of the methodologies were undertaken at two points in time: pre- and post-implementation of the SCPT initiative (as outlined in Table 2). This enabled base-level pre-implementation data to be gathered for comparison with post-implementation data in order to identify change across time for the factors being measured and to assist in the identification of a causal relationship between the SCPT's presence and any change that occurred.

Table 2: Methodology outline

Method	Description	Date undertaken	Suburb undertaken*
Recorded crime statistics	Police recorded crime data for violent, property and disorder-related offences	February 2002 to August 2003	Target, control and suburbs immediately surrounding target suburb
Community safety survey	Survey regarding victimisation and perceptions of crime and safety, police and the local environment	September 2002 to March 2003	Target and control
Weekly meeting reports	Written record of main issues discussed during weekly meetings between the SCPT and researchers	September 2003 to March 2003	n/a
Key stakeholder interviews	Semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in Narrabundah regarding general crime and safety issues and the SCPT's impact and effectiveness	1st round: November to December 2002 2nd round: March to May 2003	Target
Operational measures forms	Formal record of major SCPT activities to collect information regarding the details and outcomes of activities	September 2002 to February 2003	n/a
Physical disorder measure	Quantitative assessment of physical disorder indicators (for example, litter, graffiti) in area	1st collection: October 2002 2nd collection: March and April 2003	Target and control

* Target suburb = Narrabundah; control suburb = Ainslie; surrounding suburbs = Red Hill, Kingston and Griffith

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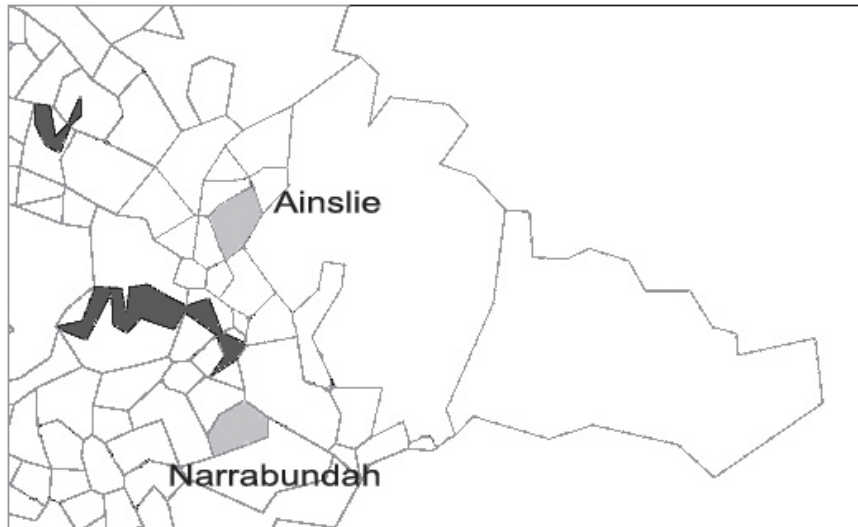
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The community safety survey, which was conducted pre- and post-implementation, involved a panel sample of individuals who completed both surveys. The analysis for this evaluation is based on this panel population (panel designs have been noted as particularly robust measures). In this case the panel design enables change in experiences and opinions over time to be measured at the individual level, strengthening the conclusions that can be drawn from the findings.

A major aspect of the quasi-experimental research design involved the selection of a control suburb. In this case Ainslie, a suburb on the north side of Canberra, was selected (see Figure 1). Population characteristics, crime statistics and police intelligence were all drawn upon to locate the suburb that best matched Narrabundah. Appendix 2 outlines in more detail the supporting arguments for selecting a control suburb and the process of selection, and compares the target and control suburb based on key demographics.

Central to this research design is the combination of process and outcome evaluation methodologies, drawing upon two major methodological approaches. The 'realistic evaluation' thesis proposed by Pawson & Tilley (1997) identifies the unique contexts, mechanisms and outcomes specific to the target community as the key factors informing the outcomes and subsequent evaluation of any initiative. This evaluation seeks to understand both the process of implementation and the outcomes of the initiative through conducting interviews with key stakeholders, gathering data on the major activities undertaken by the SCPT over the six-month period of the intervention, and via meeting weekly with the SCPT in order to monitor the progression of the project. The evaluation design also draws upon Farrington's (2003) position that the exclusive application of a realistic evaluation design may:

• lessen the internal validity of the results through the failure to control for extraneous variables or to exclude alternative explanations; and

• result in an inability to assess the intervention's effect.

This evaluation brings together both outcome and process-focused evaluation tools in order to assess the extent to which the SCPT addressed each of the key objectives, taking into consideration the implementation process and the context of the initiative. Bringing together these findings will enable recommendations for future community policing initiatives to be identified, based on the lessons learned from the SCPT initiative in Narrabundah.

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Notes about the analysis

The SCPT was deployed to the suburb of Narrabundah for six months, however it became clear in the first week of the initiative that the Narrabundah community is divided geographically by a major road. This geographic divide between the two areas of Narrabundah also serves as a social divide, as observed by the SCPT, residents and key stakeholders in the area. One side of Narrabundah, referred to as 'lower' Narrabundah, is the older side of the suburb. In this area the two primary schools, the local shopping centre, health services and a number of other stakeholders are located. The other side of Narrabundah, 'upper' Narrabundah, is closer geographically to the Griffith shops, thus making it less likely for residents from this side of Narrabundah to use the Narrabundah shops. Indeed, some residents identified themselves as living in Griffith when in fact they were officially located in Narrabundah.

Interaction with the community is fundamental to community policing and the SCPT identified in the first few weeks of the project that their efforts would best be concentrated in lower Narrabundah, as it was in this area that they were able to locate a range of stakeholders, that they could interact with the community (particularly at the local shops and schools) and they could identify concerns and needs to be addressed. However, the SCPT design was based on the assumption that the initiative would be implemented across the whole suburb. Concentrating their efforts in one area of the suburb raises the possibility that the SCPT's impact may be specific to this part of Narrabundah. The geographic division only posed a major problem for the quantitative measures in this evaluation. While the recorded crime statistics could not differentiate between the two areas of Narrabundah, it was possible for the community safety survey results to be analysed both at the suburb level and between the two areas of Narrabundah. Thus the results from the community safety survey in relation to each objective will consider both the suburb-level results (that is, Narrabundah and Ainslie) and the within-suburb results (that is, lower and upper Narrabundah).

Figure 2: Upper and lower Narrabundah
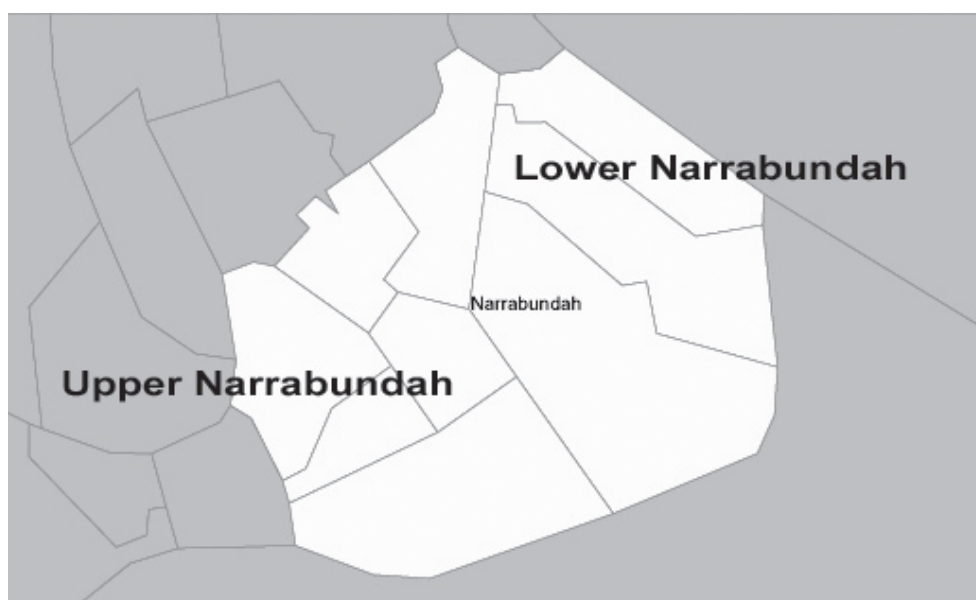
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3   Evaluating the objectives

Objective 1: reduce crime

While crime reduction has traditionally been a major objective for policing organisations, community policing reprioritises crime control so that 'order maintenance functions, including controlling social disorder and enhancing perceptions of safety, become equally important to crime fighting in the prioritisation of police service delivery' (Zhao et al. 2002: 42). Community policing expands the objectives to be achieved by police. The reduction of crime is one of eight objectives, and is the only one drawn directly from traditional policing objectives. While long-term crime reduction may be the ultimate goal of many policing initiatives, it is in fact extremely difficult to achieve (for both traditional and non-traditional policing strategies). This must be borne in mind when assessing the impact of the SCPT (see Bayley 1994).

In assessing the SCPT's performance in relation to crime reduction, a number of evaluation methods have been drawn upon, of both a quantitative and qualitative nature, as outlined below. Appendix 1 provides a more detailed outline of the methodologies used for this evaluation.

Quantitative measures

The level of crime and the extent to which crime was reduced in Narrabundah was examined primarily using two data sources:

- recorded crime statistics; and

- a community safety survey.

It is important for research to measure crime using both police records and victim surveys. This enables a more accurate view of the experience of victimisation to be captured (Farrington 1997, 2003). See Appendix 1 for discussion of the limitations and benefits of both data collection methods.

In addition, operational measures forms were analysed to contribute data regarding the implementation of the SCPT initiative, the nature and extent of the team's activities related to specific crimes, and to crime reduction in Narrabundah.

Qualitative measures

Data from two sources provide direct insight into the quality and nature of the SCPT's work towards reducing crime and the perceived impact of the initiative on crime in Narrabundah:

- key stakeholder interviews; and

- weekly meeting reports.

Recorded crime statistics

Recorded crime statistics were gathered for an 18-month period to enable time-series data to be collated and to analyse crime patterns pre-, during and post-intervention. Statistics were obtained for five suburbs (see Figure 3): Narrabundah (the target suburb), Ainslie (the control suburb) and three suburbs immediately surrounding Narrabundah (Red Hill, Griffith and Kingston). Data from all of these suburbs were collected to enable possible displacement and diffusion of benefits effects to be explored. According to Farrington and Welsh (2002: 20) crime decreasing in the experimental area, increasing in the adjacent area and remaining constant in the control area may be evidence of displacement. Further, crime decreasing in the experimental and adjacent area but remaining constant (or increasing) in the control area may be evidence of a diffusion of benefits such that adjacent suburbs may also reap benefits from a suburb-specific initiative
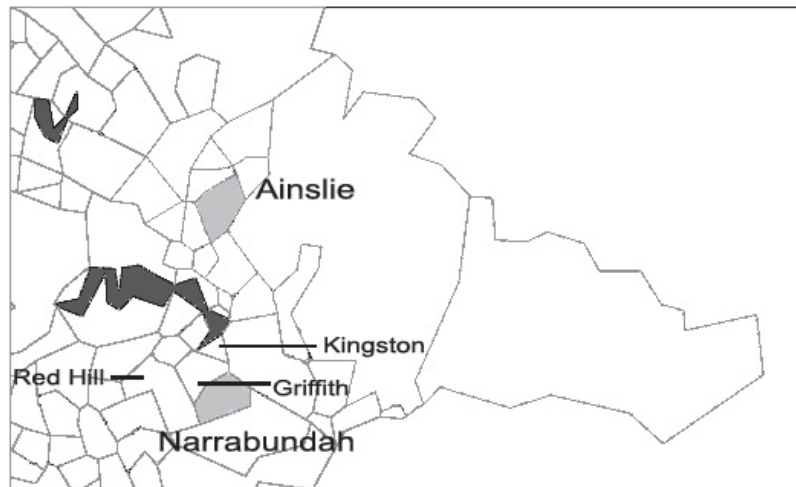
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(Farrington & Welsh 2002). The use of time-series data for a non-adjacent control suburb in addition to the inclusion of multiple adjacent suburbs surrounding the target suburb increases the strength of the findings from the analysis of recorded crime statistics (see also Ekblom & Pease 1995).

Recorded crime statistics were gathered for a range of offences identified by ACT Policing as relevant to the work of the SCPT and to the Narrabundah community. For the purposes of analysis, these individual offences were grouped into three crime areas: violent crime, property crime and disorder-related crime (see Table 3).

Table 3: Recorded crime statistics offence categories		
Category	ASOC code*	Offence
Violent crime	0211	Aggravated assault
	0212	Non-aggravated assault
	0611	Aggravated robbery
	0612	Non-aggravated robbery
Property crime	0711	Unauthorised entry with intent (UEWI)/burglary, break and enter
	0811	Theft of a motor vehicle
	0812	Illegal use of a motor vehicle
	0813	Theft of motor vehicle parts or contents
	0821	Theft from a person (excluding by force)
	0822	Theft of intellectual property
	0823	Theft from retail premises
	0829	Theft (except from motor vehicles) not elsewhere classified
Disorder-related crime	1031	Manufacture or cultivate illicit drugs
	1041	Possess illicit drugs
	1212	Graffiti
	1219	Property damage not elsewhere classified
	1313	Offensive behaviour
	1411	Driving while licence cancelled or suspended
	1431	Exceeding the prescribed content of alcohol limit
	1432	Exceeding legal speed limit

* ASOC codes refer to Australian standard offence classifications (ABS 1997)

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Violent crime

Figures 4 and 5 show the number of reported violent crimes per week in each suburb for the 18-month period, with the data for the target and control suburbs presented first, followed by the data for the three surrounding suburbs. The beginning and end date of the SCPT intervention in Narrabundah is marked in each chart.

Figure 4: Violent crime offences (weekly frequency), Narrabundah and Ainslie
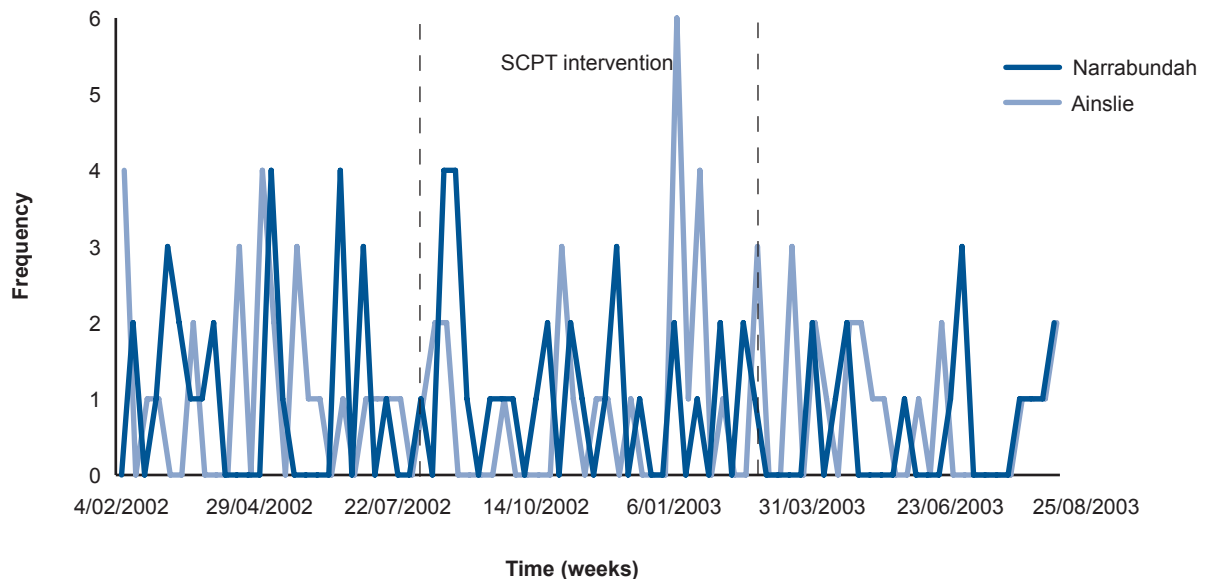
Source: ACT Policing recorded crime statistics (selected), AIC SCPTE [computer file]

Figure 5: Violent crime offences (weekly frequency), Red Hill, Griffith and Kingston

Source: ACT Policing recorded crime statistics (selected), AIC SCPTE [computer file]

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Suburb	Mean pre-SCPT*	Mean post-SCPT	Test sig (F)	Significance (α)
Narrabundah	0.9	0.6	1.39	0.24
Ainslie	1.1	0.8	1.06	0.31
Red Hill	0.6	0.4	0.74	0.39
Griffith	0.8	1.5	3.98	0.05*
Kingston	1.3	1.2	0.07	0.79

* significant at p>.05

Source: ACT Policing recorded crime statistics (selected), AIC SCPTE [computer file]

The information presented in Figures 4 and 5 does not immediately suggest that there were any distinct changes in any of the five suburbs during or after the SCPT's six-month intervention in Narrabundah with regard to violent crime. There appears to be little consistency or pattern to the fluctuations over time for any of the suburbs. In order to identify whether the intervention had an impact in Narrabundah and/or the adjacent suburbs, the crime rates for the six-months pre- and post-intervention were compared for each suburb using a one-way ANOVA test.

The results presented in Table 4 indicate that the change in violent crime rates between the pre- and post-intervention periods was statistically significant in only the suburb of Griffith, where violent crime incidents per week increased from less than one a week to more than one. Given the lack of change in any of the other suburbs, and particularly the lack of change in Narrabundah, it can be concluded that the factors influencing this shift in the incidence of reported violent offences were specific to the suburb of Griffith.

Property crime

The aggregated weekly recorded crime statistics for property offences in each suburb are presented in Figures 6 and 7. From the data it appears that Ainslie and Narrabundah's rates of property crime are quite similar and that the fluctuations over time seem to lack consistency. Further analysis, however, has revealed that the rate of recorded property offences between the two suburbs is not strongly correlated.

Figure 6: Property crime offences (frequency), Narrabundah and Ainslie
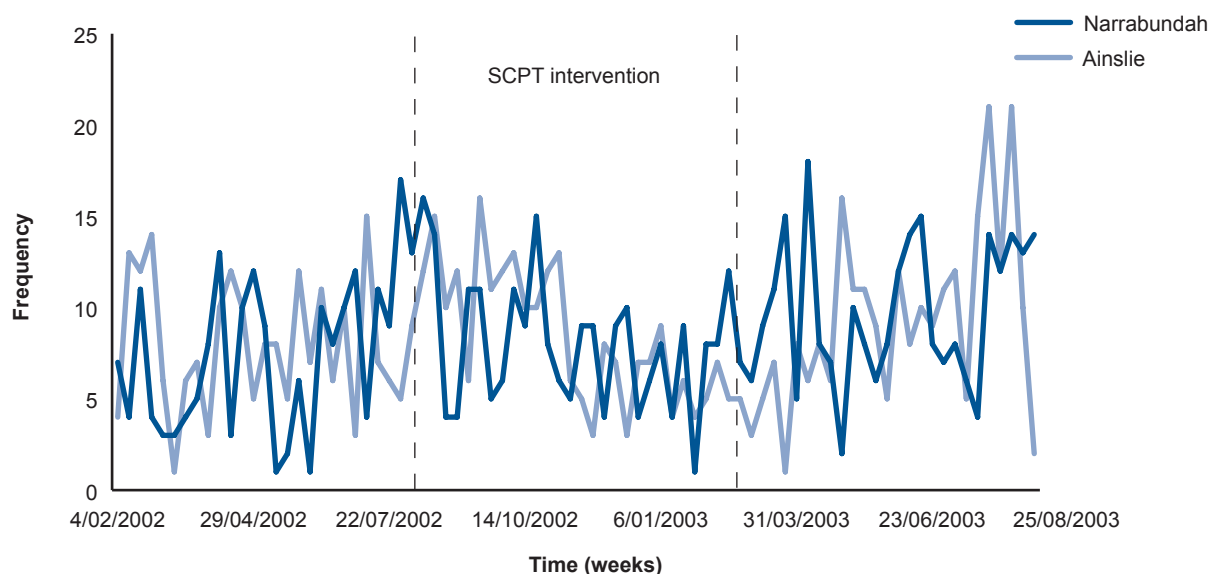
Source: ACT Policing recorded crime statistics (selected), AIC SCPTE [computer file]

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Figure 7: Property crime offences (frequency), Red Hill, Griffith and Kingston
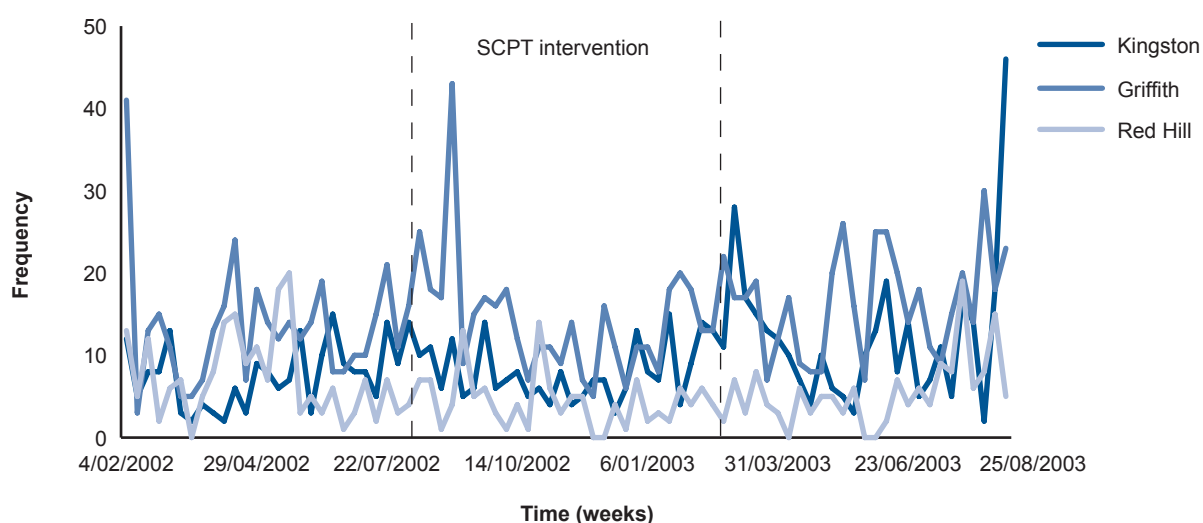
Source: ACT Policing recorded crime statistics (selected), AIC SCPTE [computer file]

Both Griffith and Kingston experienced some sharp increases but the data in Figures 6 and 7 provide no indication as to whether that change over time for any of the suburbs was significant. To examine whether there was a statistically significant difference in the prevalence of property crime offences between the pre- and post-implementation periods of the SCPT intervention a one-way ANOVA was conducted.

The results presented in Table 5 indicate that the increase in property crime in Kingston between the pre- and post- SCPT intervention period was statistically significant. It is difficult to identify the key factors contributing to this increase, but given the lack of change in the other suburbs it can be assumed that they were most likely to be suburb-specific as opposed to factors affecting the whole area. The lack of change in Narrabundah and other surrounding suburbs weakens any potential argument that the increase in Kingston was a displacement effect from the SCPT initiative. Other factors, such as the release of an offender back into the community, could potentially explain the rise (see for example Makkai et al. 2003). Further, a change in recorded crime statistics may not reflect a change in the incidence of crime; rather it may be reflective of shifts in crime reporting practices.

Table 5: Pre- and post-SCPT ANOVA test of weekly mean of reported property offences

Suburb	Mean pre-SCPT	Mean post-SCPT	Test sig (F)	Significance (α)
Narrabundah	7.7	9.8	3.12	.08
Ainslie	8.1	9.4	1.16	.29
Red Hill	7.3	5.6	1.63	.21
Griffith	13.8	16.3	1.74	.19
Kingston	7.8	12.3	5.77	.02*

* significant at $p > 0.05$
Source: ACT Policing recorded crime statistics (selected), AIC SCPTE [computer file]

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Disorder-related crime

Disorder-related offences included a wide range of minor offence. The weekly aggregated recorded crime statistics for these offences over the 18-month data collection period are presented in Figures 8 and 9.

Figure 8: Disorder-related offences (frequency), Narrabundah and Ainslie
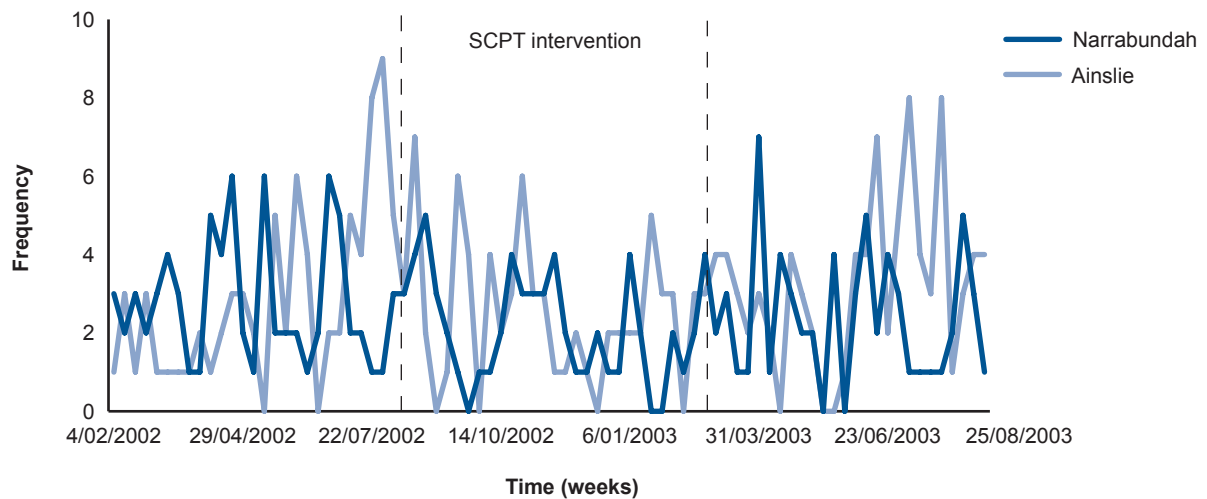
Source: ACT Policing recorded crime statistics (selected), AIC SCPTE [computer file]

Figure 9: Disorder-related offences (frequency), Red Hill, Griffith and Kingston
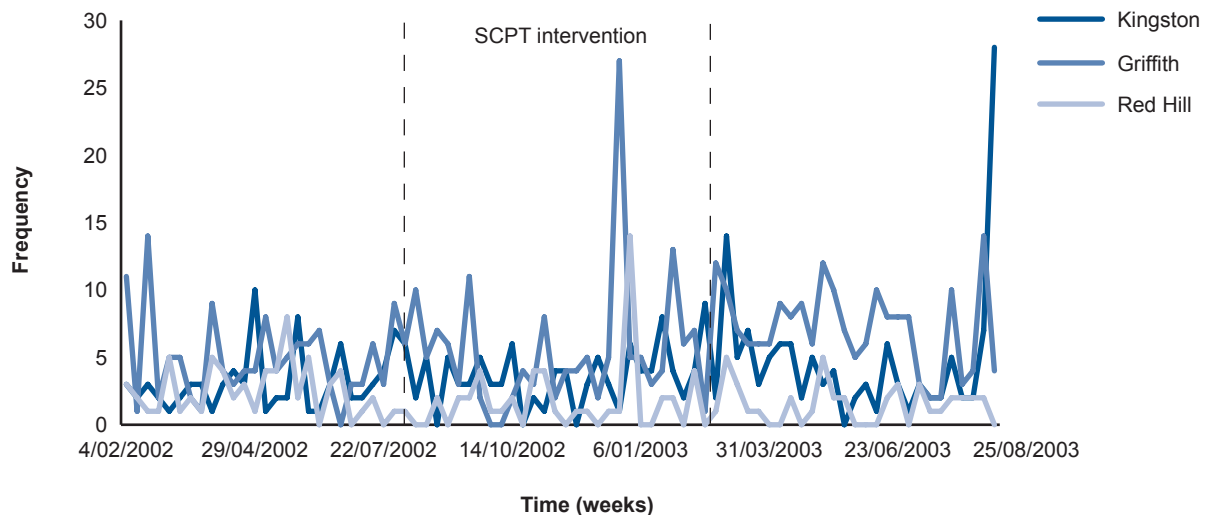
Source: ACT Policing recorded crime statistics (selected), AIC SCPTE [computer file]

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Table 6:	Pre- and post-SCPT ANOVA test of weekly mean of reported disorder-related offences			
Suburb	Mean pre-SCPT	Mean post-SCPT	Test sig (F)	Significance (α)
Narrabundah	2.8	2.4	0.80	.38
Ainslie	2.9	3.3	0.48	.49
Red Hill	2.4	1.5	3.03	.09
Griffith	5.1	7.0	4.84	.03*
Kingston	3.2	4.9	2.20	.14

* significant at p>0.05
Source: ACT Policing recorded crime statistics (selected), AIC SCPTE [computer file]

The weekly prevalence rate for disorder-related crime appears to fluctuate in all suburbs with little consistency. Griffith in particular experienced sharp fluctuations at different times over the 18-month period. In order to determine whether the difference between the pre- and post-implementation rates for disorder-related offences were statistically significant, a one-way ANOVA was conducted using the weekly recorded crime data.

Griffith was the only suburb to experience a statistically significant change in the rate of disorder-related offences between the pre- and post-implementation periods (approximately two more disorder-related offences per week on average were being recorded in the post-implementation period). This data does not enable any identification of the factors contributing to this increase. However, considering the lack of statistically significant change in disorder-related recorded crime data for the target suburb and other surrounding suburbs, it can be concluded that it is unlikely this increase was the result of a displacement effect caused by the SCPT's presence in Narrabundah.

Recorded crime statistics: overview

For each of the three offences types there was no statistically significant change in the rates of recorded offences in Narrabundah between the pre- and post-implementation period of the SCPT initiative. This indicates that the SCPT did not have a major recorded crime reduction impact nor did it appear to impact upon the official reporting practices of residents within the suburb. Crime rates remained relatively stable over time in Narrabundah, as well as in Ainslie, suggesting that the SCPT's presence in Narrabundah had little impact on recorded crime statistics. The data from the three surrounding suburbs was less consistent. The statistically significant increases in property crime in Kingston and the increases in violent and disorder-related crime in Griffith are more likely to be due to suburb-specific factors. For the three crime categories, there was an increase in one of the surrounding suburbs. The other surrounding suburbs experienced no significant change, nor did the target and control suburbs, indicating that these results were not directly attributable to the SCPT. Such results emphasise the importance of strengthening findings in relation to measuring change in recorded crime statistics through gathering data for multiple adjacent areas over time.

Community safety survey

Levels of crime and the extent to which the SCPT was able to reduce crime can be examined through victimisation experience reported in a community safety survey. The survey identified seven specific crime problems that respondents may have experienced. These were not all criminal offences, as recorded by ASOC. They are therefore referred to as crime *problems*. They were:

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- household burglary;

- motor vehicle theft;

- theft from motor vehicles;

- graffiti/other vandalism;

- street assault/bag snatching;

- harassment by drunk and disorderly people; and

- harassment by youth.

The first four of these measures inquired into victimisation at the household level (for example, 'Have you or any member of your household experienced theft from a motor vehicle?'). The final three measures inquired into victimisation at an individual level (for example, 'Have you personally experienced harassment by youth in your suburb?'). The questions were specific to experiences within the suburb the respondent lived in, and were posed retrospectively for the six months prior to the survey (for example, 'In the past six months have you personally experienced…in [Ainslie/Narrabundah]?'). The community safety survey can be used to explore victimisation in both the target and control suburb (as measured by the seven crime problems identified in the survey) in a number of ways:

- overall victimisation;

- victimisation prevalence by crime problem; and

- repeat victimisation.

In evaluating the impact of the SCPT on crime problems in Narrabundah, the key issues explored through analysis of the community safety survey data included:

- did the levels of victimisation decrease over time?

- was any change attributable to the SCPT's presence?

Overall victimisation

Figure 10 presents the prevalence rates for victimisation (the percentage of those within each suburb who experienced at least one of the seven listed crime problems in the community safety survey in the past six months) for both Narrabundah and Ainslie. Victimisation can also be expressed in terms of incidence rates (that is, number of crimes per X number of people in the sample). For example, the report on the results from the *International criminal victimisation survey* details both prevalence rates and incidence rates (van Kesteren, Mayhew & Nieuwbeerta 2000). However, it was noted in that report that 'although prevalence rates do not reflect the number of times people are victimised, they are a simple and valid measure of the distribution of crime across national populations' (2000: 23). For the purposes of this analysis, prevalence rates were determined to be the most appropriate given the small population numbers involved. The majority of respondents from both suburbs (almost 70 per cent for both surveys) reported that they had never experienced any of the seven crime problems listed in the community safety survey. Reported experience of victimisation was slightly higher in Narrabundah than Ainslie.

Figure 10: Victimisation prevalence by suburb, per cent who experienced victimisation one or more times in past six months
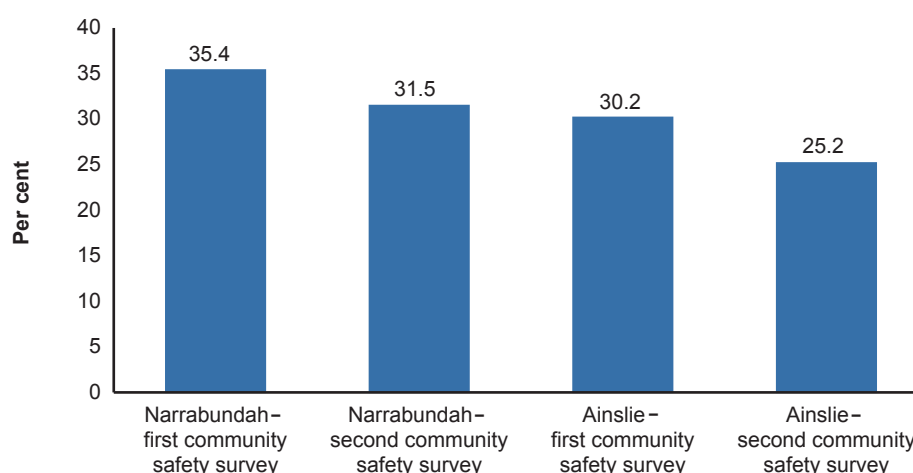
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Within Narrabundah, victimisation was reported at similar levels between upper and lower Narrabundah. Approximately 65 per cent of respondents in both areas indicated that they had not experienced crime in the past six months. Between the first and second wave of the community safety survey victimisation prevalence rates changed very little within upper Narrabundah, whilst in lower Narrabundah they decreased by 10 per cent.

This data can be further analysed to determine the degree to which suburb and time were influential factors in any change that occurred in prevalence rates, and whether the changes were statistically significant. Through the application of a general linear model, it is possible to determine whether time and suburb had a statistically significant interactive impact on overall victimisation prevalence both between and within the suburbs. A comparison can be made between Ainslie and Narrabundah, and between lower and upper Narrabundah. The results for the general linear model between the two suburbs are presented in Table 7. The results indicate that neither time nor suburb as single factors were statistically significant. Further, the interaction between time and suburb also had no statistically significant impact on victimisation prevalence. From these results it can be concluded that the slight difference in the observed prevalence rates between the two suburbs at the two data collection periods was not statistically significant. Thus, the presence of the SCPT cannot be considered to have had a statistically significant effect upon crime victimisation prevalence rates.

Table 7: General linear model exploring the interaction of time and suburb on victimisation prevalence

	Type III sum of squares	F	Sig.
Within-subject contrasts			
Time	.373	2.560	.11
Time *suburb	.005	0.034	.86
Between-subject contrast			
Suburb	.616	2.224	.14

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

The prevalence of victimisation between lower and upper Narrabundah respondents was also analysed. Upper Narrabundah respondents reported a slightly higher rate of victimisation prevalence for the first community safety survey (36 per cent compared to 34 per cent in lower Narrabundah) and this rate remained relatively stable over time, while the prevalence rate for lower Narrabundah decreased by approximately 10 per cent (from 34 per cent to 24 per cent). The application of a general linear model has the potential to reveal more about the changes within and between the two areas of Narrabundah than simply looking at the target suburb as a whole, which is important given the SCPT focusing their efforts on the lower Narrabundah area.

Despite the differences in the victimisation prevalence levels between the two areas at both collection periods, the results from the general linear model indicated that there were no statistically significant differences. Thus, despite the SCPT's concentration in lower Narrabundah, it did not have a statistically significant impact upon experiences of victimisation in either the suburb as a whole or in either the two areas of Narrabundah.

Victimisation prevalence by major risk factors

It is possible to explore victimisation prevalence further, by examining such factors as age and sex. The information in Table 8 presents the distribution of victimisation prevalence according to sex and age. These two factors were chosen based on extensive research which has repeatedly demonstrated their impact on experiences of crime (Muir 1987).

		Narrabundah		Ainslie	
Table 8: Victimisation risks, prevalence by sex and age (per cent victimised once or more)*					
		First community safety survey	**Second community safety survey**	**First community safety survey**	**Second community safety survey**
Sex	Males	35	38	49	37
	Females	65	63	51	63
Age	16–24	8	5	3	8
	25–34	16	18	16	16
	35–44	32	38	34	28
	45–54	25	14	19	24
	55–64	13	14	10	10
	64 and over	6	11	16	16
Mean age		44 years	44 years	47 years	46 years

* Totals may not sum to 100 due to rounding

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Women consistently reported experiencing crime more frequently than men in both suburbs, however the changes over time were not consistent between the suburbs. While the proportion of women to men who experienced crime in the previous six months in Ainslie increased over time (that is, from 57 per cent in the first community safety survey to 63 per cent in the second community safety survey), in Narrabundah the proportion of women decreased very slightly over the same period. A paired-samples t-test revealed that the only change in prevalence rates over time for females and males within each of the suburbs that was statistically significant was the decrease in prevalence rate for males in Ainslie (t=–2.35, sig=.02; sig at p>.05).

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Within both areas of Narrabundah women reported experiencing crime more than men. In upper Narrabundah women's prevalence rates increased from 58 per cent in the first community safety survey to 62 per cent, whilst in lower Narrabundah 80 per cent of respondents who experienced crime in the first community safety survey were women. This decreased to 64 per cent in the second community safety survey. This decrease represented a 16 per cent change in the proportion of women who experienced crime in lower Narrabundah. A paired samples t-test indicated that decrease in prevalence rates for females within lower Narrabundah was the only change that was statistically significant (t=–2.01, sig=.05; sig at p>.05)

There was some fluctuation in victimisation prevalence rates according to age, although a consistent pattern was not readily identifiable. The average age for crime victims in Ainslie and Narrabundah for the first community safety survey was 47 years and 44 years respectively. For the second community safety survey, the average age of victims in Ainslie decreased to 46 years, while in Narrabundah it remained stable at 44 years. The mean age of respondents who experienced crime in lower Narrabundah rose from 44 years to 47 years in the second community safety survey, while in upper Narrabundah the mean age remained stable at 43 years. While there were some changes in the distribution across age groups of crime victimisation over time (as evidenced in Table 8), the rates remained fairly consistent and the application of a paired-samples t-test to the data indicated that none of the changes were statistically significant.

Victimisation prevalence by crime

Victimisation prevalence can be further explored in relation to each of the specific offences in the community safety survey. It is a considerable task for overall levels of victimisation to significantly change across a whole suburb in six months, particularly with only two officers working in the area. Given the scope of the intervention, it is more likely that the SCPT could impact on specific crimes. The prevalence rates for each crime problem reported in the first and second community safety surveys are presented in Figure 11. According to the first community safety survey, the three most experienced crime problems in Narrabundah were:

- harassment by youth;
- graffiti and other vandalism; and
- household burglary.

In the second survey, harassment by drunk and disorderly persons was the most frequently experienced crime problem, followed by harassment by youth and household burglary (reported at exactly the same level). In Ainslie, experience of crime problems was somewhat different. Graffiti/other vandalism was experienced most frequently followed by household burglary. These remained the most reported crime problems in the second community safety survey.

In lower Narrabundah, harassment by youth was experienced by over half of those who reported crime problems in the first community safety survey. This was followed by graffiti and other vandalism. The proportion of respondents who experienced harassment by youth decreased by almost 20 per cent in the second community safety survey. As a result of the shifts in prevalence rates, the crime problems most frequently experienced in lower Narrabundah in the second community safety survey were:

- household burglary;
- youth harassment; and
- harassment by drunk and disorderly persons.

Figure 11: Victimisation prevalence by crime type for each suburb, per cent who experienced any crime once or more in the past six months*
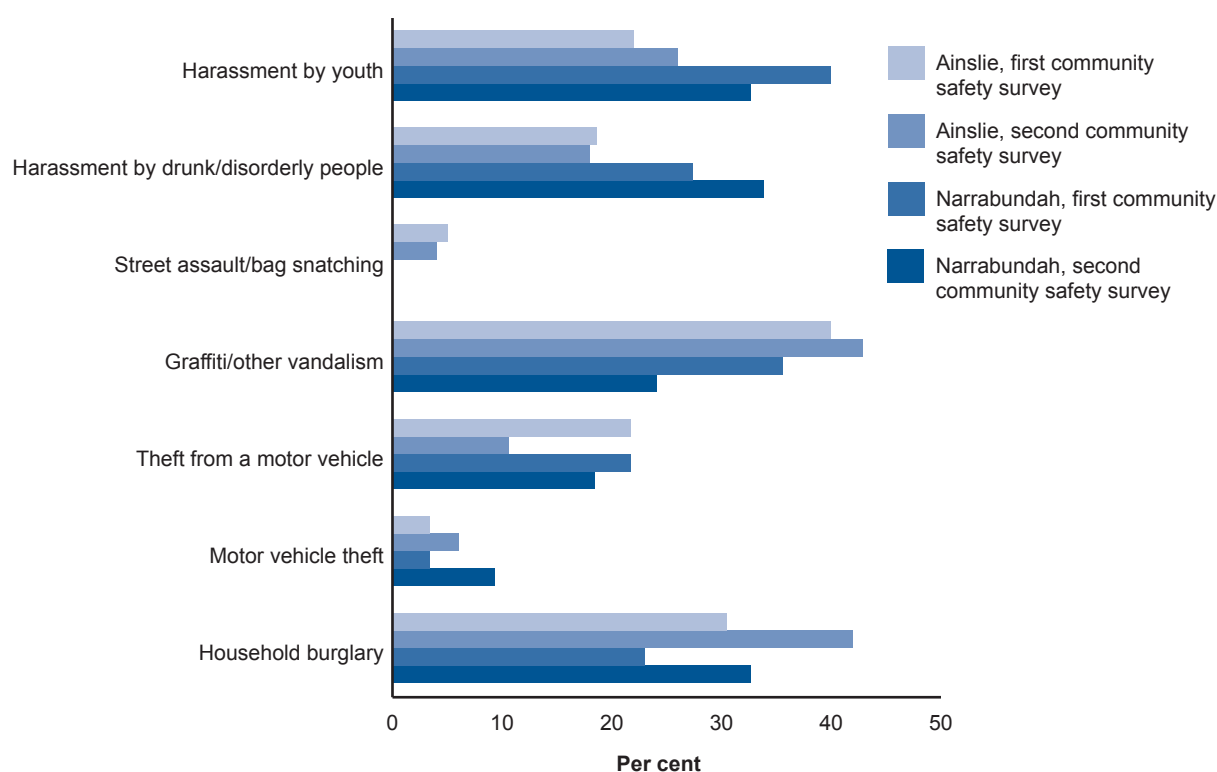
Legend:
- Ainslie, first community safety survey
- Ainslie, second community safety survey
- Narrabundah, first community safety survey
- Narrabundah, second community safety survey

Crime types: Harassment by youth, Harassment by drunk/disorderly people, Street assault/bag snatching, Graffiti/other vandalism, Theft from a motor vehicle, Motor vehicle theft, Household burglary

X-axis: Per cent (0 to 50)

* nb missing data excluded

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

For upper Narrabundah, graffiti/other vandalism was the crime problem most experienced by respondents (38%), followed by harassment by youth. In the second community safety survey the prevalence of harassment by drunk and disorderly persons increased by almost 10 per cent, making it the most experienced crime problem in upper Narrabundah. This was followed by youth harassment and household burglary.

Using a paired-samples t-test the change in prevalence rates between the first and second community safety surveys was analysed for each suburb and within the two areas of Narrabundah in order to determine if any changes were statistically significant. The findings indicated that the only statistically significant change occurred in Ainslie, with a significant reduction in experience of theft from motor vehicles (t=–1.981, sig.=.05; sig at p>.05). With regard to the two areas of Narrabundah, there was only a statistically significant reduction in the experience of graffiti and other vandalism in lower Narrabundah (t=–2.15, sig=.04; sig at p>.05).

Repeat victimisation

The prevalence of repeat victimisation offers a further insight into the experience of crime victimisation. While prevalence may be high overall, it could be that a large proportion of the sample has experienced a crime problem in the past six months, or that a small proportion of the sample population has been the victim of a number of different crimes in the past six months. A repeat victimisation measure was developed using data from the community safety survey based on experiences of two or more types of crime problems, as multiple experiences of crime problems were not recorded in the survey instrument.

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Table 9: Levels of reported crime victimisation by suburb and survey (per cent who have experienced any crime)				
	Ainslie		Narrabundah	
	First community safety survey	Second community safety survey	First community safety survey	Second community safety survey
One	75.4	68.6	61.9	64.3
2 crimes	16.4	19.6	31.7	26.8
3 crimes	3.3	9.8	6.3	5.4
4 crimes	4.9	2.0	0.0	3.6
Total (n)	61	51	63	56

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

For both suburbs, the majority of victims (over 60 per cent) had not been victims of multiple crime problems in the previous six months (that is, they had experienced only one of the seven possible crime problems). Between the first and second survey fewer people in Ainslie experienced crime problems yet more people were experiencing multiple problems in the second survey. In Narrabundah, by contrast, between the first and second survey, fewer people were experiencing crime problems and fewer people were experiencing multiple problems. Within upper Narrabundah the levels of repeat victimisation changed very little, compared to lower Narrabundah where the level of repeat victimisation decreased by approximately 15 per cent.

Community safety survey: overview

Approximately 30 per cent of the Ainslie and Narrabundah sample population had experienced crime problems in the past six months. This rate is consistent with the overall rate of victimisation for Australia found by the 2000 *International crime victimisation survey* (van Kesteren, Mayhew & Nieuwbeerta 2000: 38). Further analysis demonstrated that disorder-related problems were reported more frequently than property crime problems in the community safety survey, compared to the recorded crime statistics. In the recorded crime statistics, property offences were reported at a much higher rate than disorder-related offences. Although this may be due to the limited number of offences in the community safety survey, it can also be considered indicative of the perceived seriousness of crime problems, such that harassment by youth and harassment by drunk and disorderly persons is less often going to result in a formal complaint being made to the police compared to a household burglary.

There were some differences to note in terms of prevalence when considering factors such as sex, age and repeat victimisation. While the overall rate of victimisation in Narrabundah and in both areas of Narrabundah did not decrease to a statistically significant degree, the proportion of females experiencing crime in lower Narrabundah did decrease significantly. Potentially this could be explained by differences in the types of crime females and males experience in that area, however similar crimes were experienced by both men and women in lower Narrabundah. Such a change for a subgroup of a small population makes it difficult to isolate causal factors and to identify the role of SCPT in this change. While the SCPT may have contributed to small changes in the experience of crime problems, it is often the case that such small changes are due to more random fluctuations. Longer term data trends would need to be monitored to identify the true significance of such findings.

Overall, the findings from the community safety survey suggest that the SCPT had little effect on the experience of crime in Narrabundah. However, while the SCPT had little impact on crime reduction in Narrabundah it also did not contribute to an increase in crime. It could therefore be concluded that the team at least maintained the level of crime while in the suburb for the six-month intervention period.

Physical disorder measure

The physical disorder measure was conducted in both Ainslie and Narrabundah early in the intervention and was repeated immediately after the intervention. This measure of physical disorder draws on the broken windows theory, whereby a decrease in physical disorder can be considered an indication of general decline in social control leading to a downward spiral in the neighbourhood's level of order including a possible increase in crime (Wilson & Kelling 1982). Thus, indications of a significant increase in physical disorder would suggest that a rise in crime might soon follow. Appendix 1 provides a more detailed description and discussion of the physical disorder measure's methodology.

Comparing the results during and post-implementation of the SCPT, it was found that there was no statistically significant change in the levels of physical disorder in either Narrabundah or Ainslie. The lack of change in Narrabundah over the two time periods would suggest that crime should not have risen significantly in the same period, which it had not.

Operational measures forms

The operational measures forms allowed the SCPT to identify the crime problem or issue that was being addressed in the process of any activity being recorded. The categories were the same as the three offence categories used to analyse the recorded crime statistics. Using this data, a broad overview of the SCPT's activities in relation to each offence type can be given.

In total there were 26 activities that addressed violent offences, 168 that related to property offences and 151 activities that involved disorder-related offences. Activities could address multiple offence types at once. This reflects the varied nature of activities (for example, a meeting with a school community may involve a discussion of major crime concerns including drug use, a recent burglary and vandalism). The forms attempted to allow the SCPT to capture multiple issues. Figure 12 presents the distribution of activities addressing each of the crime types across the six-month intervention period.

Figure 12: SCPT activities by crime type (per cent conducted each month)*
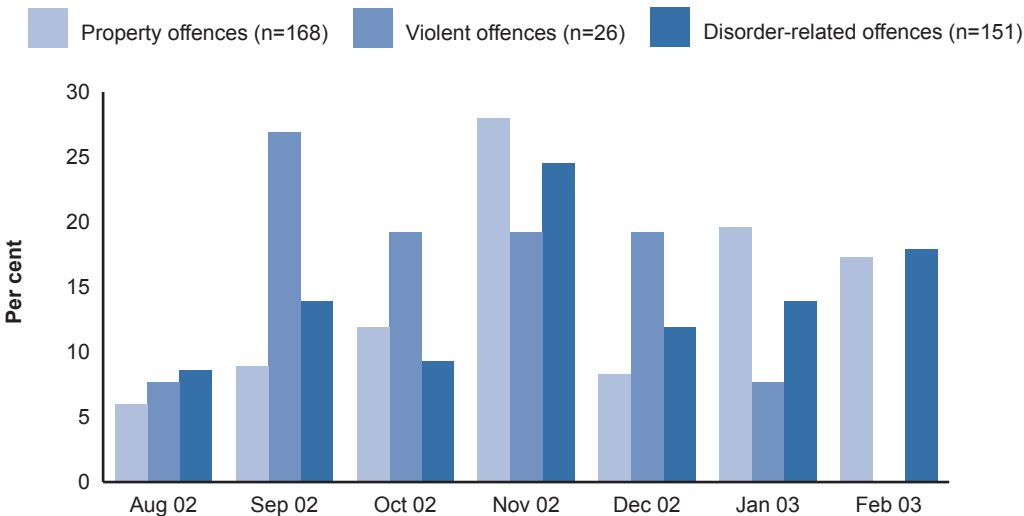
* nb missing data excluded

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

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Table 10: Breakdown of SCPT activities according to crime type			
	Property offences (n=168)	**Violent offences (n=26)**	**Disorder-related offences (n=151)**
Activity location	SCPT office, city station (38%)	School premises (39%)	SCPT office, city station (40%)
Interactive	Yes (55%)	Yes (100%)	Yes (74%)
Interaction with	Local businesses (20%) Householders (19%)	Local schools (46%)	Local businesses (25%)
Referrals	Yes (24%)	Yes (50%)	Yes (28%)
Intelligence gathered	Yes (41%) IR submitted (38%)	Yes (39%) IR submitted (10%)	Yes (50%) IR submitted (33%)
Main objective of activity	To develop and/or implement strategies to solve community problems/issues	To develop and/or implement strategies to solve community problems/issues	To provide interaction between the police and the community
Main purpose of activity	To educate/inform/disseminate information to the community	To discuss issues with a formal group	To educate/inform/disseminate information to the community

Source: Australia Institute of Criminology, operational measures forms [computer file].

The number of activities by crime type reflected the recorded crime frequency levels, although the proportion of activities undertaken for each category is not reflective of the proportion of offences. For example, property crime over the 18-month period and for the six-month intervention period represented approximately 70 per cent of all recorded crime, whereas only 49 per cent of the SCPT activities involved property offences. Disorder-related offences were the focus of approximately 44 per cent of the SCPT's activities. A focus on disorder-related offences for almost half of the SCPT's activities reflects the high ranking of these types of offences reported by Narrabundah respondents in the community safety surveys.

Activities that involved disorder-related offences and property offences tended to involve less interaction in the community and more office-based work compared to activities related to violent offences. For all of these activities, regardless of which crime type they were addressing, sharing and gathering of information was central. Intelligence was gathered (resulting in information reports being submitted in some cases), referrals to stakeholders and support groups were made and strategies were discussed. Further, the SCPT worked with local schools, local businesses and householders in the community which is indicative of the broad range of views being accessed by the SCPT and the variation in activities being conducted in relation to specific crimes (for example, talking to school children about stranger danger, speaking with businesses about their concerns, speaking with householders about individual concerns).

Key stakeholder interviews

From the interviews conducted with stakeholders in the Narrabundah community early in the intervention and following the conclusion of the intervention, consistent themes and key issues emerged in relation to the SCPT's role in the reduction of crime in the Narrabundah community.

Minor concerns

For many stakeholders crime was not considered a major issue. Many considered their concerns to be relatively minor: '[crime] is not a big concern, [mainly just] the kids hanging around [is a concern].' For a large proportion of the stakeholders, particularly those based at the Narrabundah shops, the presence of loiterers, particularly youth congregating at the shops, was identified consistently as a main concern. These issues would not normally be reported to police. Contact with the police was considered necessary

and useful only on the limited occasions when serious events occurred. As a result, many of the issues identified by stakeholders as major concerns for them were not issues reflected in the recorded crime statistics.

Specific nature of some concerns

Some concerns were specific to only a few stakeholders. For example, all of the businesses on one of the two street-facing sides of the Narrabundah shops area identified the public telephone box as a major issue: 'the phone box is the main concern….[it] is a focal point for drug deals, groups hanging around...' Shops facing different streets did not comment on this issue. The multiple crime and disorder concerns identified within a community places community police officers in a position where they must determine which issues can be addressed and which should be prioritised.

The SCPT's impact and community expectations

Many stakeholders identified the presence of the SCPT as directly impacting upon the area, addressing at least one of their major concerns:

> [the area] is better now in terms of the kids…having the police presence has made the local kids better behaved, more friendly…[because] they [the SCPT] have worked with them and they treat them with respect.

A number of stakeholders acknowledged that the SCPT would have had a limited direct impact on crime statistics, but indicated that they did not consider this the role of the SCPT: 'the lack of change [in recorded crime] isn't reflective of the SCPT not doing anything or not working – they are prevention-focused and responsive to needs, rather than addressing crime as such.' Many identified the SCPT as having an important impact on their daily concerns and felt that it was enough for the team to simply be responsive to serious crime, rather than holding high expectations that they would be able to prevent it:

> In terms of the shops, the area is noticeably quieter…Break-ins, assaults etc in the general community are still occurring sporadically, but SCPT are good in terms of responding when it occurs. Graffiti still occurs sporadically, but they are responding immediately to it and have it removed.

Project and impact limitations

For many stakeholders the SCPT was limited by the project design, particularly in terms of the project time frame. Many considered the six-month period too short to impact upon crime in a major way: 'there's very little they can do in the short term.' Although the SCPT's ability to address the everyday concerns of the area was considered a major positive for stakeholders, some were sceptical of the long-term potential of the immediate impact, noting that their efforts 'need maintenance, as soon as one group starts the problems will be back again.' After the SCPT intervention had ceased, the immediate return of some problems, though on a lesser scale than prior to the intervention, was observed by some: 'the little tykes have started up again, but [they are] not as bad [as before the intervention].'

Overall, the interviews with stakeholders made it clear that many of the daily concerns were not major crime concerns; rather, they were considered to be less serious social disorder concerns that nonetheless impacted upon many stakeholders. As such the SCPT's efforts were, on the whole, greatly appreciated and generally well received. Many stakeholders indicated that the SCPT successfully addressed some of the concerns and problems that faced stakeholders in the area, although there was some scepticism regarding the long-term impact their efforts would have.

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Weekly meeting reports

Meeting weekly with the SCPT allowed a great deal of insight into the implementation and progress of the initiative from the officers' perspective. The SCPT spent much of the first six weeks in Narrabundah gathering intelligence from the ACT Policing PROMIS database and meeting with the community to ascertain levels of knowledge about crime in the area and key crime concerns. From the SCPT's perspective, a reduction in crime across the whole suburb was never a realistic goal. Serious crime was not often discussed by the SCPT as a key issue of concern in the community, nor was it nominated as an issue for the team to focus their efforts on. Their interactions with members of the community revealed that many of the issues that needed to be addressed were of minor concern, yet were major problems in the area, such as youth loitering around the shops and the family/social issues that arose in the local schools.

There was a number of occasions, especially early in the intervention, where the team struggled with performing the role of community police officers as they came from a traditional policing background where responding to crime was their central role and where recorded crime was a key performance indicator. In some cases the occurrence of crime in Narrabundah was noted as giving them the opportunity to do some 'real work'. The SCPT was able to assist with investigations on a number of occasions (in relation to both property and violent crime situations) as a result of having key intelligence to feed into an investigation or being in a position to liaise with the individuals involved. For example, on one occasion an unoccupied house under renovation in Narrabundah was the subject of extensive vandalism. The crime was reported to the police (not to the SCPT) and attended by ACT Policing officers, but there was little progress in identifying the offenders. The SCPT read about the incident the following day and attended the scene that day. They spoke with the owners and examined the graffiti and the damage to the interior of the home. Through their knowledge of people in the area they were quickly able to identify the possible offenders – a group of local youth – and upon speaking to the young people about the situation obtained full confessions. The SCPT followed up on this by arranging a diversionary conference to take place between the property owners, the young people and their families. This gave the team a sense of satisfaction and they felt it served to legitimise their role in the community to some extent.

In general, a dedicated focus on reducing crime was unrealistic for the SCPT due to the time constraints of the project, the multiple stakeholders that were involved and the many competing crime-related issues that were identified in the community. Although the SCPT could deal with specific crime issues on occasion, it was felt that, in general, maintaining a constant presence in the neighbourhood was the most effective way for the team to deter offenders while also giving them the ability to interact with the community.

Conclusions: reducing crime

Reducing crime is an ambitious objective to achieve, as it is very difficult to make a statistically significant impact on crime statistics. Demonstrating this impact presents further challenges:

> the main problem is detecting change and estimating its size is fluctuation…[I]n the short term and at the local level – where most current approaches to crime prevention exist – crime is typically rare. When numbers are small, fluctuation is great. (Ekblom & Pease 1995: 591)

Such issues are pertinent to this short-term, suburb-focused initiative. If this report were to base its findings on the quantitative methodologies that measured the impact of the SCPT (that is, the recorded crime statistics and the community safety survey) it would be concluded that the SCPT had no impact on crime and therefore did not meet the objective of reducing crime. However, the qualitative data indicate

that such a conclusion would be misguided. While there was no demonstrable effect statistically, there was anecdotal evidence that attested to the SCPT's ability to target and reduce specific crime-related problems in Narrabundah. As Hawdon and Ryan (2003: 67) note in relation to such findings:

> it's certainly too early to give up on the ideas of community policing; however, it's becoming increasingly apparent that we should not believe that this style of policing, in and of itself, will substantially reduce the overall crime rate…

The SCPT engaged with the community in a variety of ways and in relation to various types of crimes and crime-related problems, and was able to curb offending, particularly youth offending at the local shops, to a noticeable extent. Such results are not reflected in the recorded crime statistics nor the community safety survey because many of these concerns would typically go unreported to police. Further, the impact the SCPT did have was more noticeable at particular times of the day and days of the week (that is, during working hours on weekdays), thus it was stakeholders who were in the best position to notice any change. That the SCPT's efforts were specific to one area within Narrabundah also means that for residents who shop elsewhere or simply have little involvement with the community, the presence of some of these problems and the impact of the SCPT may have gone unnoticed.

In assessing the SCPT's impact upon crime in the community, it must be clarified whether the SCPT is expected to reduce the level of recorded crime, to reduce the level of crime reported in a victim survey or to reduce the concerns identified by stakeholders. In terms of recorded crime statistics and the community safety survey, the SCPT had no impact on levels of reported crime or victimisation. However, it was clear that stakeholders felt the low-level crime and disorder concerns relevant to them were addressed, at least in the short-term.

Objective 2: reduce fear of crime

Fear of crime is a complex issue that is of fundamental concern to community policing initiatives: 'From the early days of community policing the reduction of the fear of crime has been a central theme in the building of partnerships between police and community residents' (Zhao et al. 2002: 44). Research exploring fear of crime has drawn upon a variety of indicators to obtain a measure of this phenomenon (see for example CJC 1994). For the present evaluation both quantitative and qualitative data were used to gauge the extent to which the SCPT met this objective.

Quantitative measures

Fear of crime was measured primarily through the community safety surveys. In addition, the operational measures forms offered information about the frequency and nature of activities undertaken in relation to fear of crime.

Qualitative measures

Interviews with stakeholders in the Narrabundah community provided an important insight into the community perception of the SCPT's efforts and the impact of the project in relation to the reduction of fear of crime. In addition, the weekly meeting reports offered an insight into the SCPT's perspective on fear of crime in relation to the initiative.

Community safety surveys

The community safety surveys explored fear of crime via indicators that measured:

- perceptions of safety;
- likelihood of victimisation; and
- location-specific fear.

The main issue considered in this section of the evaluation is whether there was a significant change in any of the fear of crime indicators over time in Narrabundah.

Perceptions of safety

The community safety survey asked respondents to identify their perception of safety on a five-point scale (ranging from 'very safe' to 'very unsafe'). 'Very safe' was given a score of 5, while 'very unsafe' resulted in a score of 1. The perception of safety was based on being alone in three different locations (at home, walking/jogging in the suburb, and at the local shops) at two different times of the day (during the day and after dark).

Non-responses were considered to be at a low enough rate (five per cent for Narrabundah and three per cent for Ainslie in the first community safety survey, and two per cent for both Narrabundah and Ainslie in the second community safety survey) to be recoded into the 'neither' category. This means there are no missing data for the perception of safety variables.

In order to develop an overall picture of perceptions of safety, the results from each survey were developed into a single fear of crime scale. An inter-item correlation was used to determine the extent to which the six items could legitimately be grouped together as a single scale. Reliability analysis was conducted for each suburb for both surveys separately. The results are presented in Tables 11 and 12.

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Table 11: Narrabundah, perceptions of safety scale

Perception of safety question (location/time)	Item-total correlation	
	First community safety survey	Second community safety survey
Home alone during the day	.59	.59
Home alone after dark	.60	.65
Walking alone during the day (in suburb)	.61	.63
Walking along after dark (in suburb)	.56	.63
At the local shops alone during the day	.47	.64
At the local shops alone after dark	.65	.63
Cronbach alpha	.81	.84

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Table 12: Ainslie, perceptions of safety scale

Perception of safety question (location/time)	Item-total correlation	
	First community safety survey	Second community safety survey
Home alone during the day	.78	.70
Home alone after dark	.77	.71
Walking alone during the day (in suburb)	.72	.67
Walking along after dark (in suburb)	.58	.67
At the local shops alone during the day	.63	.63
At the local shops alone after dark	.66	.66
Cronbach alpha	.87	.86

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

In both Narrabundah and Ainslie all items for both data collection periods have item-total correlations above .55 and the Cronbach's alpha for all scales was above .80. This confirms the uni-dimensionality and reliability of each scale, indicating that all the items listed can legitimately be included in the construction of a perception of safety scale for both the first and second community safety surveys in each suburb.

Scores from the surveys were reordered and recoded (such that 'very safe=4 and 'very unsafe'=0) so that the absolute scale range for perceptions of safety was from 0 to 24. Low to high was indicative of 'very unsafe' to 'very safe' overall perceptions of safety. The scale was developed via the sum of the responses to each item and resulted in an obtained range of 2 to 24 for the first community safety survey and 0 to 24 for the second community safety survey. Once this overall scale was developed, it was possible to compare the overall perceptions of safety of the Narrabundah and Ainslie sample populations.

Figures 13 and 14 present the distribution of the perceived level of safety scores in both Narrabundah and Ainslie for both data collection periods. The distribution of the scale is positively skewed for both the first and second community safety surveys, indicating that respondents generally felt safe in their suburb. There appears to have been some change over time in the distribution of scores, however the results presented in Table 13 give a clearer indication of the scale scores for the two suburbs at both collection periods.

Although in Figures 13 and 14 it appeared that there was some change in the distribution of scaled perception of safety scores between the first and second community safety surveys in Narrabundah, the mean score remained constant. In Ainslie, the mean perception of safety score increased from 17 to 18. Considering that the scale ranged from 0 to 24 (very unsafe to very safe), the results indicate that respondents from both suburbs at both data collection periods felt safe in their suburbs, with Ainslie respondents indicating a slightly higher perceived level of safety in their suburb.

Figure 13: Perceptions of safety scaled scores by suburb (first community safety survey)
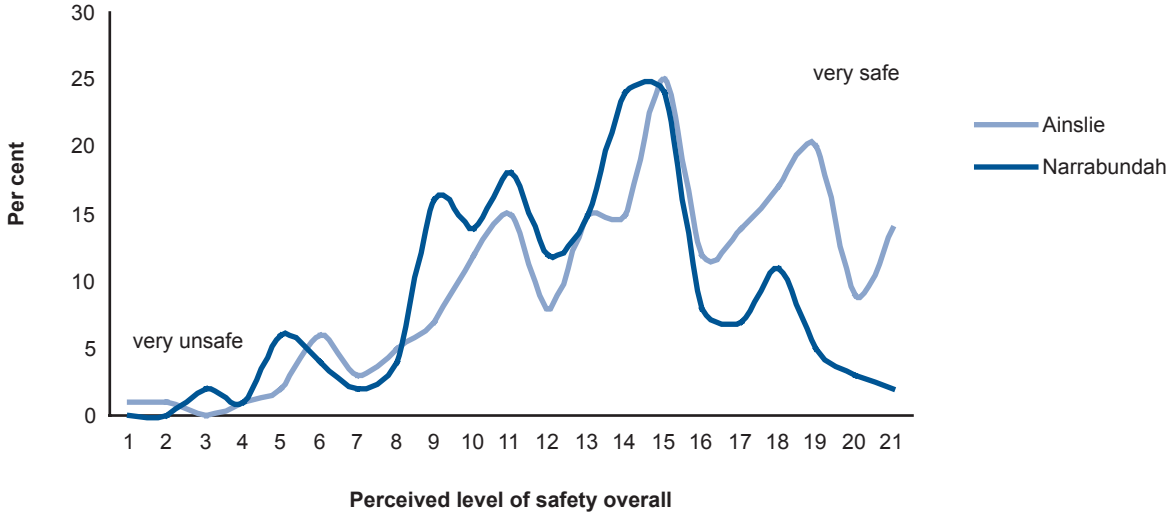
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Figure 14: Perceptions of safety scaled scores by suburb (second community safety survey)
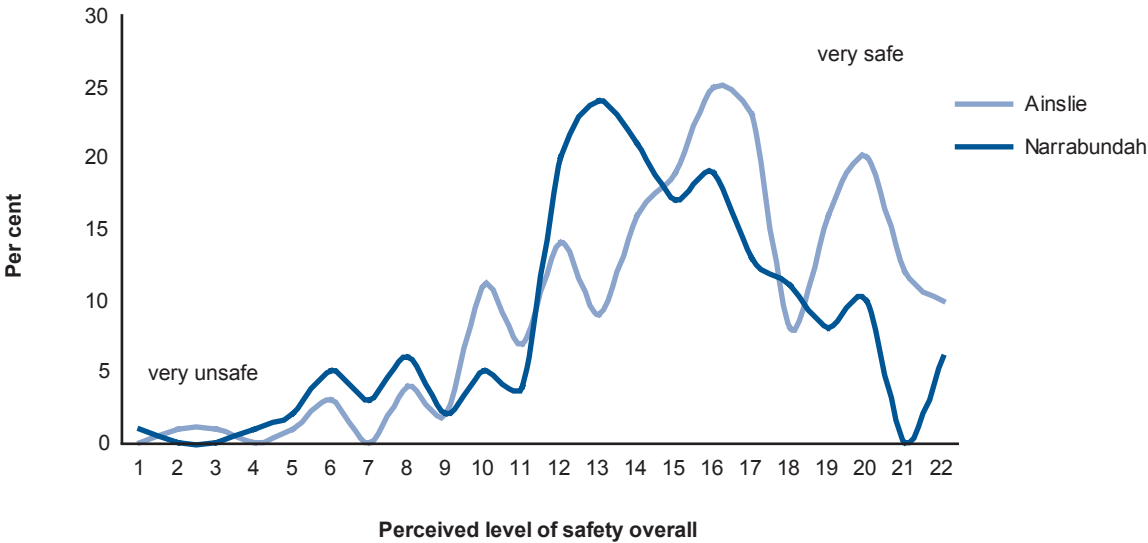
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Table 13: Overall perceptions of safety in suburb-scale statistics						
Survey	**Suburb**	**N**	**Mean**	**Median**	**Std dev.**	**Std error**
First community safety survey	Ainslie	202	17	18	4.36	.31
	Narrabundah	178	16	16	3.77	.28
Second community safety survey	Ainslie	202	18	18	4.03	.28
	Narrabundah	178	16	16	3.97	.30

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

In order to determine the statistical significance of the changes in terms of the perceived level of safety between the first and second community safety surveys, it is possible to compare the mean perception of safety level between both surveys to analyse the combined effect of time and suburb on the levels of safety using a general linear model.

Table 14: General linear model exploring the interaction of time and suburb on overall perception of safety levels			
	Type III sum of squares	**F**	**Sig.**
Within-subject contrasts			
Time	21.87	4.22	.04*
Time *suburb	3.30	.64	.43
Between-subject contrast			
Suburb	488.08	17.67	.00**

* significant at p>.05; ** significant at p>.01
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

The results from the general linear model presented in Table 14 indicate that the interaction between time and suburb was not a factor in the change in levels of perceived safety. However, both time and suburb as single, independent factors were statistically significant. This indicates that difference in the perception of safety scale score between the two suburbs was statistically significant (that is, Ainslie respondents felt more safe in their neighbourhood that those in Narrabundah) and that time alone (combining all the data without distinguishing between the two suburbs) was a significant factor influencing perceptions of safety. A general linear model was also utilised to analyse the results for the two areas within Narrabundah, the results for which are presented in Table 15.

Table 15: General linear model exploring the interaction of time and area on overall perception of safety levels within Narrabundah			
	Type III sum of squares	**F**	**Sig.**
Within-subjects contrasts			
Time	5.29	.98	.33
Time *area	31.49	5.81	.02*
Between-subject contrast			
Area	3.26	.13	.72

* significant at p>.05; ** significant at p>.01
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Figure 15: General linear model, estimated marginal measure of means for perceived levels of safety within Narrabundah
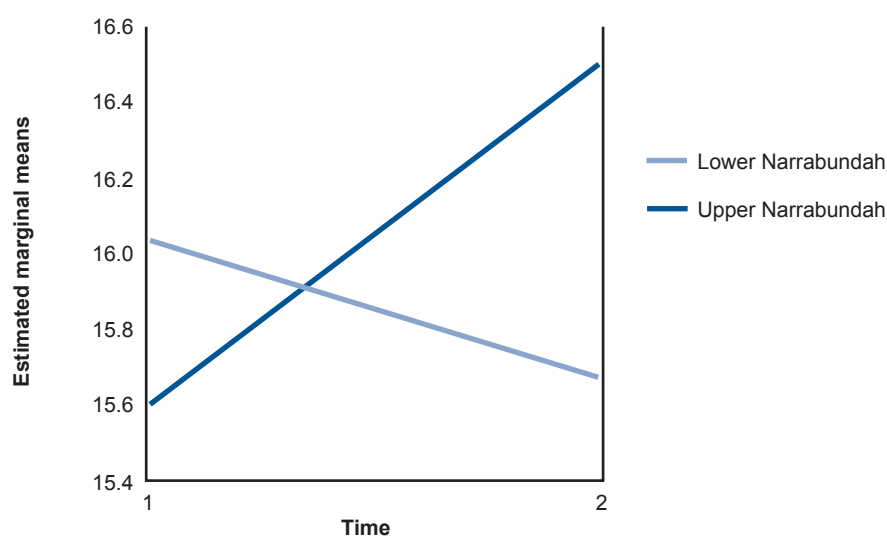
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

The results of the general linear model within Narrabundah indicate that the interactive effective of time and area was a statistically significant factor influencing perceptions of safety. Importantly, this finding indicates that individual levels of perceived safety changed significantly between the two areas. Looking more closely at the results (see Figure 15), lower Narrabundah respondents' perceptions of safety decreased while upper Narrabundah respondents' perceptions of safety increased. That the interactive effect was significant suggests that different factors were influencing respondents' levels of perceived safety in the two areas.

Paired samples t-tests were conducted for further analysis between the two suburbs and between the two areas of Narrabundah to further analyse the statistical significance of changes in perceptions of safety over time (see Table 16). The results in Table 16 indicate that although the change over time in perceived levels of safety for Narrabundah as a whole was not statistically significant, the increase in perceptions of safety in upper Narrabundah was statistically significant.

Table 16: Perception of safety scales paired sample t-test comparing the first and second community safety surveys

| Location | N | Paired differences | | | | |
		Mean	Std dev.	Std error	T	Sig. (2 tailed)
Ainslie	202	.21	3.11	.22	.95	.34
Narrabundah	178	.47	3.33	.25	1.89	.06
Lower Narrabundah	59	−.37	3.7	.49	−.76	.45
Upper Narrabundah	119	.89	3.02	.28	3.22	.00**

** significant at p>.01

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

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The SCPT concentrated their efforts in lower Narrabundah yet only the increase in perceived safety in upper Narrabundah was statistically significant. It is possible that the SCPT was partly responsible for this increase in perceptions of safety, however fewer respondents from upper Narrabundah were aware of the SCPT initiative compared with respondents from lower Narrabundah. Of Narrabundah respondents (n=526) for the second community safety survey, only 99 respondents (19%) indicated that they were aware specifically of the SCPT in the second community safety survey. Thirty per cent of these resided in lower Narrabundah compared to seven per cent in upper Narrabundah. Once prompted about the SCPT, 146 respondents (28%) were able to indicate how they first became aware of the SCPT (excluding who indicated that they first heard about the SCPT via the survey), of which 77 per cent (n=113) resided in lower Narrabundah compared to 33 per cent (n=33) in upper Narrabundah.

While a decline in the experience of crime may be sought to explain an increase in perceived safety, victimisation prevalence within upper Narrabundah did not change over time (as analysis of the community safety survey in the previous section revealed). Thus, although the SCPT and crime victimisation may contribute to perceptions of safety, it is clear that other factors were also influential that may be specific to the different areas within Narrabundah. For example, there was a great deal of anecdotal evidence to indicate there has been a recent upward shift in Narrabundah with increasing property values and a new demographic of middle-class young professionals moving into the area, coupled with new developments and refurbishment of older properties. This has been noted particularly in the upper Narrabundah area over the past 12 months. It is possible that such changes may have impacted positively upon respondents' feelings of safety in their area (see for example Austin, Furr & Spine 2002: 45).

Table 17: Perception of safety by victimisation, sex and age, from the first community safety survey

	Suburb/survey	Mean	Median	Std dev.	Std error
Victimisation					
Never	Narrabundah	16.3	17	3.44	0.32
	Ainslie	17.9	18	3.90	0.33
Once or more	Narrabundah	14.7	15	4.14	0.52
	Ainslie	16.5	17	5.17	0.66
Sex					
Male	Narrabundah	16.9	17	3.71	0.45
	Ainslie	18.8	20	4.07	0.43
Female	Narrabundah	15.0	15	3.65	0.35
	Ainslie	16.5	17	4.32	0.41
Age					
16–24	Narrabundah	14.7	13	4.24	1.41
	Ainslie	16.0	16.5	4.21	1.49
25–34	Narrabundah	15.2	15	4.48	0.83
	Ainslie	18.4	19	4.10	0.71
35–44	Narrabundah	16.1	16	2.99	0.45
	Ainslie	18.1	18	4.34	0.60
45–54	Narrabundah	16.5	17	4.00	0.62
	Ainslie	19.0	20	3.92	0.60
55–64	Narrabundah	15.4	17	4.66	0.99
	Ainslie	17.5	18	4.88	1.04
65+	Narrabundah	15.3	16	2.93	0.53
	Ainslie	14.9	15	3.72	0.56

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

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Perceptions of safety by sex and age

In both suburbs males reported feeling more safe than females in their suburb, while those who had experienced victimisation in the past six months felt less safe in their neighbourhood than those who had not. Age and perception of safety remained relatively stable in Ainslie over time, with 45–54-year-olds feeling the most safe, while respondents 65 years and older felt the least safe. (As the participants may have celebrated a birthday between the first and second survey, the age given for the first community safety survey was used for the analysis of perceptions of crime for both surveys. This was so that each respondent remained in the same age category to give a more accurate indication of whether perceptions of safety changed with regard to age between the first and the second community safety surveys.)

In comparison, Narrabundah experienced some change. For the first community safety survey, respondents in the 45–54-year-old age range reported feeling the most safe, while 16–24-year-olds reported feeling the least safe. However, for the second community safety survey it was respondents aged 65 years and older who felt the most safe. Tables 17 and 18 present the full details of the distribution of scores. These results are indicative of the multiple factors that influence perceptions of safety. Suburb (and areas within that suburb) may be one such factor.

Table 18: Perception of safety by victimisation, sex and age, from the second community safety survey					
	Suburb/survey	Mean	Median	Std dev.	Std error
Victimisation					
Never	Narrabundah	17.1	17	3.65	0.33
	Ainslie	18.1	18	3.73	0.30
Once or more	Narrabundah	14.4	15	4.07	0.54
	Ainslie	16.6	17	4.67	0.65
Sex					
Male	Narrabundah	17.7	18	3.82	0.46
	Ainslie	18.9	19	3.58	0.38
Female	Narrabundah	15.3	16	3.81	0.36
	Ainslie	16.8	17	4.14	0.39
Age					
16–24	Narrabundah	16.6	16	4.53	1.51
	Ainslie	16.1	18	5.58	2.11
25–34	Narrabundah	15.1	15	3.66	0.73
	Ainslie	18.2	18.5	3.33	0.61
35–44	Narrabundah	16.5	16	3.46	0.51
	Ainslie	17.9	18	4.07	0.58
45–54	Narrabundah	16.5	17	5.12	0.80
	Ainslie	19.3	19	3.48	0.50
55–64	Narrabundah	15.5	15.5	3.91	0.83
	Ainslie	18.4	19	3.86	0.86
65+	Narrabundah	16.7	17	3.14	0.54
	Ainslie	15.4	15.5	3.84	0.57

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

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To explore the impact of the SCPT as an influential factor upon perceptions of safety over time, a regression analysis was conducted to determine the relative impact a number of key factors have on individuals' perceptions of safety in their suburb. Controlling for perception of safety in the first community safety survey, it was found that suburb and age had no statistically significant impact on perceptions of safety. The sex of the respondent and victimisation in the previous six months were the most important factors – both significant at $p > .05$ (this is consistent with the findings of other fear of crime studies; see for example Muir 1987: 177–180). This finding suggests that the SCPT's ability to influence perceptions of safety would require a significant impact on experience of crime.

To further explore the change in levels of perception of safety by sex, a paired sample t-test was conducted. The results for Narrabundah indicated that the increase in perceptions of safety for males across the whole suburb was found to be statistically significant ($t = 2.04$, sig=.05; sig at $p > .05$). Through exploring this finding further by comparing the two areas of Narrabundah, it was found that statistically significant changes occurred only in upper Narrabundah, where perceptions of safety increased for both males and females (for males $t = 2.15$, sig=.04 and females $t = 2.38$, sig=.02; sig at $p > .05$). Such results may be limited in contributing towards an assessment of the SCPT's efforts to reduce fear of crime. However, they are indicative of the many factors influencing fear of crime, and show that addressing fear of crime requires multiple approaches to impact upon all of these contributing factors.

Perceptions of safety by time of day and location

The results from the community safety survey indicate that perceptions of safety differed according to the time of day (during the day compared to after dark) and according to the location (safety at home, walking or jogging in the neighbourhood or at the local shops). Figures 16 and 17 present the results in relation to perceptions of safety by time of day and location. Mean scores are given for each suburb for each wave of the community safety survey. Perception of safety scores by time of day ranged from 0 to 12 (very unsafe to very safe), while the scale for perceptions of safety by location ranged from 0 to 8 (very unsafe to very safe).

Figure 16: Perceptions of safety during the day and after dark
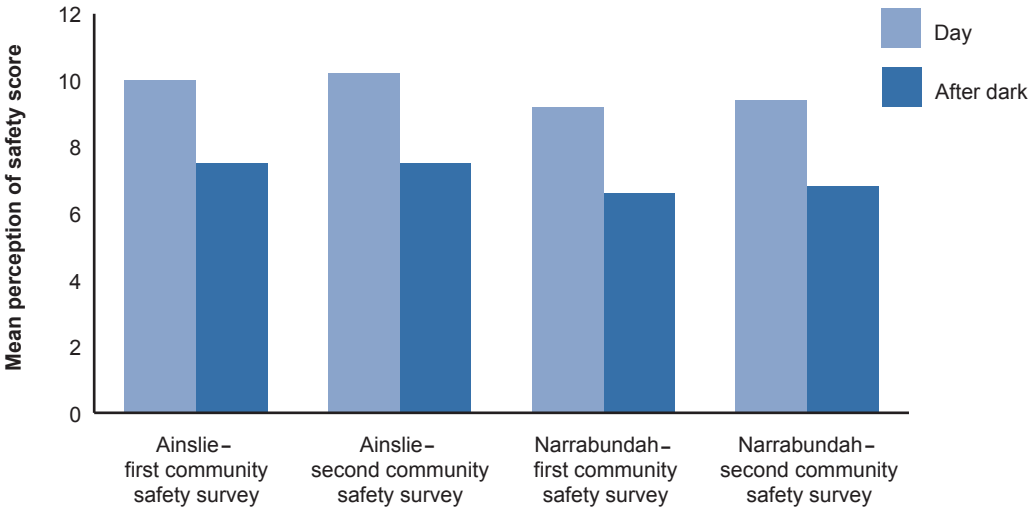
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

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Figure 17: Perceptions of safety by location
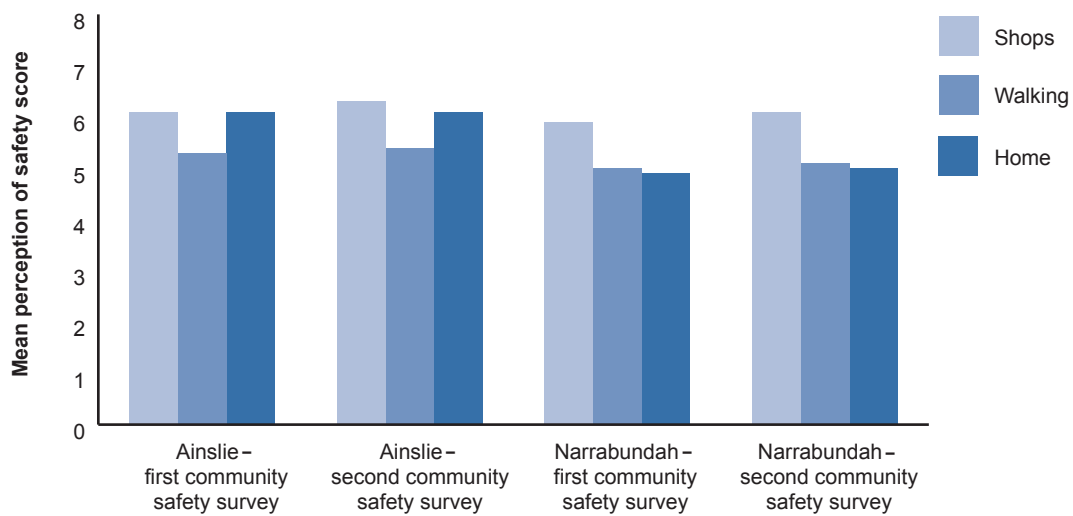
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

All respondents indicated that they felt safer in their suburb during the day than after dark. The difference between perceptions of safety during the day and after dark was statistically significant for both surveys in both suburbs (p>.01). A paired-samples t-test was conducted for each suburb, with results indicating that perceptions of safety during the day and after dark did not change over time to a statistically significant degree.

For both lower and upper Narrabundah, perceptions of safety at different times of the day were very similar between the two areas. However, while the mean level of perceived safety during the day for lower Narrabundah appeared to decrease very slightly (from 9.4 to 9.1) between the first and second community safety surveys, the mean for upper Narrabundah appeared to increase slightly (from 9.1 to 9.5). This indicates that in the second wave of the survey lower Narrabundah respondents were feeling slightly less safe during the day while upper Narrabundah respondents were feeling slightly safer. The application of a paired-sample t-test indicated that only the increase in upper Narrabundah was statistically significant (t=3.299, sig=.00; sig at p>.01). There was a similar result for the two areas in relation to perceptions of safety after dark. Where lower Narrabundah remained stable, perceptions of safety in upper Narrabundah increased at night and this increase was found to be statistically significant (t=2.45, sig=.02; sig at p>.05).

Perceptions of safety differed between locations in both suburbs. While respondents from both Ainslie and Narrabundah indicated that perceptions of safety were highest in their own homes, Ainslie respondents felt safer at their local shops than when walking in their area, whilst in Narrabundah the shops were identified as the location where respondents felt the least safe (though the difference between the shops and walking in the area was only marginal). From the data presented in Figure 17 it appears that there was little change over time in relation to perceived safety in the different locations in either suburb. A paired-sample t-test was conducted to identify the significance of any change in the level of perceived safety at each location. In Ainslie, perceptions of safety did not change significantly at any location. While in Narrabundah, there was a slight increase in perceptions of safety at home (t=2.02, sig=.05; sig at p>.05). A paired samples t-test revealed further that it was only in upper Narrabundah that changes occurred over time that were statistically significant. Upper Narrabundah respondents indicated an increase in perceptions of safety at every location:

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- when walking in the neighbourhood (t=2.30, sig=.02; sig at p>.05),

- at home (t=2.71, sig=.01; sig at p>.01), and

- at the Narrabundah shops (t=2.22, sig=.03; sig at p>.05)

Perceptions of safety: overview

On the whole, respondents from both suburbs indicated that they felt reasonably safe in their suburb and these levels of perceived safety did not change significantly for either suburb over time. The increased police presence in Narrabundah did not have the opposite effect that some anticipated – namely, that an increased police presence would actually result in an increase in fear of crime (due to the association of more police with more crime).

Examining the Narrabundah data in more depth, upper Narrabundah was the only area within Narrabundah that experienced any significant change. Perceptions of safety increased at both times of the day and at all locations. Considering that the SCPT's concentration of activities was in lower Narrabundah, and that they were predominantly present during the day, suggests that other factors were influencing respondents' perceptions of safety in the upper Narrabundah area that were not impacting (or impacted much less) upon respondents in lower Narrabundah.

Likelihood of victimisation

The second fear of crime measure in the community safety survey examined likelihood of victimisation, with respondents identifying the likelihood that they would be the victim of crime in the next six months. For the purposes of analysis, a likelihood of victimisation scale was developed. A reliability analysis was undertaken in order to determine whether the items could legitimately be combined to create such a scale.

The items listed in the perception of likelihood scales were highly correlated (for both surveys and both suburbs) thus enabling a single measure of perceived likelihood of victimisation to be created. The results for lower and upper Narrabundah indicated that the scale also held together well in both areas (Cronbach's alpha of .81 and .87 in lower Narrabundah, and .82 and .78 for upper Narrabundah for the first and second community safety surveys). The likelihood of victimisation scale was created through summing the scores for each item, creating a scale with a 0 to 14 range ('not likely' to 'very likely'). A comparison of perceived likelihood of victimisation scale scores between the two suburbs is presented in Table 21.

Table 19: Likelihood of victimisation scale, Narrabundah

| | Item-total correlation | |
Likelihood of being a victim of each of the following crimes in your suburb in the next six months	First community safety survey	Second community safety survey
Household burglary	.54	.57
Motor vehicle theft	.62	.58
Theft from motor vehicle	.52	.59
Street crimes (for example, mugging, assault)	.63	.56
Graffiti/other vandalism	.46	.50
Harassment by drunken and disorderly	.55	.60
Harassment by youth	.59	.55
Cronbach alpha	.82	.82

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

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Table 20: Likelihood of victimisation scale, Ainslie

Likelihood of being a victim of each of the following crimes in your suburb in the next six months	Item-total correlation	
	First community safety survey	Second community safety survey
Household burglary	.53	.49
Motor vehicle theft	.52	.60
Theft from motor vehicle	.52	.55
Street crimes (for example, mugging, assault)	.61	.53
Graffiti/other vandalism	.48	.41
Harassment by drunken and disorderly	.62	.49
Harassment by youth	.62	.47
Cronbach alpha	.80	.77

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Table 21: Likelihood of victimisation scales between suburbs*

Survey	Suburb	N	Mean	Median	Std. dev.	Std. error
First community safety survey	Ainslie	186	2.0	2	2.46	0.18
	Narrabundah	168	3.4	3	2.98	0.23
Second community safety survey	Ainslie	183	2.0	1	2.25	0.17
	Narrabundah	163	2.9	2	2.86	0.22

* missing data excluded
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

While respondents from Ainslie perceived themselves as less likely to be victims of crime in the next six months than Narrabundah respondents, there was no change between the two surveys. In Narrabundah, respondents considered themselves slightly less likely to be victimised when the second survey was conducted.

A general linear model was applied to the data in order to determine the impact of suburb and time on perceptions of likelihood. The results presented in Table 22 show that the interaction between time and suburb did not have a statistically significant effect on perceived likelihood of victimisation. This indicates that there were no unique factors affecting one of the suburbs significantly over the six-month period between the two surveys. However, the difference between suburbs as a single factor was found to be statistically significant, indicating that the perceived likelihood of victimisation between the two suburbs is significantly different (in this case, Ainslie respondents identified themselves as being less likely to be

Table 22: General linear model exploring the interaction of time and suburb on perceived likelihood of victimisation levels

	Mean square	F	Sig.
Within-subject contrasts			
Time	12.54	3.89	.05*
Time *suburb	5.92	1.84	.18
Between-subject contrast			
Suburb	234.11	22.16	.00**

* significant at p>.05; ** significant at p>.01
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

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victims of crime). Further, time as an independent factor was also found to be statistically significant. The combined likelihood of victimisation scores at the first and second community safety surveys were significantly different. Application of this analytical technique to the two areas within Narrabundah found no statistically significant results.

In order to explore these results further, a paired samples t-test was conducted for each suburb to compare scores on the likelihood of victimisation scale over time. The results from the paired samples t-test indicate that the decrease in perceived likelihood of victimisation in Narrabundah was statistically significant and, further, that this change occurred in upper Narrabundah. This finding suggests that the decrease in respondents' perceived likelihood of victimisation in Narrabundah was not a direct result of the presence of the SCPT, although it may have been a contributing factor. Change occurred in the area of Narrabundah where the SCPT's efforts were least concentrated and where respondents were less likely to be aware of the initiative.

Table 23: Likelihood of victimisation paired sample t-test comparing the first and second community safety surveys

| Location | N | Paired differences | | | | |
		Mean	Std dev.	Std error	T	Sig. (2 tailed)
Ainslie	174	−.09	2.09	.16	−.55	.59
Narrabundah	157	−.47	2.96	.24	−1.97	.05*
Lower Narrabundah	49	−.18	3.21	.46	−.40	.69
Upper Narrabundah	108	−.59	2.84	.27	−2.17	.03*

* significant at p>.05

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Likelihood of victimisation by sex, age and previous victimisation

A regression analysis was undertaken in order to determine what variables predicted a change in the likelihood of victimisation between the first and second community safety surveys. Similarly to perceptions of safety, it was found that when controlling for sex, age, suburb and the level of perceived likelihood of victimisation in the second community safety survey, victimisation in the past six months was the most influential factor (sig at $p>.01$).

Location-specific fear

The third fear-related measure in the community safety survey asked respondents whether a particular location within their suburb made them feel unsafe. Respondents were asked to identify the area. Table 24 presents the responses for each suburb over time. Less than half the respondents in both suburbs identified an area in their suburb that made them feel unsafe. For the second community safety survey the proportion decreased to almost a third in both suburbs. The results for lower and upper Narrabundah were almost identical at both the first and second community safety surveys, indicating a decrease similar to that which occurred across the whole of Narrabundah.

Table 24: 'Is there a particular location in Narrabundah that makes you feel unsafe?'				
	Narrabundah		**Ainslie**	
	First community safety survey	**Second community safety survey**	**First community safety survey**	**Second community safety survey**
No (%)	54.7	68.2	59.8	63.9
Yes (%)	45.3	31.8	40.2	36.1
Total (n)	(170)	(173)	(194)	(191)

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

The interaction effect of time and suburb were tested using a general linear model. Results indicated that time and suburb together did not have a statistically significant impact on whether respondents identified a place that made them feel unsafe. The results for the two areas of Narrabundah were the same. A paired samples t-test was then conducted to explore the findings further. Although both suburbs appeared to experience a decrease over time in terms of the proportion of respondents identifying a location where they felt unsafe, only the decrease in Narrabundah was statistically significant. Within Narrabundah, the decrease in identifying locations where respondents felt unsafe was only statistically significant in upper Narrabundah.

Table 25: Paired-samples t-test for location-specific fear						
	Paired differences					
Location	**N**	**Mean**	**Std dev.**	**Std error**	**T**	**Sig. (2 tailed)**
Ainslie	183	−.04	.47	.04	−1.09	.28
Narrabundah	166	−.13	.52	.04	−3.14	.00**
Lower Narrabundah	55	−.11	.53	.07	−1.52	.14
Upper Narrabundah	111	−.14	.51	.05	−2.77	.01**

** significant at $p > .01$

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Locations

Respondents who indicated that there was an area in their suburb that made them feel unsafe were then asked to locate that area. The responses were analysed and categorised into groups and the responses recoded. In some instances, respondents identified more than one location. In these cases the first response was used for the purposes of analysis. The locations identified in the first and second community safety surveys are listed in Table 26. They are ranked in the order of most to least frequently identified location in each suburb.

The shops were consistently identified as the location where residents felt unsafe in both suburbs. Although overall the proportion of respondents who indicated that they felt unsafe in a particular area of Narrabundah decreased significantly over time between the first and second community safety surveys (less than 40 per cent of respondents indicated that they felt unsafe at a particular location), the proportion of those who felt unsafe at the Narrabundah shops increased. Within Narrabundah the locations identified as causing respondents to feel unsafe were consistent between the two areas at both the first and second community safety surveys, with the shops the highest ranking location. The consistency with which the shops were identified as a location where respondents felt unsafe, and the increase in the proportion of

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	Narrabundah		Ainslie	
Rank	**First community safety survey**	**Second community safety survey**	**First community safety survey**	**Second community safety survey**
1	Shops (48%)	Shops (57%)	Shops (35%)	Shops (38%)
2	Public housing (20%)	Parks (16%)	Parks (22%)	Parks (30%)
3	Parks (17%)	Street spaces (15%)	Street spaces (18%)	Street spaces (17%)
4	Other[a] (11%)	Public housing (11%)	Other[a] (15%)	Public housing (10%)
5	Street spaces (5%)	Other[a] (2%)	Public housing (11%)	Other[a] (4%)

Table 26: Locations where residents feel unsafe (ranked) by suburb (per cent who identified that a particular location in the suburb made them feel unsafe)*

* missing not included

(a) Other includes respondent's own home, specific locations such as football clubs, hotels, general areas at night, any area where loiterers/ suspicious looking people are present.

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

respondents identifying the shops from the first to the second community safety surveys, may suggest that the SCPT's presence at the shops did not achieve the purpose of reducing fear at that location. However, it is important to keep in mind that location-specific fear did decrease overall.

Conclusions: community safety survey measures

Of the three measures identified within the community safety survey to measure fear of crime over time in both Narrabundah and Ainslie, it was found that perception of safety and perceived likelihood of victimisation were positively correlated (sig at p>.01). Being able to identify a location that made a respondent feel unsafe was a significant predictor of a lower perception of safety in the neighbourhood (sig at p>.01). There appeared to be no relationship between the identification of an area that made respondents feel unsafe and their perceived likelihood of victimisation. These findings indicate that fear of crime is a complex phenomenon and that each of the community safety survey indicators are measuring slightly different aspects of fear of crime. Clearly the indicators chosen to measure such phenomena are important.

Within Narrabundah, specifically in upper Narrabundah, there were strong indications of reductions in the levels of perceived safety, perceived likelihood of victimisation and location-specific fear. That all of these changes were significant within one area of Narrabundah makes it more difficult to identify the SCPT as a direct causal influence on fear of crime in Narrabundah.

When analysing the data to identify the key prediction variables that influence each of the fear of crime measures, victimisation in the previous six months was a significant factor for each of the measures. Such a finding indicates that in order for the SCPT to influence fear of crime to a statistically significant degree, reducing the prevalence of victimisation will influence all three measures related to fear of crime. As noted in the analysis for the first objective, reducing crime is a significant task and one that is not easily achieved by a policing organisation, let alone two officers working in a suburb for six months. This limited statistical impact on fear of crime is not an indication that the SCPT did nothing to address fear of crime, nor is it an indication that what they were doing was ineffective. Rather, it indicates that the activities they undertook had a limited impact on the suburb as a whole. It is important to bear in mind that there were many limitations on this team and time was a major factor. It is extremely difficult to impact upon fear of crime for an entire suburb to such a degree that it will be statistically demonstrable.

AIC Technical and Background Paper

Operational measures forms

In the operational measures forms, the SCPT was able to identify activities that addressed specific crime problems, one of which was fear of crime. The details of these activities are reported below in order to provide some insight into the work undertaken by the SCPT to reduce fear of crime.

Fear of crime-related activities

Of the 320 recorded activities undertaken by the SCPT, over half (n=176, 55%) were identified as related to the fear of crime issue. This does not necessarily mean that addressing fear of crime was central to the activity, nor that the SCPT was working specifically towards its reduction. Rather, fear of crime may have been an incidental part of the activity or ancillary to the main concerns. The frequency of these activities for each month of the initiative is presented below.

The monthly rate of fear of crime-related activities during the six-month period of the SCPT intervention followed a similar pattern to all SCPT activities, although the peak in November was repeated in January. The slow build-up over August (which was not a full month of activity as the SCPT began on 19 August), September and October partly reflects the time taken to build relationships in the community and for the team to identify concerns and undertake activities to address fear of crime. It is interesting to note that although there was a slight decrease in activity during February, the proportion of activities related to fear of crime was still much higher then than in the early stages of the project. The reduction of overall activities at this time was due to the SCPT concentrating on activities that were necessary to complete the project (including the 'thank you' barbeque for stakeholders in the community and a bus shelter mural project). Further details regarding the SCPT fear of crime-related activities are in Table 27.

Figure 18: Fear of crime activities (per cent by month) compared to all activities by month
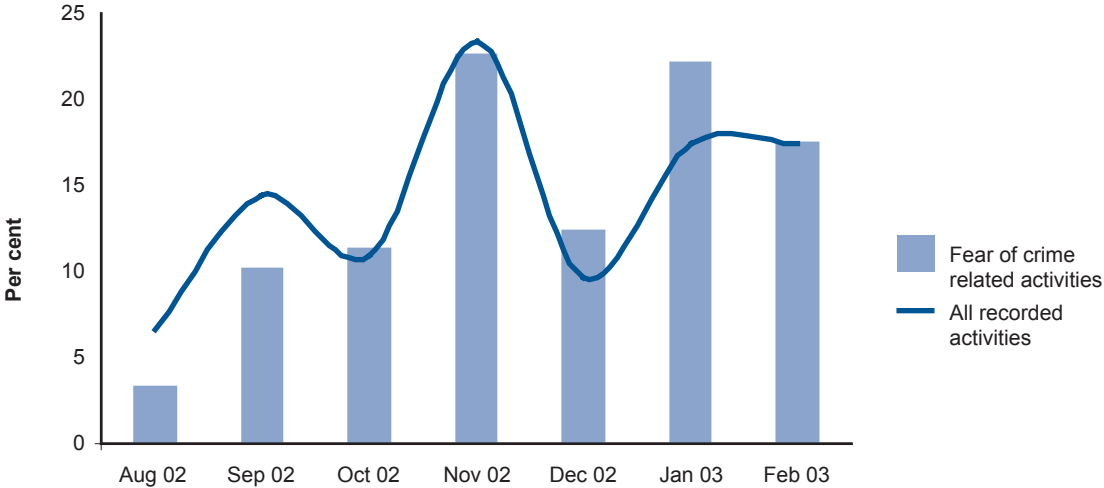
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

Table 27: Details of fear of crime-related activities	
Location	SCPT office, city station (28%), on street (26%), local school (21%)
Type of activity	Informal interaction (52%)
Interactive activity	Yes (73%)
Activity with	Householders (23%), local school (22%), local business (12%);
Referrals made	Yes (26%)
Intelligence gathered	Yes (15%)

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

In addition to detailing activities, the operational measures forms also allowed the SCPT to indicate some more substantive information, including the aims, objectives and key outcomes of the activity. A summary of these details for the 176 fear-related activities is presented below.

Objectives: Improving police relationships by interacting with the community was the objective most often associated with the SCPT's fear of crime-related activities. The SCPT was working towards improving relationships with the Narrabundah community in general, and with local businesses, local schools (particularly Narrabundah primary school) and other stakeholders more specifically. More than one objective could be identified for each activity. The percentage reported for each is the proportion of all fear of crime activities that were addressing each objective.

Aims: Most activities (61%) aimed to address perceptions of safety (including fear of crime) and to address perceptions of police (57%). (As for the objectives, more than one aim could be identified for each activity.)

Crime problems: The major crime problem identified and/or addressed through these activities was property crime (55%). Both public order (10%) and violence-related matters (10%) were also identified as issues.

Outcomes: There were two significant outcomes identified from these activities. The first was improving the local environment (92%). The SCPT identified that it had worked towards improving the local environment though interacting and building relationships with the community (specifically with schools, businesses, community organisations and other stakeholders) and through increasing police presence in the area. Addressing youth crime and offering crime prevention advice were other avenues through which the SCPT felt the local environment was improved by the activity. Another significant outcome of these activities was the promotion of existing police services, the majority of which involved promotion specifically of the SCPT.

Follow-up/referrals: It was felt by SCPT members that most (76%) of the fear of crime-related activities they undertook did not require further action. Approximately one-quarter involved referrals. The main stakeholders to whom members of the Narrabundah community were referred were: ACT police (general police at the Woden station); ACT Policing services (such as the ICLO, the BLO and Project CLASP); and various ACT government services including Family Services and the Department of Education and Community Services. The main intention of these referrals included improving individuals' personal safety, improving premises' security and making community spaces safer.

Overview: operational measures forms

The operational measures form data allow a broad picture of the SCPT intervention to be better understood in relation to fear of crime. Although fear of crime was identified as an aspect of more than 50 per cent of their activities, it is clear that it was not often a central aspect. The main objective for these activities was to improve police relationships with stakeholders and the community, and the majority of these activities were interactive. This reflected an emphasis on building both familiarity and a rapport with the community. The SCPT initiated the majority of these activities, indicating that a low level of Narrabundah community members contacted the SCPT in relation to fear of crime issues. The major outcome achieved through these activities was the improvement of police relationships with various groups in the community. Reducing fear of crime came to be a major aspect of the SCPT's work and it was related to many different types of activities the team undertook. That the proportion of fear of crime-related activities remained high over the last few months may be indicative of a trend that would have continued had the SCPT remained in the suburb.

Key stakeholder interviews

In discussing the SCPT initiative and its impact with key stakeholders in the area, a number of consistent ideas emerged in relation to fear of crime.

Direct impact: general area

The presence of the SCPT was linked directly to increased feelings of safety both for the suburb as a whole ('the community in general can feel safer…as they feel something is being done and they see the same faces') and in the Narrabundah shops area specifically ('customers feel safer and more comfortable when coming to the Narrabundah shops because of the increased police presence'). The link between the consistent presence of the SCPT and the development of a familiarity with the officers was identified as a positive for the community. Initially a few stakeholders commented that there was some hesitation and concern due to the increased police presence in the area. As one shopkeeper commented: 'Initially they caused some concern in the community seeing them around, people were asking questions like 'what's happened for the police to be here'.' For many stakeholders, the effect the SCPT had on feelings of safety in the community was the most important aspect of the initiative: '[there was] little noticeable change in crime, but this is not the most important thing – the increase in feelings of safety are the important feelings to focus on.'

Direct impact: individual level

One of the most important findings from interviews with stakeholders in the Narrabundah community was the potential for community policing to impact at the individual level. This involved reducing individuals' fear of crime. One community worker cited a particular instance:

> One lady at Gowrie Court was very concerned as her ex-partner was due to be released from prison and she thought it was possible he could come back and take her kids as soon as he was released. I was able to giver her [the SCPT's] number to contact [them] if anything happened or if she needed any assistance. Normally there would be a great deal of reluctance for her to contact the police regarding anything but because this lady knew about the SCPT...through their involvement at the school as well as through me, the phone number was not rejected.

This example demonstrates the impact following on from the SCPT's success in addressing multiple objectives. An individual's safety concerns were reduced as a result of the community worker's improved

perception of the police and recommendation of the police as a key support. An important relationship was developed with this key stakeholder who otherwise would never have identified the police as a support contact for the client. By engaging with the community at a number of different contact points (including the local schools, shops and community groups), the SCPT demonstrated the potential for addressing a range of personal safety concerns, particularly for some of the more vulnerable members of a community.

Fear of crime concerns

Loitering at the Narrabundah shops by young people and drunk and disorderly persons was identified as a common concern for shopkeepers, especially in terms of the effect it had on their business: '[Prior to the SCPT] around the shops there was a great deal of antisocial behaviour, loiterers in the area…[it] made the area noisy, made people feel unsafe going from their car to the shops.' This loitering also raised personal safety concerns for other local organisations, including those who work in the offices above the Narrabundah shops:

> The local kids who hang around the shops and outside VOCAL House have been a major concern in the past [involved in many acts of vandalism, graffiti, harassment]. As a group they can be quite intimidating and a number of times I've been scared to walk to my car, which is just outside, especially after dark – I've called the police on a number of occasions with little response or result.

Another stakeholder indicated:

> Arriving early in the morning, around 8am, and when leaving in the early evening (after 6pm) I generally feel unsafe. People who loiter around are a threatening presence and a concern, especially as a woman alone, in the office alone.

Limitations

While the presence of the SCPT at the beginning of the initiative was noted as having an impact on fear in the community, the impact of their presence may have slowly declined. When interviewed at the beginning of the intervention, one community leader noted:

> they make the community feel safe, especially the older population around the…area, they feel safer just knowing the SCPT are around – regardless of what they are actually doing, there is safety in the knowledge that they are around.

However, discussing the project six months later when the intervention had finished, it was noted:

> early on in the project there were many positive comments, particularly from older people when they saw them [the SCPT] around in the suburb. Seemed to result in a sense of greater safety. There were no further comments, though, and no comments about them finishing – though many people may be unaware.

Key stakeholder interviews: overview

The interviews demonstrated the SCPT's ability to impact fear of crime at the individual level, and that this was considered important. However, such efforts may be limited in terms of fear of crime across the whole community. There appears to be a need to move beyond presuming that simply being a constant

presence in Narrabundah will impact upon fear of crime over the long term. Relying on their presence in the neighbourhood as their major activity towards reducing fear of crime was indicative of a short-term approach to improving residents fear of crime:

> it was always the same officers, they were nice officers….it [the area] seemed safer *while they were here* but there was no actual change [that is, crime problems continued to occur]. (emphasis added)

While the SCPT addressed fear of crime within the limitations of the project and satisfied many stakeholders, there is no indication that, upon leaving, this impact will be anything more than a 'temporary fix'.

Physical disorder measure

Results from the physical disorder measure indicate that there was no change in either suburb in physical disorder over time. This suggests that perceptions of safety may also remain at a fairly constant rate, based on physical indicators in the suburb. The change in perceptions with regard to feelings of safety, the likelihood of victimisation and location-specific crime, particularly in upper Narrabundah, suggest that factors other than physical disorder are influential in respondents' levels of fear of crime.

Conclusion: Reduce fear of crime

In identifying whether the SCPT reduced fear of crime in Narrabundah, and to ascertain the extent and impact of any change, a wide range of data was drawn upon. From this analysis it is clear that assessing the impact of the SCPT is less than straightforward. The community safety survey included three fear of crime-related measures, all of which decreased significantly, if not for Narrabundah as a whole then for upper Narrabundah. This indicates a reduction in fear of crime. In comparison, Ainslie experienced no consistent decrease in fear of crime measures over time. It is difficult to attribute this change directly to the SCPT, particularly given the knowledge that their activities were focused in lower Narrabundah. Further, victimisation in the previous six months was identified as a key predictive factor for each of the measures, yet victimisation prevalence remained unchanged in upper Narrabundah but decreased significantly in lower Narrabundah. Clearly multiple factors influence fear of crime.

While over half of the SCPT's activities addressed fear of crime either directly or indirectly, it was not central to all of these activities – the SCPT was not always focused on reducing fear of crime. The stakeholder interviews made clear the potential for the SCPT to impact upon fear of crime. However, the problems the SCPT impacted upon tended only to be reduced during the day, and there are indications that their impact was only temporary. It was the team's presence that was a key determining factor in whether the youth who caused so much trouble prior to the intervention at the local shops area would return. For many of those interviewed, the team's presence alone was enough to reduce fear of crime. A number suggested that this was something the SCPT had successfully achieved incidentally through simply being a constant presence in the neighbourhood. However, the lack of a more long-term approach to addressing fear-of-crime problems may mean that the SCPT's impact will not be permanent, and that past problems will resurface.

Although it is difficult to attribute the change in levels of fear of crime variables in the community safety survey to the SCPT, there were nonetheless indications that such fear decreased in Narrabundah. Importantly, there were no increases in fear of crime over the period of time the SCPT was present. The qualitative evidence suggests that the SCPT did have a limited impact on fear of crime in the suburb as a whole, and a more influential effect at a localised level for some individuals and groups within the community.

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Objective 3: gather intelligence

Information-sharing between the police and the community, particularly the increase in the breadth and depth of crime-related intelligence communicated to the police, is one of the major potential benefits from the implementation of community policing initiatives (Hahn 1998). Assessing the SCPT's 'success' in relation to intelligence-gathering first requires determining whether intelligence-gathering occurred during the initiative, as there is no baseline for comparison.

Quantitative measures

Data from the community safety survey provide two indicators of the level of information communicated to the police. The first indicator is of experience contacting the police to report information. The second indicator is of the reporting practices of those who have experienced crime.

The operational measures forms captured details of the activities undertaken by the SCPT that resulted in intelligence been gathered. This enabled information relating to the nature of the intelligence and the nature of the SCPT's intelligence-gathering activities to be accessed.

Qualitative measures

The key stakeholder interviews provided an insight into community views on intelligence-gathering as a potential benefit of the SCPT initiative, and the willingness of stakeholders to discuss and share knowledge with the SCPT. These interviews also contributed some detailed information regarding the nature of the intelligence that was gathered.

Weekly meeting reports provided an insight into the SCPT's view on intelligence-gathering and their perspective on the outcomes and activities undertaken in relation to intelligence-gathering.

Community safety survey

The community safety survey measured both:

- levels of contact with police to provide information; and

- post-incident contact with police to report an experience of crime.

Although this objective is focused primarily on whether the SCPT gathered intelligence during the initiative, the data collection method for the community safety survey enables a further exploration of whether levels of contact with the police for these two measures changed over time.

Contact with police

Table 28 presents the percentage of respondents who contacted the police to report information. Five separate factors from the community safety survey contributed to this first indicator of intelligence-gathering – the proactive reporting of information to police by community members. The results in Table 28 indicate that only a small proportion of respondents in Ainslie and Narrabundah contacted the police for any of the reasons listed, and that between each of the reasons for contacting the police to give information, there was little consistency over time and between the suburbs. To develop a clearer picture, the rate of contact with the police to report information (regarding any of the above items) with the rate of no contact

Table 28: Proportion of respondents who contacted police in the past six months to provide information (%)		
Reason for contact	**Ainslie**	**Narrabundah**
First community safety survey		
To report a crime	17.7	18.9
To report suspicious people/circumstances/alarms ringing	10.2	7.4
To give other information to the police	9.3	6.2
To call for assistance	7.1	6.1
To report lost/found property	2.7	4.3
Second community safety survey		
To report a crime	17.4	15.6
To report suspicious people/circumstances/alarms ringing	5.9	6.5
To give other information to the police	6.0	9.4
To call for assistance	8.2	7.7
To report lost/found property	6.6	3.6

was compared (Table 29). Using this data, a number of analyses were conducted in order to determine whether respondents' patterns of contact with the police differed significantly between the two suburbs and whether they changed significantly over time. These analyses included the application of a general linear model and a paired-samples t-test. The results indicated that while almost one-quarter of respondents had been in contact with the police to report information at both data collection periods, there was no statistically significant difference between the two suburbs or in the change in contact levels over time.

Table 29: Comparing those who did/did not contact police to report information (%)				
	Narrabundah		**Ainslie**	
Contact status	**First community safety survey**	**Second community safety survey**	**First community safety survey**	**Second community safety survey**
Never	75.8	79.2	74.3	76.2
Once or more	24.2	20.8	25.7	23.8

Reporting to police

The second measure in the community safety survey relating to intelligence-gathering asked crime victims whether they had reported the incident to the police. ('Crime victim' refers to those respondents who had indicated experiencing one or more of the seven listed crime problems.) The difference between crime victimisation rates and crime reporting rates, and the tendency for many crimes to go under-reported and/or unrecorded has been well documented (see for example van Kesteren, Mayhew & Nieuwbeerta 2000; Ainsworth 2002). This analysis will explore the extent to which respondents who experienced crime reported their experiences to the police, and whether this changed over time.

Crime problem	Ainslie (n experience) % reported	Narrabundah (n experience) % reported
First community safety survey		
Household burglary	(18) 82	(14) 50
Motor vehicle theft	(2) 100	(2) 100
Theft from a motor vehicle	(13) 8	(13) 46
Graffiti or other vandalism	(24) 4	(21) 5
Street assault and bag snatching	(3) 33	(0) –
Harassment by drunk and disorderly person	(11) 9	(17) 12
Harassment by young person (p)	(13) 8	(24) 13
Second community safety survey		
Household burglary	(21) 70	(18) 71
Motor vehicle theft	(3) 33	(5) 60
Theft from a motor vehicle	(5) 20	(10) 50
Graffiti or other vandalism	(21) 15	(13) 8
Street assault and bag snatching	(2) 100	(0) –
Harassment by drunk and disorderly person	(9) 11	(19) 16
Harassment by young person (p)	(13) 15	(18) –

Table 30: Number of respondents who experienced crime in the past six months (per cent who reported the incident to police by suburb and survey)

NB missing data excluded for both questions excluded.

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file}

Given the relatively low number of those who reported experiencing crime within the sample from each suburb, the variance in reporting levels is not unexpected. These data were analysed further (using paired sample t-tests) in order to ascertain whether the proportion of victims reporting crime changed significantly over time for any of the seven offences. The results indicate that there was no statistically significant change in reporting practices over time for any of the offences in either Narrabundah or Ainslie, nor was there any statistically significant change in either of the two areas in Narrabundah.

Operational measures forms

The operational measures forms were designed to identify whether any intelligence was gathered during each activity that was recorded, and to obtain additional details relating to that intelligence. The design of the operational measures forms recognised the potential for the SCPT to gather intelligence in a variety of different contexts and for intelligence-gathering to be one of the outcomes of an activity despite not being a specific intention of the activity. The information from the operational measures forms was analysed with regard to:

• the nature of the activities that resulted in intelligence-gathering; and

• the nature of the intelligence gathered by the SCPT.

Nature of the activities

Of the 320 activities recorded in the operational measures forms, 99 (31%) involved intelligence-gathering. Figure 19 presents the percentage of intelligence-gathering activities for each month of the intervention (compared to the percentage of all recorded activities over time).

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Figure 19: SCPT intelligence-gathering activities
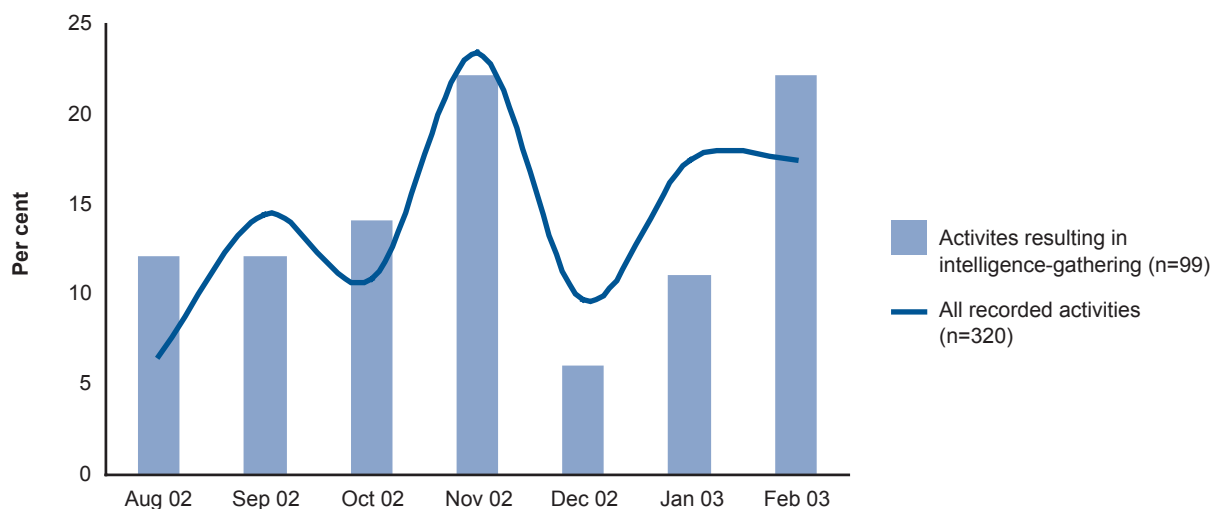
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

The frequency of activities resulting in intelligence being gathered increased from the beginning of the intervention, rising sharply to peak in November. The subsequent fall in intelligence-gathering for the months of December and January could be explained by a number of contributing factors including the departure of many residents from the area over the holiday period and the SCPT's decreased presence in the community. The steady increase from January to February was not reflective of SCPT activities in general and may be indicative of the SCPT establishing a trusted position in the community that increased the amount of information coming to them, a pattern that may have continued had the project not concluded. Details of the majority of SCPT activities that involved intelligence-gathering are presented in Table 31.

Intelligence-gathering was an outcome for over 30 per cent of the SCPT's activities. It was often obtained when the SCPT was undertaking interactive activities that involved discussing crime-related concerns, issues and strategies with different members of the community. Much intelligence-related activity took place in the SCPT office, reflecting the time spent by the SCPT examining police data to remain up-to-date on crime in the area, to make information available to other police portfolios and to follow-up on information given to them. It is also important to note that for 60 per cent of activities that resulted in intelligence being gathered, intelligence-gathering was not the specific purpose of the activity.

Table 31: Intelligence-gathering activity details

Activity location	Police station (51%); local business (17%)
Type of activity	Informal interactions (43%); intelligence-gathering and assessment (41%)
% interactive	64%
Interaction with:	Local business (22%); householders (14%)
Main objective	To develop/implement strategies to solve issues (60%)
Main purpose	To educate/inform/disseminate information to the community and or stakeholders (76%)
Further action required	Yes (67%)

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Nature of the intelligence gathered

In addition to providing details regarding the activities that resulted in intelligence-gathering, the operational measures forms also allowed some more substantive information regarding the intelligence itself to be obtained. Of the 99 activities that involved intelligence-gathering:

- an information report (IR) was submitted on 40 per cent of occasions (indicating that not all activities related to different or new intelligence – some involved talking to different people about the same incident);

- 72 per cent of the intelligence related to activities within Narrabundah and 64 per cent related to persons who resided in Narrabundah; and

- intelligence related to property crime was obtained/investigated in 73 per cent of the activities (related mainly to burglary, attempted burglary and criminal damage), followed by drugs-related information.

The nature of intelligence-gathering means that not all intelligence will automatically translate into the submission of an information report. Often further action will involve gathering additional information in order to assess the quality or accuracy of the information or to obtain more details. The seriousness of the offence to which the intelligence relates also differs considerably, as does the subsequent action required.

The intelligence gathered by the SCPT was, on the whole, local knowledge about local people and local crimes. That the majority of intelligence gathered related to property crime may reflect crime patterns in Narrabundah (property crime occurs far more frequently than other types of crime, therefore it may be more likely for it to be known about) but it may also reflect the incoming information the SCPT considers ought to be recorded as intelligence and what the community considers important enough to report to the SCPT.

Recording practices may also be influenced by the nature of the response required. For example, some disorder-related issues may be dealt with by the SCPT immediately and may not be considered major problems or even crime-related problems. Further, gathering and following-up on intelligence received may be incidental to the activity the SCPT is actually involved in. For example, when assisting with supervision at a Blue light disco at Narrabundah primary school, the SCPT informally followed up on two known youths who had been responsible for graffiti at the shops in the past, and discussed the recent resurgence of graffiti with both of them. On another occasion the SCPT was patrolling the shops area on foot when a local resident approached and complained about the treatment of her son by the police in recent times. During the discussion the SCPT built a rapport with the woman, who was initially attacking them, and was able to point out to the resident that her son was currently mixing with some bad company and that he had been involved in a number of criminal activities. She was unaware of the extent of the problem, or the serious nature of her son's activities, and subsequently told the SCPT about her son's friends and which of them she suspected were more heavily involved in drug-related activity.

Key stakeholder interviews

Although intelligence was not an issue specifically raised by many of the stakeholders with whom interviews were conducted, a number of important issues and themes emerged regarding the SCPT's work towards intelligence-gathering and the ability for such community policing initiatives to undertake this aspect of their work successfully.

Accessing key informants

During the interviews it emerged that the newsagency was a central point of contact for a wide section of the Narrabundah community due to the proprietors' involvement in the community, the nature of their business and the fact that, unlike many other stakeholders in the community, this couple also lived in the area. Thus, they were very informed about and involved in the issues, the politics and the general activities within the suburb, particularly the lower Narrabundah area. Identifying and building a rapport with key informants in the community is a central aspect of community policing. The benefits for the SCPT in developing a good working relationship with these key informants was often acknowledged, with the newsagents themselves noting that: 'we're privy to a great deal of information [about what's happening in Narrabundah], some of which we're now able to pass on, when it's appropriate, to [the SCPT] to assist them in dealing with incidents.'

A number of community leaders noted that such knowledge may be inaccessible to the police where no strong, trusting relationship exists or without a demonstrated commitment to the community. Gaining an in-depth knowledge of the community is central to this:

> prior to the team this information wouldn't have gone anywhere – Woden police aren't interested or they're too busy but because they [the SCPT] know the community we can pass on information without being too specific…whereas outside officers who don't know the area would need everything explained to them and still would not be aware of how best to approach the situation.

Thus, it was through identifying and working with stakeholders in the Narrabundah community that the SCPT was able to access information from these key informants.

Accessing information that would otherwise go unreported

There are many reasons crimes and crime-related issues go unreported. For some stakeholders the SCPT presented an opportunity for them to pass on information to the police that they otherwise would not due to the nature of the information they were reporting. For example:

> We rang them when we saw a suspicious-looking man downstairs…[we] wouldn't have called Woden police in that situation, but you can tell the SCPT about the smaller things. Lots of people see things that look funny and wouldn't necessarily call the police, but you could tell [the SCPT] about it.

In another instance, a community group leader's home was broken into and the delicate nature of the situation meant he needed to discuss the incident with someone he trusted: 'I contacted [the SCPT] directly to discuss it…it was only a minor incident and I had a fairly good idea who it was.'

Not wanting to formally involve the police, but needing to discuss crime-related issues and concerns presents a delicate position for all involved. In some instances the SCPT may be required to exercise their discretion, particularly when assisting the community and those who work in the community with more vulnerable people. During the course of such work they may provide advice and assistance to individuals and in the process become aware of intelligence, but they may not always act on this intelligence due to the degree to which it would compromise their position in the community and with this particular group of people. Those working with the underprivileged and more vulnerable members of the community were surprised to find themselves working well with the SCPT but were very conscious of maintaining a healthy distance from the 'police':

> I would never have contacted the police or thought to involve them in things or to discuss issues with them [in the past]…The SCPT are able to offer advice and to discuss issues with me, without pressing me for more information or demanding that I inform them of any criminal activity that I'm aware of. I wouldn't hesitate to inform them if someone was dealing, but I wouldn't inform on users.

Mutual benefits

The importance of reciprocity was also emphasised – the relationship between the community and the SCPT was seen as mutually beneficial. As one community group leader noted:

> It [the SCPT initiative] is very useful for keeping each other informed… they will discuss issues they are aware of and I'll equally share information with them – it's very informal and confidential.

Another prominent member of the community noted that the SCPT was a great benefit to the community because 'people don't know when they're coming, so it stops them from misbehaving, makes them think twice about what they're doing…' But the interviewee went on to note that:

> It also goes the other way, as people become more familiar with them, they get to know them and tell them about issues, and begin to approach them about misdemeanors – all of this adds to them building up general knowledge about the suburb.

'Real' police and 'real' police work

Many stakeholders made a distinction between the SCPT and the 'real' police. The potential impact of this distinction with regard to intelligence-gathering is that for real emergencies or 'real crime' issues they would contact the police directly, not the SCPT: 'if it was real damage, I would contact Woden police.' Another stakeholder noted:

> some of the seriousness of the role is lost through the work they do, just being a presence in the area (that is, being seen walking around and chatting casually to people). It would be good if they did some 'real' police work to reattach the element of seriousness to the role.

But he went on to note that this could also be problematic. If the SCPT were seen as strong enforcers of the law, he felt their position in the community may be compromised and thus people would feel less inclined to work with them. The SCPT's position in the community was one that required a delicate balance to enable the officers to be considered 'serious' enough for intelligence of all kinds to be directed to them. That the SCPT members were not 'normal' law enforcement police officers was made very clear and understood by stakeholders. However, their ability to work with general duties and investigative officers was perhaps less clear to the community stakeholders who, on the whole, did not consider the SCPT a bridge or a point of contact to inform other police units about more serious crime matters.

Key stakeholder interviews: conclusions

While the benefits of the SCPT were widely noted by key stakeholders, few raised the issue of intelligence-gathering. Of those who did, many noted that information was able to flow through to the SCPT once they had established themselves in the community, gaining a position of trust and credibility.

In terms of the type of intelligence gathered, many noted that the SCPT provided the opportunity for stakeholders to pass on information they otherwise would not act on, as they felt it was of a less serious nature and/or they felt the police would be disinterested or too busy to follow-up on the information. In addition, the SCPT's in-depth knowledge of the community was important to stakeholders as it meant that when informing the SCPT about a situation, the local context of the information was understood. The SCPT were aware of the complexities surrounding events and were trusted to apply discretion to the information that came their way and to be able to make informed decisions regarding their subsequent actions. It was noted that a delicate balance needed to be struck allowing the SCPT to be considered a part of the community without completely losing the seriousness of their role as police officers.

There was little discussion of the impact of the intelligence gathered by the SCPT and no indication of whether stakeholders felt it had assisted in any specific way. However, discussion with a senior officer at Woden police station noted that although there was intelligence information from the SCPT that proved useful, the location of the SCPT within the CPU meant that there was no everyday interaction between the SCPT and general duties officers. He felt that invaluable informal information that was gathered might not have been communicated as effectively or immediately as it would be if the two groups were able to work together.

Weekly meeting reports

Within their first week in Narrabundah the SCPT quickly identified the local newsagents as a central point for accessing information about the community. The SCPT noted that building this relationship would further assist them to build a respected position in the community. They worked hard to establish and maintain this link through regular visits, dropping in often 'just to chat.'

The SCPT did a great deal of work keeping up to date with crime in the community. They analysed police intelligence reports that are produced daily summarising events in the past 24 hours in the suburb. For the SCPT, gathering intelligence was not exclusively done through communicating with the community, especially in the very early stages of the project, but also through being informed about crime patterns in the area and the background histories of known 'persons of interests' residing in Narrabundah. This allowed them to move through the suburb more confidently, being attuned to notice certain people and to pay attention to particular areas. In the first few weeks they spent a great deal of time in the office gathering this information. When out and about in Narrabundah they would quietly note to each other when they recognised a known offender walking past.

Working with stakeholders and the community appeared to give the SCPT the greatest sense of achievement. Early in the initiative both officers were feeling frustrated with how slow things seemed to be progressing. The large investment of time and effort to build relationships with the community was not anticipated by the SCPT and it was particularly frustrating when the benefits were not immediate. Yet later in the project the team's efforts were rewarded. On a number of occasions when researchers met with the SCPT in the area, they were found to be engaged in conversations with stakeholders informing them about recent events, crime issues, problems and concerns. In one particular case the reference to the alleged offenders did not need to be articulated other than for the informant to say 'you know which group I'm talking about.' By this stage the SCPT had developed extensive knowledge of the neighbourhood and its residents. Passing on intelligence only required giving details of the situation – the team no longer required a background regarding all the issues that had arisen previously or the roles and backgrounds of the different individuals involved.

Acting on intelligence required the SCPT to act both informally (through following-up on information) and formally (through passing on information to operational police often through submitting intelligence reports). For example, midway through the project a resident in lower Narrabundah was physically assaulted. The victim told the police who attended the incident that he did not know the offender and would not recognise him if he were to see him again. However, according to a local business owner, the victim did know the offender and had denied this because he was concerned about retribution if he pursued the matter. The SCPT contacted an officer at Woden police station who then contacted the alleged offender. This person subsequently confessed.

In another instance, the SCPT was able to identify that a group of local youths was responsible for damage that occurred at a local hobby farm. Given that these youth were minors (around eight to 10 years old), the SCPT followed-up on the incident by arranging a meeting with the boys and their families to discuss the damage, without actually accusing the youth. During the meeting the youth all confessed their contributions to the damage and this forum provided a discussion of the seriousness of their actions, and resulted in an agreement with the hobby farm owners for the boys to set their own punishment.

Around this time the SCPT commented that one of the major benefits of community policing was the ability to gather intelligence and to understand the context of events that occur in the community and the possible implications of different actions. They felt that they had a great deal of very useful knowledge about the community. In the final months of the project, as the emphasis shifted towards finalising outcomes, there was a decrease in the discussion during weekly meetings of activities related to intelligence-gathering and acting on information.

Conclusions: gathering intelligence

Although there was no change in the level of respondents who contacted the police to offer information, or in the reporting practices of crime victims in Narrabundah, the qualitative evidence suggests that not only was intelligence being gathered by the SCPT across the whole period of the intervention, but that this information proved useful and effective for both the SCPT and for other operational police. From the data collected in relation to the SCPT and intelligence-gathering, it can be concluded that:

- the nature of the intelligence varied in both substance and seriousness;

- opportunities for intelligence-gathering presented themselves when interacting with the community for a variety of reasons and in many different contexts;

- intelligence-gathering involved both gathering information about the community from police records and gathering intelligence from the community; and

- the SCPT's successful integration into Narrabundah, through establishing and maintaining good working relationships with the community, was a significant factor in enabling the community to feel comfortable in communicating intelligence to the team.

In conclusion, the SCPT successfully met the objective requiring them to gather intelligence. Further, they were able to demonstrate how such intelligence can be effectively utilised.

Objective 4: increase community satisfaction with the police

Community satisfaction with police in Australia has been maintained at a fairly high level over recent years. Specifically within the ACT, levels of satisfaction with police have recently exceeded the national average (ACT Policing 2003: 37). Community policing recognises the central role the community plays in the effective operation of police work. Thus, community policing initiatives seek to always be increasing overall satisfaction with police (Hahn 1998). As a result, increasing community satisfaction with police was an identified objective for the SCPT to achieve in Narrabundah. A number of measures will be drawn upon to determine whether the SCPT achieved this objective.

Quantitative measures

The community safety survey used two specific measures of community satisfaction with police in Narrabundah and Ainslie. In addition, the operational measures forms provided information regarding the nature of the activities undertaken by the SCPT to address this objective.

Qualitative measures

Qualitative data regarding community satisfaction with police were obtained via the key stakeholder interviews.

Community safety survey

The community safety survey measured community satisfaction with police via:

- perceptions of police; and
- satisfaction with contact with police.

Each of these measures of satisfaction with the police are explored separately below, comparing the data obtained from both surveys to identify any change over time. In addition, the second community safety survey included an extra section for Narrabundah respondents related specifically to the SCPT. This allowed satisfaction with the SCPT to be identified. Narrabundah respondents who had been in contact with the SCPT were asked to indicate their overall satisfaction with this contact.

Perceptions of police: overall satisfaction

The community safety survey asked respondents to identify their level of satisfaction with police dealing with 10 identified community-related problems in their suburb. These items were:

- household burglary;
- drink driving;
- theft of motor vehicles;
- theft from motor vehicles;
- people using/dealing drugs;
- speeding/dangerous/noisy driving;

- assault and bag snatching;

- graffiti/other vandalism;

- drunk and disorderly behaviour; and

- harassment by young people.

One of the most useful ways to analyse these data is through the development of an overall satisfaction with police scale. This can be used to compare overall scores as a key indicator for the assessment of Objective 4. In order to determine whether the 10 items legitimately comprise a single measure of police satisfaction, reliability analysis was undertaken. The item-total correlations and Cronbach alpha are reported in Tables 32 and 33.

Table 32: Satisfaction with police scale, item-total correlations, Narrabundah		
	Item-total correlation	
How satisfied are you with police dealing with the following problems in your suburb?	First community safety survey	Second community safety survey
Household burglary	.72	.67
Drink driving	.74	.68
Motor vehicle theft	.76	.73
Theft from motor vehicle	.76	.73
People using/dealing drugs	.65	.58
Speeding/dangerous/noisy driving	.58	.59
Assault and bag snatching	.75	.70
Graffiti/other vandalism	.65	.65
Drunk and disorderly behaviour	.72	.72
Harassment by youth	.75	.71
Cronbach alpha	.92	.91

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Table 33: Satisfaction with police scale, item-total correlations, Ainslie		
	Item-total correlation	
How satisfied are you with police dealing with the following problems in your suburb?	First community safety survey	Second community safety survey
Household burglary	.61	.62
Drink driving	.67	.64
Motor vehicle theft	.74	.82
Theft from motor vehicle	.73	.78
People using/dealing drugs	.62	.63
Speeding/dangerous/noisy driving	.49	.58
Assault and bag snatching	.79	.78
Graffiti/other vandalism	.68	.69
Drunk and disorderly behaviour	.78	.71
Harassment by youth	.77	.63
Cronbach alpha	.91	.91

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

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Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

The item-total correlations for all items (for both surveys) in both suburbs were high. The results for upper and lower Narrabundah were also high. High correlation indicates that the items can be used to form a single measure of satisfaction with the police. These results also indicate that respondents' rating of police satisfaction for each of the items listed was consistent (that is, no single type of problem significantly influenced satisfaction more than any other).

Determining that the items were appropriate to combine to provide an overall scale of levels of satisfaction with the police, the scale measure was developed through combining the scores for each individual item. A scale was created from 0 (very dissatisfied) to 40 (very satisfied). The distribution of overall satisfaction with police for both the first and second community safety surveys are presented in Figures 20 and 21.

Figure 21: Overall perception of police, second community safety survey (scaled scores)
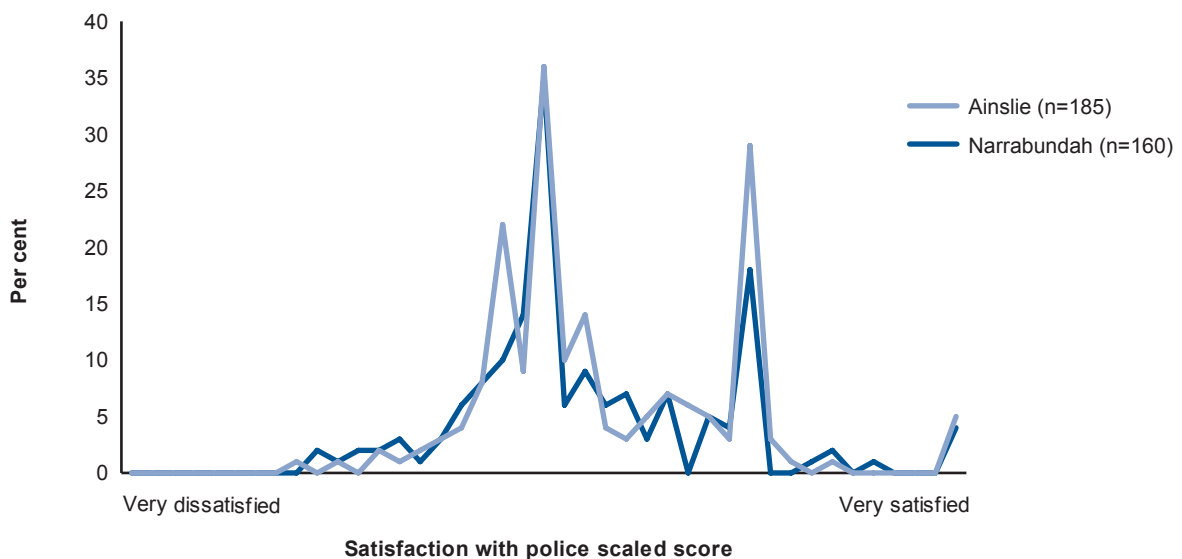
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

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Table 34: Satisfaction with police scales by suburb

Suburb	N	Mean	Std dev.	Std error
First community safety survey				
Narrabundah	163	21.2	6.68	.52
Ainslie	190	22.9	6.21	.45
Second community safety survey				
Narrabundah	160	22.1	6.05	.48
Ainslie	185	22.8	5.86	.43

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

In both surveys respondents were generally satisfied with the police. The results for the two areas within Narrabundah were quite similar. The overall satisfaction with police statistics are presented in Table 34. Levels of satisfaction with the police were similar between the two suburbs and between the two areas of Narrabundah for both surveys. A general linear model analysis was used to test whether there was an interaction effect of time and suburb on levels of satisfaction with the police.

Table 35: General linear model exploring the interaction of time and suburb on overall satisfaction with police levels

	Type III sum of squares	F	Sig.
Within-subject contrasts			
Time	12.2	.73	.40
Time *suburb	26.7	1.70	.19
Between-subject contrast			
Suburb	270.5	4.65	.03*

* significant at p>.05

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

From the general linear model analysis, suburb as a single factor was the only statistically significant factor in police satisfaction scores. Thus, although the difference between the two suburbs appeared quite slight (less than two percentage points) it was in fact a statistically significant difference. It must be noted, however, that in terms of levels of satisfaction with the police, respondents in both suburbs were satisfied with the police. Change over time within each suburb was also analysed using a paired sample t-test to identify whether the change was statistically significant. The results in Table 36 indicate that there were no statistically significant changes in levels of overall satisfaction with police within either of the suburbs, nor was there a statistically significant change within either upper or lower Narrabundah.

Table 36: Overall satisfaction with police paired sample t-tests

Location	N	Paired differences Mean	Std dev.	Std error	T	Sig. (2 tailed)
Ainslie	178	−.15	5.65	.42	−.35	.73
Narrabundah	150	.69	5.97	.49	1.42	.16
Lower Narrabundah	48	.25	7.53	1.09	.23	.82
Upper Narrabundah	159	.57	7.97	.63	.91	.37

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

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Satisfaction with contact with police

The community safety survey asked respondents whether they had contacted the police in the past six months for any of the eight reasons listed in Table 37 and, if so, whether they had been satisfied with that contact. The information in Table 37 indicates that satisfaction following contact with police in general is fairly high and consistent. For each of the reasons for contacting police, a paired-samples t-test was run to determine whether there was any statistically significant change over time in satisfaction. The results indicated that none of the changes over time were statistically significant. Considering the proportion of respondents who had contact with police for each reason, these findings are not unexpected – there is little to base a strong finding upon.

Finally, overall satisfaction with police was analysed in terms of those who had and those who had not been in contact with police in the past six months. The difference in levels of satisfaction was minimal, both between the two suburbs and within the two areas of Narrabundah. Applying a paired sample t-test to the results, it was found that none of the changes over time were significant within Narrabundah or Ainslie, regardless of whether the respondents had been in contact with the police. Thus it appears that contact was not a major factor influencing levels of satisfaction with the police.

Table 37: Percentage of respondents satisfied with police contact (following contact in past six months)

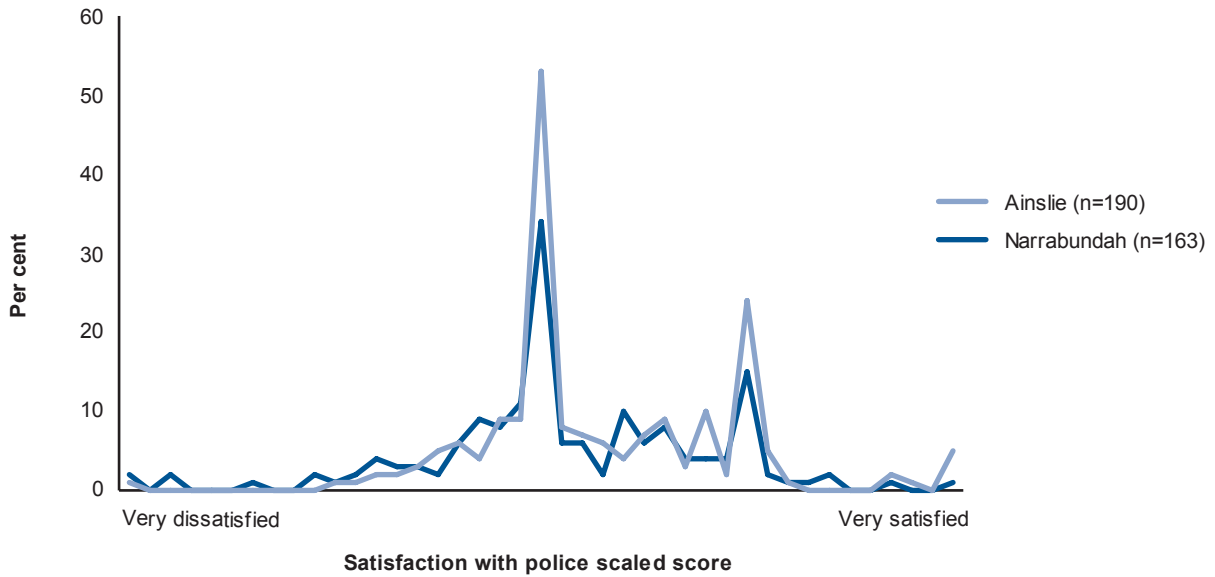| Contact reason	Ainslie (n who had contact)* % satisfied	Narrabundah (n who had contact)* % satisfied
First community safety survey		
To report a crime	(34) 64	(32) 47
Because of a traffic accident	(9) 89	(7) 86
To report suspicious people/circumstances/alarms ringing	(19) 63	(12) 30
To give other information to the police	(17) 71	(10) 50
To call for assistance	(13) 62	(10) 63
To report lost/found property	(5) 80	(7) 60
For a random breath test	(17) 87	(13) 100
Because of a traffic violation	(7) 67	(7) 50
Second community safety survey		
To report a crime	(34) 63	(27) 46
Because of a traffic accident	(8) 88	(8) 57
To report suspicious people/circumstances/alarms ringing	(11) 46	(11) 56
To give other information to the police	(11) 64	(16) 53
To call for assistance	(15) 64	(13) 8
To report lost/found property	(12) 73	(6) 33
For a random breath test	(20) 90	(12) 100
Because of a traffic violation	(9) 100	(5) 40

* missing excluded
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Table 38: Satisfaction with police scales by contact status						
Suburb	Contact status	N	Mean	Median	Std dev.	Std error
First community safety survey						
Narrabundah	Never	105	21.6	20	6.49	.63
	Once or more	58	20.6	20	7.03	.92
Ainslie	Never	126	23.6	21	5.98	.53
	Once or more	64	21.4	20	6.45	.81
Second community safety survey						
Narrabundah	Never	104	22.6	20	6.10	.60
	Once or more	56	21.0	20	5.88	.79
Ainslie	Never	125	23.1	21	5.71	.51
	Once or more	60	23.2	21	6.15	.79

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Satisfaction with contact with the SCPT

Satisfaction with the SCPT can be explored specifically in the second community safety survey that was distributed to Narrabundah residents, which included additional SCPT-specific questions. In considering this data, the level of awareness of the SCPT should first be established. This analysis utilised the whole sample of Narrabundah for the second community safety survey (n=526). Of these respondents:

- only 99 (19%) of Narrabundah respondents indicated that they were aware specifically of the SCPT in the second community safety survey (30 per cent in lower Narrabundah compared to seven per cent in upper Narrabundah); and

- once prompted about the SCPT, 146 (28%) were able to identify how they first became aware of the SCPT (excluding those who indicated they had first heard about the SCPT via the survey).

Of all respondents, only 30 (6%) of respondents indicated that they personally had contact with the SCPT. This equated to 11 per cent in lower Narrabundah (n=26) and two per cent in upper Narrabundah (n=4). Of those who had contact with the SCPT, 89 per cent indicated that they were satisfied to very satisfied with their contact.

Conclusions: community safety survey

Overall, Narrabundah respondents were satisfied with the police and this remained constant over time. These results indicate that the SCPT did not have a statistically significant impact on levels of community satisfaction with the police. However, the extent to which the SCPT was able to influence these results was limited due to the fact that relatively few Narrabundah respondents had been in contact with or were aware of the SCPT. Importantly, the results relating to the SCPT specifically indicated that those who did have contact with them were very satisfied with that contact.

Operational measures forms

The operational measures forms asked the SCPT to identify the aim of the activity being recorded (up to two aims could be identified). Four aims were listed in the form for the SCPT to choose from, one of which was to address perceptions of police. Improving community satisfaction with police involved addressing perceptions of police and thus activities conducted to achieve this aim were identified as
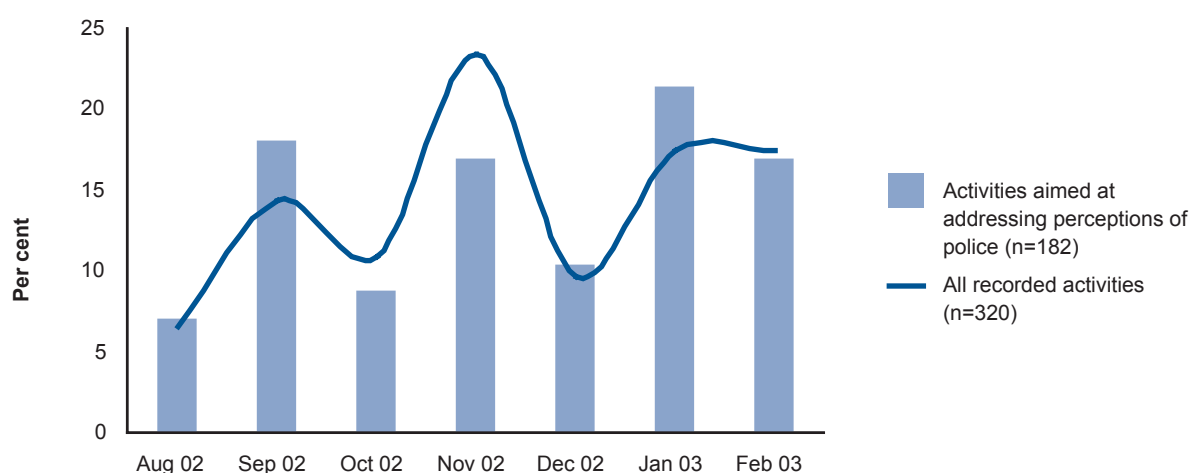
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

activities addressing this objective. Of the 320 recorded activities, addressing perceptions of police was an aim for 182 activities. Figure 22 shows the proportion of activities undertaken to address perceptions of police by the SCPT across the intervention period. As Figure 22 indicates, the frequency with which activities were undertaken by the SCPT to address community satisfaction was consistent with the pattern of activities over the whole period. A general picture of activities undertaken by the SCPT to address perceptions of police is presented in Table 39.

The major outcome for these 182 activities identified by the SCPT was the improvement of the local environment through interacting and building relationships with the local community and increasing police presence in the community. The majority of these activities did not require further action. However, around 30 per cent involved referrals, the majority of which were to other ACT Policing groups, particularly those from the crime prevention unit, CLASP, AFP Indigenous liaison officers and the AFP business liaison officer. Intelligence was gathered in 23 per cent of these activities.

Table 39: Detail of activities aimed at addressing perceptions of police

Activity location	SCPT office, city station (29%); local schools (25%), local business (19%)
Type of activity	Informal interactions (70%)
% interactive	90%
Interaction with	Local schools (26%); householders (25%); local business (19%)
Main objective	To provide interaction between police and the community
Main purpose	To improve police relationships with the community and key stakeholders
% activity requiring further action	23%
Intelligence gathered	Yes (23%)

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

Evaluation of a Suburban Crime Prevention Team

Key stakeholder interviews

In conducting interviews with key stakeholders in the Narrabundah community, discussions revealed the impact the SCPT had on people's perceptions of the team. There were a number of comments regarding policing in the area prior to the intervention, and the marked difference in both the substance and conduct of the SCPT's work compared to general policing. The major issues raised in relation to satisfaction with police and particularly the high level of satisfaction with the SCPT's work are outlined below.

Community policing promised and delivered

A number of stakeholders at the local shops noted that similar initiatives had been introduced in the past by the police. These generally involved officers making a token visit to the shops and never returning: 'A community policing initiative was begun a few years ago. The officers visited once and never returned – the SCPT have actually been around and have been seen in the area.' A few stakeholders met the SCPT with initial skepticism and low expectations. However, they were generally impressed by the team's persistence, regular attendance in the area and their level of involvement with the community.

Past experience with the police

For the most part, stakeholders from the Narrabundah community who were interviewed did not often have cause to contact the police. However, the service provided by police in the past when situations had arisen was identified as inadequate or lacking. Police were not responsive to calls: 'Prior to them [the SCPT] there was never any response to calls to attend brawls etc.' Further, the police were considered inflexible and inconsiderate to needs:

> …before the SCPT began our office was robbed and a staff member was present who wanted some counselling. However, as it was after 5pm on a Friday she was unable to have any before the following Monday as the police counsellor had finished work for the week.

Police presence in the community

A consistent complaint was that the police were simply not a presence in Narrabundah: 'before them [the SCPT], we never saw police in the area.' Further, when they were seen it was fleeting: '…usually you only see the police doing road patrol or in the street when they're buying their lunch…the police need to change their image to be seen as everyday people.' This lack of interaction with the community translated into police being considered out of touch with the community. It served to further cement barriers between the police and the community. A number of those interviewed felt the SCPT had addressed this problem: 'The SCPT was a great thing. If policing is brought down to this level there will be less work. Generally the police are remote and removed…the SCPT broke down barriers.'

SCPT versus 'real' police

Although not always explicitly stated, it was clear that stakeholders understood the work of the SCPT was not an extension of operational policing, and the positive reception of the project was often contrasted with traditional policing in the area. For example: 'they are friendly and respectful, they give people the time of day, stop and talk to them.' General duties police in the area were not considered to be any of these things, especially as they were present either to respond to incidents underway or to deal with incidents that had already occurred. The fact that operational police and the SCPT were considered separate

entities may indicate that the positive reception of the SCPT may not extend more generally to all police. However, some stakeholders did believe the impact of the SCPT would have a flow-on effect to police in general: 'their presence in the community has changed perceptions about police.'

Satisfaction with the SCPT

There were a number of aspects of the SCPT's work that particularly characterised the community's satisfaction with their work.

Presence

Through being a constant presence in the suburb, in addition to being approachable and friendly, respondents felt that 'they [were] very accessible, more so than general police.' Their presence was the key factor emphasised by most stakeholders:

> The greatest thing they did was to create a very positive police presence in the community…Through being a presence on the street, at the shops, at the school and through being able to offer a friendly wave when you passed them in the street. They constantly promoted community.

Further, the SCPT's constant presence in the suburb at a variety of locations allowed many community members to become familiar with them: '[they are] the friendly face of the police, now you can go down the street and see the police and wave to them – you know them.' This enabled people to put a face to the name when they were contacting police, and to feel comfortable to approach them. However, the localised nature of this impact should be noted as the majority of stakeholders were located in the lower Narrabundah area. When conducting interviews with those located further away, many were unaware of the initiative.

Community integration

The SCPT was able to become a part of the community in both a formal and informal sense: 'They've become a part of the local community, networked well and made connections/inroads with the locals…' This impressed many stakeholders and was important to the SCPT's ability to work effectively in the area. The team's attitude toward the project and to the Narrabundah community was greatly appreciated. They were considered to be interested, hard-working and committed, and this was viewed as fundamental to their success: '[they are] friendly, approachable people who, very importantly, treat the local community with respect, regardless of who they're dealing with.'

Having the SCPT as part of the local community was also identified as empowering the community: 'it gives ownership of law enforcement to the community…They are our police officers.' On one occasion, an officer attended a barbeque at Gowrie Court (a public housing complex) organised by a community group leader in her uniform:

> …going to Gowrie Court to bridge the gap between police and citizens…was very positive. She wore her uniform and people were reluctant and wary of her at first, but she stayed, she was relaxed and very informal – she just had a sandwich with everyone else and related freely and easily with everybody. It was so important that she wasn't there to give a talk or to arrest someone – that she wasn't there in any official capacity, she was just there to break down barriers.

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Those working with youth in the area (schools and community groups alike) noted the important work the SCPT did in building relationships with young children in the area:

> [They've had] a very positive impact on the kids through their involvement in a number of activities. Many of the children are scared of the police, a number of them would associate the police with negative situations (such as police coming to their own homes or to flats nearby to respond to negative situations where they're often loud and aggressive) and this affects them, especially later in life, if this is their only interaction with police.

Another commented that the SCPT 'left an impression on the children, a very positive one. They've had a good impact which will have lasting effects. They were always respectful, kind and helpful when interacting with the children.'

Limitations of a short-term project

For many interviewees, the short-term nature of the project limited the potential benefits of the project: 'it needs to be ongoing [because there is a] need to change both the police attitude to their role and the community, and the community's attitude towards the police.' As a result, the impact of the SCPT may only be temporary and any improvement in relation to community satisfaction with the police may decrease as time passes in the suburb. Policing in Narrabundah may return to what it was prior to the SCPT's presence in the community.

While there was much criticism from stakeholders regarding the length of the project, there was also recognition that limited budgets and personnel cannot support such intensive projects. A number of stakeholders suggested alternative approaches. These included making changes to general policing activities in order to improve the practice of general duties officers, or alternative project designs for future SCPT initiatives that encompass more suburbs and are slightly less intensive.

Key stakeholder interviews: conclusions

The SCPT represented an alternative to general policing in Narrabundah and promoted itself as a special initiative. In the course of the interviews, it was clear that the SCPT was not considered representative of the police as a whole. Thus, the extremely positive response to the SCPT's work in the community will not necessarily translate into an increase in satisfaction with operational police. However, the fact that the project was developed and implemented reflected well upon ACT Policing in terms of the organisation identifying that current policing practices might not meet the needs of the whole community.

An exception to the distinction between the SCPT and general duties policing applies to the young children in Narrabundah, with whom the SCPT worked extensively both in the various schools and through interactions in the area. Many of those who worked with young children in the area noted the potential long-term impact of the positive relationships the children were able to develop with the SCPT. They were able to see that the police are not only involved in negative, law enforcement activities, but can in fact be helpful and supportive. As the SCPT always wore police uniform it is less likely that young children would appreciate the difference between the operational police and this targeted project. Accordingly, although they will notice the loss of the SCPT, there is a potential long-term impact in terms of attitudes towards the police as the children grow older.

The increased presence of police was a central theme running through all the interviews. This presence served to reassure people; they felt better simply knowing the police were around. The impact of both being present in the community and interacting with the community in a variety of contexts and in a variety of roles enabled the SCPT to have an effect across a range of areas in the community. However, it must also be noted that while being a noticeable presence in the community may assist in increasing perceptions of police in the suburb, the most glowing reports of the SCPT were from those who had been in a position to work closely with them. Clearly, it is through working closely with individuals and small groups that the SCPT can have most impact. The demands on the SCPT's time, particularly given the short timeframe of the initiative, made it difficult for them to achieve this level of close interaction with a large proportion of the whole population.

From the point of view of stakeholders in Narrabundah who had contact with the SCPT, or who were at least aware of the initiative, the SCPT quite clearly had an extremely positive effect on the community, strengthening the view of police in the community as a result. While it must be noted that stakeholders in the outer areas of Narrabundah were for the most part unaware of the team, the SCPT was able to impact the area of Narrabundah where they had concentrated their activities.

Conclusions: increase community satisfaction with police

The results from the community safety survey demonstrate that across Narrabundah, satisfaction with police was relatively high and this did not change over time. Research has shown that interaction between police and the community is central to shaping perceptions of police (see NIJ 2002). Thus, the SCPT had the potential to make a large impact through their interactions with the community. The team was not widely known by respondents and this limited their ability to impact on levels of satisfaction with the police across the whole population. However, the results from the second community safety survey and the key stakeholder interviews indicate that the SCPT had a very positive impact upon those with whom they came into direct contact. Informal activities undertaken by the SCPT to address perceptions of the police were revealed to be one of the most effective ways of reaching stakeholders in the community and addressing their policing needs. The SCPT was not able to reach the whole community for a variety of reasons, and an attempt to do so may have lessened the impact that was made. It was through the team's concentration in one area that they were able to become a familiar and constant presence in that part of the Narrabundah community.

While the key stakeholder interviews indicated that the SCPT had a localised impact in Narrabundah, it is important to consider whether the project has the potential to increase overall levels of satisfaction with the police. Although it is difficult to establish the extent to which the SCPT increased community satisfaction toward police in general, it can be presumed that there was at least some indirect increase in the overall levels of satisfaction with police (at least for the short-term) as a result of the SCPT's efforts in Narrabundah.

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Objective 5: improve police–stakeholder relations

Building partnerships with the community lies at the core of community policing (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux 1990). However it is not possible for the police to work and develop personal relationships with every member of the community, despite every member of the community essentially being a stakeholder. Thus, community stakeholders are an essential contact point for the police as they enable access to the wider community. Such stakeholders include local businesses, local schools, various community groups, health centres and other such organisations. In order for community policing to work effectively and successfully, these relationships are extremely important and police must work to establish and to maintain them. In the development of the SCPT initiative the identification of this key objective reflected the importance placed on stakeholder relationships. Assessing the SCPT's performance in relation to this goal relied primarily on qualitative measures.

Quantitative measures

The operational measure forms contribute valuable data regarding the type of activities undertaken by the SCPT to address this objective and their perception of the relative success of these activities.

Qualitative measures

The key stakeholder interviews provide a rich source of data regarding the SCPT's development and maintenance of relationships with the key stakeholders in the Narrabundah community over the period of the intervention, and the impact of their efforts. In addition, the general themes arising in the discussions during the weekly meetings with the SCPT – and recorded in the weekly meeting reports – have been analysed with regard to the SCPT's attitude and efforts in relation to this objective.

Operational measures forms

The operational measures forms offer an insight into the activities undertaken by the SCPT towards the improvement of relations between police and stakeholders. Activities undertaken by the SCPT that identified the objective of the activity as being 'to develop/maintain alliances with community groups and local government' and/or identified the purpose of the activity as being 'to improve police relationships with [group/stakeholder specified]' were combined into a group of activities that specifically addressed this objective. The details of these activities, including when they were undertaken, the location and the type of activities, are explored briefly below. The substance of the activities is then discussed in order to create a picture of who the SCPT was interacting with when undertaking these activities, what was being discussed and the outcomes of these activities.

Of all the activities undertaken by the SCPT, 194 (61%) were undertaken to address police relationships with stakeholders. The frequency of these activities over the six-month duration of the SCPT intervention is presented in Figure 23. Some details of the activities undertaken by the SCPT to address this objective are presented in Table 40 to give an overall picture of what the activities generally entailed.

These activities took place in a number of locations. One-third were conducted in the SCPT office located at the city police station. At this location the SCPT was often in a better position to make and return telephone calls to residents and stakeholders, and to liaise with other government bodies. While undertaking these activities a number of objectives were typically being addressed. (As has been noted elsewhere, most activities were undertaken with multiple aims and purposes.) For approximately three-quarters of these activities, the SCPT identified the provision of an interaction point between the

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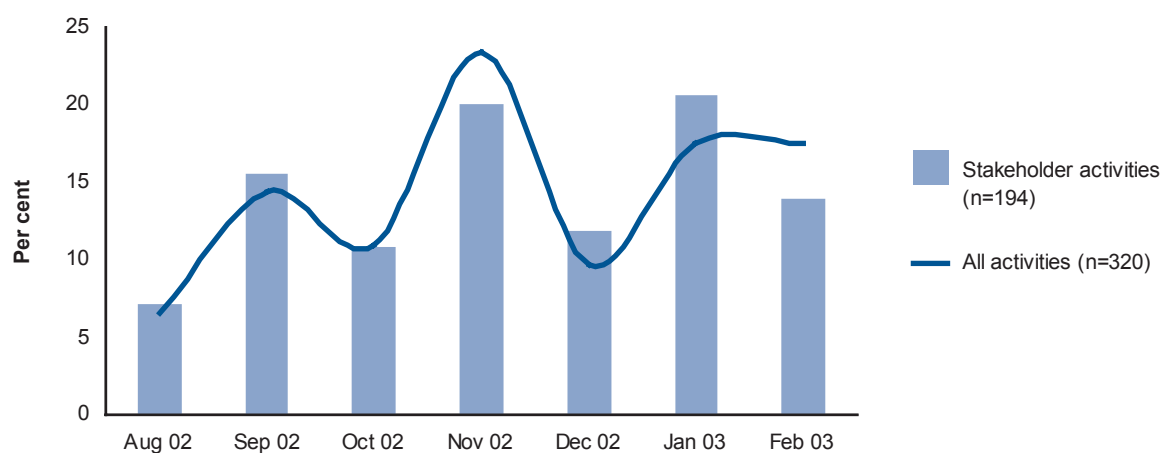
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

Table 40: Details of activities that focused on improving and maintaining police relations with key stakeholders

Location	SCPT office, city station (33%); business premises (23%), local school (21%)
Type of activity	Informal interaction (67%)
Activity with	Local business (25%), local schools (24%), householders (20%)
% interactive	92%
Further action	Yes (25%)
Referrals made	Yes (30%)
Intelligence gathered	Yes (24%), information report submitted (10%)

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

community and the police as the second major objective being addressed. These objectives are clearly related. Often, through undertaking activities to develop and maintain good relations with stakeholders, the SCPT was interacting with the community.

When conducting these activities, over half involved educating the community or disseminating information about crime prevention techniques and existing police services. A further 38 per cent were conducted for the purpose of discussing crime-related community issues with a formal group. The issues that arose during discussions with groups and individuals included:

• strategies to address local crime problems;

• practical implementation issues; and

• forthcoming SCPT events and activities.

In conducting these activities, the key purpose was to address perceptions of the police.

Outcomes

The major outcome from these activities, as identified by the SCPT, was the improvement of the local environment (86%). This was achieved through interacting and building relationships with the community (53%), increasing police presence (16%) and addressing youth issues (13%). A second major outcome was the promotion of existing police services, specifically the SCPT (47%), ACT Policing in general (40%) and specific ACT Policing services, such as the business liaison officer, Indigenous community liaison officers and volunteers in policing (13%).

Of all the activities, 30 per cent involved referrals to support services and other stakeholders. The majority of referrals were to ACT Policing services (such as PCYC, ICLO, BLO, CLASP, Reclink, Kenny Koala, volunteers in policing) and ACT policing generally. This was followed by referrals to ACT government services (including Family Services, Mediation Services, Urban Services and the Department of Education and Community Services). A small number of referrals was made to local services such as the Salvation Army, Neighbourhood Watch and the Boomanulla Kids sports program.

Operational measures forms: conclusions

The operational measures forms data indicate that a large proportion of the SCPT's activities were undertaken with the intention of improving police–stakeholder relations. In order to achieve this, the SCPT interacted a great deal with the community and with stakeholders, often through informal activities rather than planned meetings in formal venues. The team engaged with a variety of stakeholders in the community when undertaking these activities and was able to work towards achieving this objective in different locations. Many of the activities involved the provision of information and discussion which often related specifically to the SCPT initiative and the work the team was undertaking. Referrals to other organisations, which are important for building partnerships between all stakeholders, was an outcome for one-third of the cases, and many of these were to existing police services. Clearly the SCPT did work towards making community stakeholders more aware of the services available to them, with improving police–stakeholder relations a potential outcome of this.

Key stakeholder interviews

Data detailing the extent to which the SCPT developed relationships with stakeholders in the community, the quality of these relationships and their implications for stakeholders' perceptions of the police were made available through key stakeholder interviews. The range of issues that arose during the interviews are identified and discussed below.

Providing a positive police service

For a number of stakeholders, their past relationship with police had been almost non-existent: 'We've only ever worked with the police if there's been a problem, they have never been involved with our work otherwise.' Further, a number viewed the police as being unhelpful and saw the SCPT as offering an alternative: 'They provided some follow-up after the shop was broken into which was good. The police who responded to the incident did not provide any feedback or follow-up.' Through their different style of working, the SCPT was able to develop relationships in the community: 'They were very approachable. They weren't stereotypical police officers, they were friendly, you were able to talk to them, they helped with the kids.' The SCPT was also held in high regard for spending time in the community and developing an understanding of the needs and concerns of the area, compared to general police who only came into the neighbourhood to attend incidents and were considered out-of-touch:

> The detective who visited to ask questions regarding the recent sexual assault suggested that the Narrabundah shops should have security cameras installed, like in Civic – this is not necessary here. This is a suburban shopping centre, usually there are [only] misdemeanors that require informal measures like talking to those involved.

This response is demonstrative of the view expressed by a number of stakeholders that the standard police response to crime issues and concerns is not based on knowledge of the community or tailored to its specific needs.

Recognising needs, responding and filling gaps

In a number of instances the SCPT provided a specific service or filled a gap for stakeholders and was able to make a valuable contribution both to the organisation itself and to the wider community. For example, at the local public primary school the SCPT filled a need, described by the principal as 'desperate', for a police presence. As the principal explained:

> …the concerns of schools are generally not priority concerns for police because they're not life threatening. But the school genuinely needs immediate assistance. The SCPT fill this need – they respond immediately and, importantly, they know the background to the situations, they know the families and the children.

Not only did they fill a gap in service provision for this stakeholder, the team also sought to provide a link between the different agencies the schools worked with:

> The SCPT filled a gap – they were a wonderful link for the school to have, the school works with many agencies, and it is very reassuring to have that level of back-up if we really need it.

Community groups also found that the SCPT was able to provide a police service that had not existed previously:

> [Coordinators of the outreach group] have had situations arise where they don't want to officially report the situation, but could contact the SCPT to have a confidential chat, seeking legal advice and information without compromising the situation, especially with people at risk who are very vulnerable.

The SCPT's ability to deal with situations delicately and with discretion was particularly important in establishing and strengthening these working relationships. With many other stakeholders in the community, establishing and maintaining a relationship was less labour-intensive for the SCPT. Through being a constant presence in the area and addressing some of the general issues that were of concern to these stakeholders, the team was able to maintain very positive relations with these stakeholders who viewed them very favourably:

> Generally they were very good. They have changed the dynamic, the way the children behave…That they were sitting outside my building was very good. Couldn't suggest much more for them to do other than be there.

Another commented:

> Good idea…they were very helpful…They popped in to see us. They were excellent…We didn't have any involvement with them directly, or any need for them, but it was good to know they were there if required.

In working in the community it was clear that stakeholders have different needs and expectations of the police. For example, a local community group noted 'we need to be slightly wary of developing too strong a connection with the SCPT because of the nature of our work [and], the individuals we work with in the community.' Further, some did not want police involvement with their organisation: 'generally we do not contact police when things happen [such as graffiti and other vandalism]. We don't want them involved with this organisation.' For the SCPT there is a need to identify and balance these different needs and to harness their skills to provide effective service where it is required and desired.

Identifying stakeholders

In identifying stakeholders in Narrabundah to interview, it was clear that not all the potential stakeholders in the community had been in contact with the SCPT. A number were unaware of the team's presence: 'They didn't actually work with us…or approach us to discuss our concerns.' While some stakeholders had been aware of the team's presence, they had no information about the project and no information regarding how to make contact:

> The SCPT never contacted us, as far as we're aware. They never approached us and we didn't notice their presence. We would have liked to know about them…Perhaps we're too far away from the shops?

For a number of stakeholders this resulted in disappointment at a missed opportunity to work with the police: 'we could have worked with them on a program, we could have used them, or given them our spare room to run programs from.'

Importance of maintaining relationships

In addition to developing good relations with stakeholders in the community, the importance of maintaining these relationships was clear. For example, at one school the SCPT's presence was fundamental to the important police–stakeholder relationship:

> The knowledge that the SCPT are present has been a comfort – knowing you could pick up the phone and they would come to school, assist in whatever way they could. They always dropped into the school unannounced and would wander through the playground and would interact and talk with the kids. They also attended staff meetings to debrief staff after any incident, and would drop in and have a cup of tea with the staff, talk with the teachers and offer advice.

Through maintaining their presence they were able to become a familiar, trusted presence and were considered part of the school community. While stakeholders were generally impressed by the SCPT's constant presence in the community, a few indicated the importance of following up on any contact that is made with them. One slightly disgruntled stakeholder commented:

> They didn't do much. There is a group of people – mainly juveniles – who do silly things. I told the team but they did very little. I have rung them because they gave out their card, but nothing happened.

Such comments highlight the fragile nature of some relationships with stakeholders, and the need to be conscious of this when undertaking activities in the community.

Project constraints: future possibilities and unrealised potential

A number of points were made by stakeholders identifying key factors that influenced their level of satisfaction with the SCPT that should be considered in the assessment of the team's success in improving police–stakeholder relations. Many acknowledged that a project such as this requires time:

> Six months is not enough time to touch all aspects of the community. There are many different groups within the community and some are easier to locate and contact. [The SCPT] need time to 'break the ice' and build relationships. They would find that the more time they spent in the suburb the more there would be to do.

The end of the project was met with a great deal of resistance from a number of stakeholders, including businesses, schools and community groups:

- 'the biggest mistake is ending the project';

- 'we wrote to ACT Policing to support the team's presence and stated that we wanted the project extended.'

Although the SCPT team had not been able to work with every stakeholder in the Narrabundah community, it had a big impact where it concentrated its efforts. One community group leader noted the importance of the SCPT for those working at the stakeholder level, and the impact such a project has for the provision of their services:

> The community may not care much [that the SCPT has left], but the community leaders have really appreciated their presence and feel it's a loss. Sadly the [general] community may not notice as when things are going well people tend not to notice. The flow-on effect may mean they don't notice that they're not here.

Key stakeholder interviews: conclusions

The SCPT was clearly identified as a separate body to the general police and, as such, the positive reception and assessment of the SCPT by the majority of stakeholders in the community may not necessarily have had a wide impact on improving stakeholders' relations with the general police. While some stakeholders expressed frustration or disappointment with the level of service provided by the police in general, a number also indicated that they appreciated the multiple demands on police. The majority of stakeholders indicated that the police were rarely seen and that they had little to do with them. They expressed neither a great deal of satisfaction nor dissatisfaction with the police, but rather the absence of any relationship.

The SCPT allowed stakeholders to reconsider the potential for police to be involved in their work, and exposed stakeholders to a number of services and approaches to solving issues they would not otherwise have been aware of. While resources and time constraints limited the SCPT, the team managed to engage and establish relationships with a broad group of stakeholders in the community. Clearly there is always more that can be done, but within these constraints the SCPT successfully maintained very positive relationships with a large group of stakeholders. They provided services and responded to needs that were identified both by stakeholders and the team itself. In some cases there were opportunities missed and in other cases the importance of maintaining contact and following-up on even very small issues was highlighted. The nature of the SCPT's relationships with different stakeholders varied considerably. Some were stronger than others and each required different levels of maintenance.

Most stakeholders indicated they would like the SCPT's involvement, yet the SCPT was not in a position to identify and fulfil every need. A number of stakeholders felt abandoned when the SCPT initiative ended, as they had come to rely on them. Only a few felt they had been able to develop stronger networks and links to other services. While the SCPT had filled a gap, it had not established further links with other existing agencies to continue some level of support upon the completion of the project. It would seem that trying to address the needs of many groups may not always work in the SCPT's favour, even though police–stakeholder relationships may be improved in the short-term. There is some concern that the positive relations that were established could sour if gaps that had been identified and filled during the project reappear after the project's end. This impacts particularly on the general police organisation – it is blamed for implementing such a positive project for a limited time and for ending it regardless of how much it is needed or how successful it is.

Weekly meeting reports

The SCPT noted on a number of occasions that their offers of assistance were met with varying responses. While some stakeholders were particularly enthusiastic and receptive to the team's presence, others regarded them with suspicion or indicated that there was little the SCPT could do for them. There was much discussion over the six months of the change in community perceptions and approaches to the SCPT. The team was well aware that many stakeholders expected that they would not follow through on their commitment to work in the community and to assist in whatever way they could. They felt that the impact of their presence, which they worked to keep consistent and regular, was very positive and earned them a great deal of credibility in the community. The team identified the complexities involved in establishing relationships with different stakeholders and the importance of being persistent without being insistent. For example, the principal at one local primary school at first appeared disinterested in the project. The SCPT slowly came to be involved in more activities and accepted any invitations offered by the school, and eventually built an excellent working rapport with the school. It was only mid-way through the project that they were fully informed enough to realise that the initial wariness was partly due to the fact it was the principal's first year at the school. She had been unwilling to commit to involving the SCPT in school activities without first obtaining the support of the school community.

Towards the end of the project the SCPT indicated that many of the relationships they worked hard to develop had reached a point where it was only necessary for them to drop in occasionally to maintain good relations with stakeholders. While this could have been considered an opportunity to expand into the community further, the SCPT remained in the area within Narrabundah they were familiar with. The process of expanding their work area further out into Narrabundah would be difficult to undertake beyond the three-month mid-point of the initiative given the time it would take to initiate and build relationships with other stakeholders.

The SCPT identified the Narrabundah shops as the focus for their activities at the outset, as they felt this area provided the best opportunity for them to have an impact and to interact with the community. A number of times they did venture out to the further ends of Narrabundah, but they often presumed stakeholders and groups located in more remote parts of Narrabundah did not need them as there appeared to be fewer problems in these areas. However, the interviews indicated that a number of these organisations actually felt isolated and thought an occasional police presence would be of great benefit to them.

On some occasions the SCPT was unwilling to pursue possible involvement with stakeholders when it may have required a great deal of effort or if the stakeholder did not follow up with them. For example, the local high school mentioned in an interview that there was a number of potential ways for the SCPT to interact with the students, in particular through being part of an after-school program that would require

their presence once a week. However, when discussing the high school, the SCPT indicated that they believed the school was not interested in them at all and did not intend to pursue this any further. These different perspectives indicate the potential for communication breakdown.

Improve police–stakeholder relations: conclusions

It is clear that the SCPT undertook many activities to address the objective of improving police–stakeholder relations that were, on the whole, successful. The team worked to encourage awareness of other police services on a number of occasions in addition to the promotion of their project. The overall impact of this with stakeholders may be that ACT Policing are viewed slightly negatively for ending the project that many wanted to continue, however, the fact that the project was implemented and received so positively indicates that the SCPT was able to improve police relations with stakeholders in the community. Again, it needs to be noted that this impact was concentrated in the lower Narrabundah area.

Objective 6: improve residents' perceptions of the suburb

Residents' perceptions of their suburb as a place to live can be influenced by a wide range of factors. The community policing literature identifies improving residents perceptions of their suburb as a possible indirect benefit of community policing efforts, an additional outcome from their many activities in the community (Hahn 1998). Thus, one of the SCPT's objectives was to increase residents' satisfaction with their suburb. Both quantitative and qualitative measures were used to analyse the outcomes in relation to this objective

Quantitative measures

The community safety survey provided information related to residents' perceptions of their suburb using three different measures. The responses for each of these have been compared over time to see if there was any change in perceptions. The operational measure forms provide details regarding the SCPT's activities that aimed to address perceptions of the local environment. These activities were analysed to provide information about the frequency, nature and outcomes of activities undertaken by the SCPT to address perceptions of the local area.

Qualitative indicators

The key stakeholder interviews provide data regarding perceptions of Narrabundah and the SCPT's impact on these perceptions. Information regarding the SCPT's views on their efforts to address perceptions of Narrabundah and the impact of these efforts was provided in the weekly meeting reports.

Community safety survey

Two measures were included in the community safety survey that were identified as indicators of respondents' general perceptions of their suburb as a place to live. Specifically these questions were:

- 'on the whole, how do you feel about [Narrabundah/Ainslie] as a place to live?' and

- 'do you think [Narrabundah/Ainslie] is more or less safe than it was six months ago?'

Summaries of the results from both surveys for each suburb are presented in Table 41. A brief analysis of each measure over time will follow.

Table 41: Measures to assess perceptions of the suburb, results

| | | Ainslie | | Narrabundah | |
		First community safety survey	Second community safety survey	First community safety survey	Second community safety survey
Overall satisfaction with suburb*	Satisfied**	96.5	96.5	92.1	94.4
	Dissatisfied***	3.5	3.5	7.9	5.6
Overall safety in suburb (compared to six months ago)*^	More safe	4.5	5.2	8.3	8.5
	Same	82.0	86.5	78.8	83.6
	Less safe	13.5	8.3	12.8	7.9

* missing data excluded

** very satisfied and somewhat satisfied combined

*** very dissatisfied and somewhat dissatisfied combined

^ 'don't know/not sure' responses excluded

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer data file]

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Overall satisfaction with suburb

By far the majority of respondents in both suburbs (over 90 per cent) indicated that they were satisfied with their suburb in both surveys. Within Narrabundah the responses were similar, with approximately 90 per cent in both areas of the suburb indicating that they were 'somewhat' to 'very satisfied' with Narrabundah as a whole. However, in upper Narrabundah 10 per cent of respondents indicated that they were 'dissatisfied' with the suburb in the first community safety survey. This reduced by five per cent in the second community safety survey. In order to determine whether time and suburb had a combined interactive effect on the level of reported satisfaction with the suburb, a general linear model was applied to the data.

The results indicate that neither time alone, nor the interaction between time and suburb were statistically significant, however suburb as a single factor was statistically significant (F=23.171, sig.=.00; sig at p>01). Thus, the level of satisfaction with their suburb as a place to live was significantly different between the respondents in the two suburbs, with Ainslie respondents being more satisfied with their suburb than Narrabundah respondents. This same method was used to compare upper and lower Narrabundah. The results indicate that there were no significant differences in satisfaction levels between respondents in the two areas.

Following these findings a paired-samples t-test was run for each suburb to explore the change over time. The results are presented in Table 42. Although Ainslie respondents overall perceived their suburb to be slightly safer than Narrabundah respondents, it was only in Narrabundah that there was a statistically significant increase in satisfaction over time. Further analysis revealed that it was only in upper Narrabundah, where satisfaction with the suburb between increased over time, that the change was statistically significant (t=2.63, sig=.01; sig at p>01).

Table 42: Overall satisfaction with suburb paired-sample t-tests

Suburb	Paired-sample t-test results					
	N	Mean	Std dev.	Std error	T	Sig. (2 tailed)
First community safety survey						
Narrabundah	177	2.5	.66	.05	2.00	.05*
Ainslie	196	2.7	.56	.04	-.58	.56
Second community safety survey						
Narrabundah	177	2.4	.69	.05		
Ainslie	196	2.8	.52	.04		

* significant at p>.05
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Overall safety in suburb

The majority of respondents (approximately 80 per cent) from both suburbs indicated that they felt their suburb was as safe as it was six months ago at both times the survey was conducted. Narrabundah residents were more likely than Ainslie respondents to be of the opinion that their suburb was safer than it had been six months ago. Within Narrabundah, lower Narrabundah respondents felt the suburb was more safe than upper Narrabundah. Eighteen per cent of respondents in upper Narrabundah indicated that Narrabundah was less safe in the past six months compared to four per cent in lower Narrabundah for the first community safety survey. However, in the second community safety survey perceptions clearly changed. Lower Narrabundah respondents indicated a decreased perception of safety while upper Narrabundah respondents' perceptions slightly increased, indicating that they felt it was safer.

Table 43: Perceived overall safety in suburb paired-sample t-tests

	Paired-sample t-test results					
Suburb	N	Mean	Std dev.	Std error	T	Sig. (2 tailed)
First community safety survey						
Narrabundah	147	1.01	.41	.03	1.04	.30
Ainslie	172	.97	.38	.03	1.35	.18
Second community safety survey						
Narrabundah	147	.97	.46	.04		
Ainslie	172	.92	.41	.03		

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology Community Safety Survey [computer file]

In order to examine the interaction effect of time and suburb on these results, a general linear model was applied. The results indicate that the interaction between time and suburb was not statistically significant and that neither factors were independently significant. Within Narrabundah, however, the results show that the interaction effect of time and area was statistically significant (F=5.69, sig=.02; sig at p>.05). Thus, different factors were influencing perceptions of overall safety in lower and upper Narrabundah.

In order to explore changes within the two suburbs overall a paired-samples t-test was conducted (Table 43). The results indicate that there was no statistically significant change in overall perceptions of safety in the suburb over time in either Narrabundah or Ainslie. Running this same model on the two areas of Narrabundah showed that lower Narrabundah experienced a statistically significant increase, translating into more respondents in that area feeling Narrabundah had increased in its level of safety in the past six months.

Community safety survey: conclusions

While Ainslie respondents were more satisfied with their suburb compared to Narrabundah respondents, the level of satisfaction remained stable over time. In Narrabundah, by contrast, there was a statistically significant increase in satisfaction levels. It has been argued that perceptions of safety and levels of crime influence perceptions of an area. However, it appears that these may not be the only factors having an influence. In Narrabundah, for example, it was found that recorded crime statistics and levels of victimisation reported in the community safety survey remained constant over time, yet satisfaction with the suburb increased.

The changes experienced in Narrabundah in the measures relating to perceptions of the suburb were not reflected in Ainslie. This indicates that the changes in Narrabundah were due to suburb-specific factors. The fact that the increased satisfaction with the suburb increased significantly only within upper Narrabundah makes it more difficult to identify the SCPT as the key causal factor for this increase. It is important to be aware of other events in the suburb, including the redevelopment and home renovation occurring in the area and the reported increase in property values. Other community factors, such as the redevelopment of the tennis courts and the surrounding garden and park area, are also potential factors influencing resident satisfaction with the suburb. Thus, at best, the SCPT's presence could be identified as a contributing factor.

Figure 24: Activities aimed at addressing perceptions of the local environment
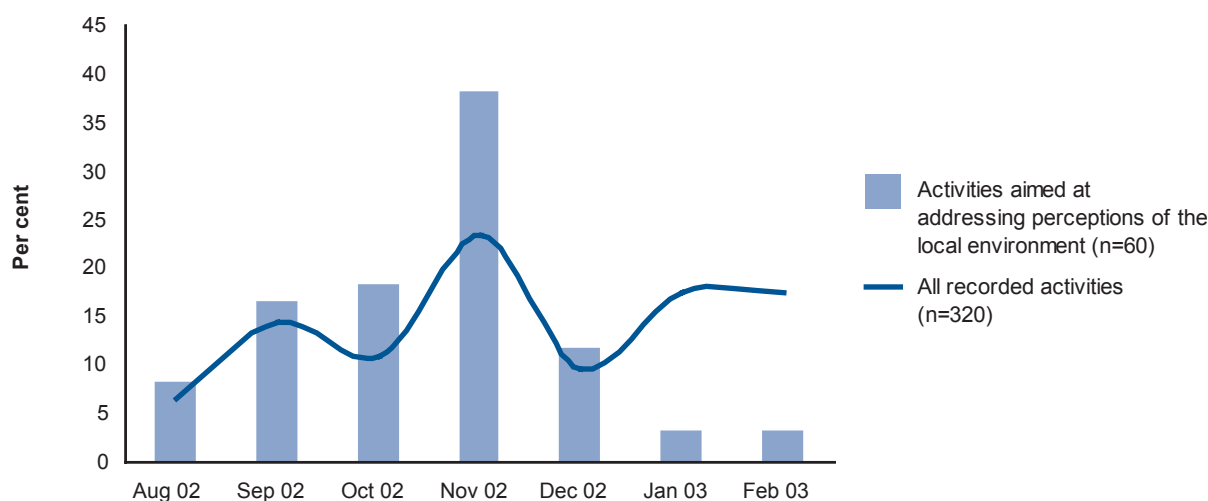
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

Operational measures forms

The best indication of activities undertaken by the SCPT to improve residents' perceptions of their suburb was to identify all operational measures forms that specified addressing perceptions of the local environment as one aim of the activity being recorded. Of the 320 recorded activities, 60 activities (19%) aimed to address perceptions of the local environment.

Figure 24 presents the frequency of these activities over the six months the SCPT was operating in Narrabundah. Overall, the proportion of these activities conducted each month mirrored the overall pattern of all activities for the whole project, peaking in November. However, in the final two months of the project, activities addressing residents' perceptions of the suburb appeared to decline sharply.

A brief outline of the details and characteristics of the activities conducted that aimed to address residents perception of Narrabundah is presented in Table 44. In addition to these details, it is also possible to gain further information regarding the substantive nature of these activities.

Table 44: Details of activities addressing perceptions of the local environment

Location	On street (45%); business premises (27%)
Type of activity	Informal meeting (40%); targeted patrol (38%)
Interactive activity	Yes (60%)
Activity with	Local business (25%); local school (17%)
Referrals made	Yes (18%)
Intelligence gathered	Yes (18%)

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

Evaluation of a Suburban Crime Prevention Team

Objective: The main objective of these activities was to increase police presence in the suburb (72%).

Purpose: The main purpose of these activities was to increase police presence in the suburb (70%) and this was achieved through patrolling in the SCPT van (60%) and through conducting beats in Narrabundah (40%).

Interaction: The majority of these activities were interactive, though only a few (20%) required follow-up action. Mostly this interaction was with local businesses (reflecting the fact that beats were conducted primarily at the shops) and also with schools. In talking with people while conducting these activities, the main points of discussion included crime victimisation in Narrabundah, and strategies to address local crime problems.

Outcomes: The main outcome of these activities was the improvement of the local environment. This was achieved mostly through increasing police presence in the area and through interacting and building relationships with members of the community.

Crime issues: The crime problems addressed during these activities included property crime (78%) and fear of crime (68%).

The results from the operational measures forms indicate that the SCPT addressed community perceptions of the suburb through their presence in Narrabundah. The majority of activities involved conducting beats and interacting informally with community members and local businesses. Local businesses comprised the group that the SCPT were in contact with most for these activities. This indicates that the majority of activities were conducted around the Narrabundah shops area. It is important to note that the SCPT activities often identified more than one aim for each activity, and for 27 per cent of the activities the SCPT was also addressing perceptions of safety. This finding reflects the SCPT's view that this objective was linked to the reduction of fear of crime. It was felt that a familiar police presence in the suburb would lead residents to feel safer in the suburb and (potentially) to feel more satisfied with the suburb.

Key stakeholder interviews

There was little discussion of general perceptions of Narrabundah in the interviews conducted with key stakeholders. For the most part, perceptions of the suburb were linked to feelings of safety in the area. Many felt that the presence of the SCPT was a good thing for the community: 'Their increased presence in the area is very noticeable and very positive.' In particular, perceptions of the suburb and the shops area in the past had impacted negatively on business: 'Generally people who loiter and display antisocial behaviour put off clientele, especially those reluctant to come to Narrabundah already – some refuse to come.' The SCPT's presence was noted as particularly beneficial in addressing this and increasing attendance at the shops: '[The] shops are safer, more attractive to customers…[T]here seems to be more people around the shops in general.' Some stakeholders in the community noted that the SCPT exceeded the expectations of police officers and their presence was extremely positive for the community: 'They promoted the community, they were very active in the community. The greatest thing they did was to create a very positive police presence in the community.'

Although there were specific changes in perceptions of the area, especially at the Narrabundah shops, that were attributed to the SCPT's presence, there was a general consensus among stakeholders that the suburb is undergoing a period of economic and social change due to increases in the property value of houses: 'The property market is improving, there is a changing population and gradually Narrabundah

will change.' Further, the general upgrading of facilities that has occurred over a period of time in the area was identified as contributing to the general improvement of the area: 'Narrabundah is getting better, [the] refurbishments have made a difference.'

The indications from the key stakeholder interviews overall are that the SCPT was able to address and improve residents' perceptions of the suburb, specifically around the shops area in lower Narrabundah, through making it a safer place, particularly during the day when they were most frequently present. However, the SCPT's efforts would not be considered the single factor influencing residents' perceptions of the suburb. It was noted repeatedly that the community is undergoing a period of change and these extraneous factors would also be impacting upon residents' perceptions of the suburb.

Weekly meeting reports

The difference between the upper and lower areas of Narrabundah was noted by the SCPT in their first week of activity. Despite having little prior knowledge of the suburb, they found that Sturt Avenue was a clear geographical demarcation and that the clientele and community structure on either side of this street differed substantially. The SCPT felt their efforts would best be received and have more potential impact in lower Narrabundah. They naturally gravitated to a focal point for community interaction, the Narrabundah shops, a place where they could most readily interact with the community.

An example of the SCPT's efforts to address perceptions of the suburb was their work in relation to graffiti in the area. The team noticed graffiti around the shops area and in the bus stops and monitored it closely, identifying the youth responsible for the majority of it, arranging to have it removed and maintaining supervision of the youth responsible. Over the course of the project, graffiti as a sign of disorder and evidence of youth deviance was an issue the SCPT felt they could address. In addition to dealing with the perpetrators and having the graffiti removed, the team eventually organised to work with Narrabundah primary school to paint murals in the two bus shelters that, in addition to shop windows and seats around the shops area, had been a major target for graffiti. This task was undertaken for a number of reasons, one of which was to improve the look of the area, with the potential to simultaneously improve residents' perception of the suburb. The SCPT emphasised the importance of this activity involving the local children who were responsible for the graffiti and giving all of those involved a sense of accomplishment and an opportunity to feel they were a part of the community. In addition, they would be less likely to damage something for which they felt responsible and proud.

Despite such efforts, improving residents' perceptions of Narrabundah was not a major focus of discussions with the SCPT. This was indicative of this objective being one that the team viewed as achievable through working towards other objectives such as reducing the fear of crime and addressing community problems.

Improve residents' perceptions of suburb: conclusions

The expectations of the SCPT, both their own expectations for their project and the expectations of those who were aware of their presence, were that they could impact upon residents' perceptions of Narrabundah indirectly. Primarily this would be achieved through addressing fear of crime – that is, through making people feel safer in the suburb. Although the community policing literature often identifies the potential for community police to address disorder issues and to work with the community to improve the local environment, it is important to note that this can only occur when it is needed. It was quite clear that, prior to the SCPT's introduction, a substantial effort had been undertaken by a key community group to improve

the appearance of Narrabundah and to make it a more pleasant and appealing place. The SCPT was very aware of the efforts of this group and was careful to not be perceived as trying to take any credit for this community achievement. For example, in finding a day to conduct the SCPT launch (which included a barbeque and family fair) the team ensured this event did not coincide with the tennis court opening. It was felt to be important that the community celebrate its achievements separately.

The findings indicate that overall satisfaction with Narrabundah improved, as indicated by the community safety survey. However, the fact that this occurred particularly within upper Narrabundah indicates that a number of factors were contributing to this gradual upward shift in perceptions of Narrabundah. The general lack of awareness of the SCPT, particularly within upper Narrabundah, and the many other contributing factors identified in the key stakeholder interview and the weekly meeting reports regarding change in the suburb lead to the conclusion that the SCPT can, at best, be identified as one of a number of factors influencing an improvement in residents' perceptions of the suburb.

Objective 7: identify and address community problems

Central to community policing is working with the community to identify key community concerns and to collaboratively address those concerns. For the SCPT this was an important objective. However, it is difficult to measure the degree to which such an objective has been achieved, given the nature of community policing. The extent of community concerns was unknown prior to the beginning of the project. Many competing viewpoints may contribute to the identification and prioritising of concerns. A number of methodologies are therefore necessary to access a wide range of data evaluating the extent to which a community policing initiative addresses community concerns. Given the number of measures used in this evaluation, both qualitative and quantitative data can be analysed to identify problems in the Narrabundah community and the extent to which the SCPT responded to them.

Quantitative measures

The community safety survey listed a number of potential problems in the community, and asked respondents to identify the extent to which each was a problem. From the second survey it was possible to gauge whether this changed over time. The second survey specifically asked Narrabundah respondents about the SCPT's efforts to address community problems. The operational measures forms offered an insight into the activities undertaken by the SCPT to address the objective of addressing community problems, and the outcome of those activities.

Qualitative measures

The key stakeholder interviews and the weekly meeting reports provided a valuable insight into the perceptions of the SCPT's efforts to identify and address community problems and the challenges they faced in addressing this objective.

Community safety survey

The community safety survey asked respondents to identify the extent to which eight specific crime problems were an issue in their suburb. Later in the survey, respondents were asked to identify their satisfaction with how police dealt with those problems. Thus, the results show the extent to which each specific issue was viewed as problematic in each suburb, and the extent to which police were considered to be addressing those problems. It was also possible to measure whether either of these indicators changed over time. The second survey distributed to Narrabundah residents asked respondents to identify whether the SCPT addressed and resolved local crime and safety concerns. The results are discussed below.

Community problems

The extent to which each of the eight problems listed in the community safety survey were considered problematic for each suburb in the first and second community safety surveys are presented in Figure 25. It is clear that a large proportion of respondents in Narrabundah considered each of the eight issues problematic in their suburb. The 'problematic' category combined 'somewhat of a problem' and 'major problem' responses, as it was more informative to identify whether items were considered problematic or not and whether this changed, rather than trying to measure the degree to which each item was considered problematic. The proportion of respondents identifying each issue as problematic decreased slightly over time for all except three crime problems. Household burglary increased the most (3.8%).

AIC Technical and Background Paper

Figure 25: Percentage of respondents identifying each item as problematic in Narrabundah (first and second community safety surveys)*
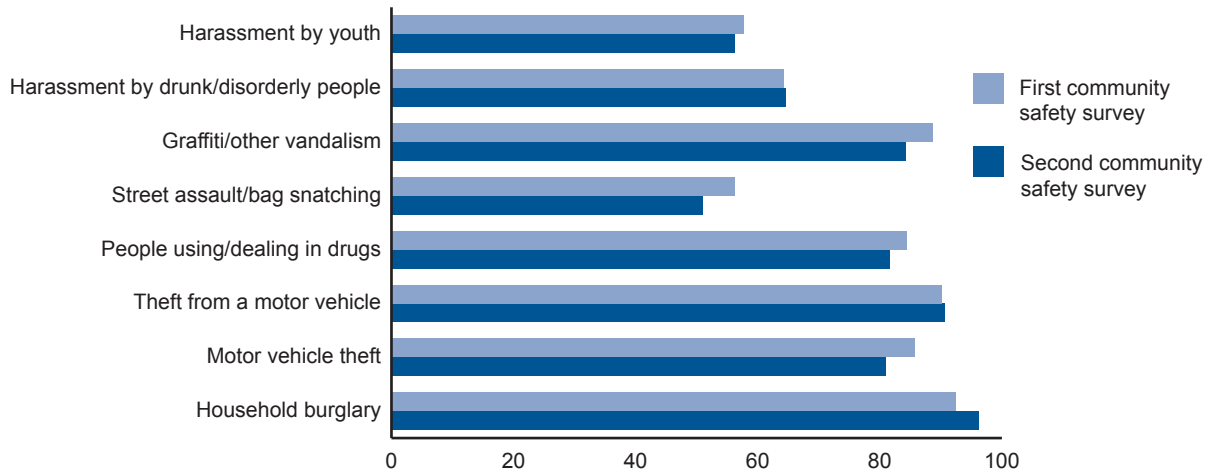
* missing excluded

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Using a paired-samples t-test, the proportion of respondents indicating whether each item was problematic (either somewhat of a problem or a major problem) or not problematic was compared between the first and second community safety surveys. This was to establish whether there was any statistically significant change over time with regard to perceptions of problems in the suburb. From this analysis, only the decrease in the proportion of respondents indicating problems with people using or dealing in drugs was statistically significant (t=–2.4, sig=.02, sig at p>.05). Overall, there was little change over time in the perception of problems in Narrabundah.

Figure 26: Percentage of respondents identifying each item as problematic in Ainslie (first and second community safety surveys)*

* missing excluded

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Evaluation of a Suburban Crime Prevention Team

Ainslie respondents considered the items identified as potential problems in the community safety survey to be less problematic in their area compared to Narrabundah respondents. Yet in Ainslie, the extent to which six of the eight crime issues were identified as problematic increased over time. The application of a paired-samples t-test to the results indicated that despite these changes, none were statistically significant.
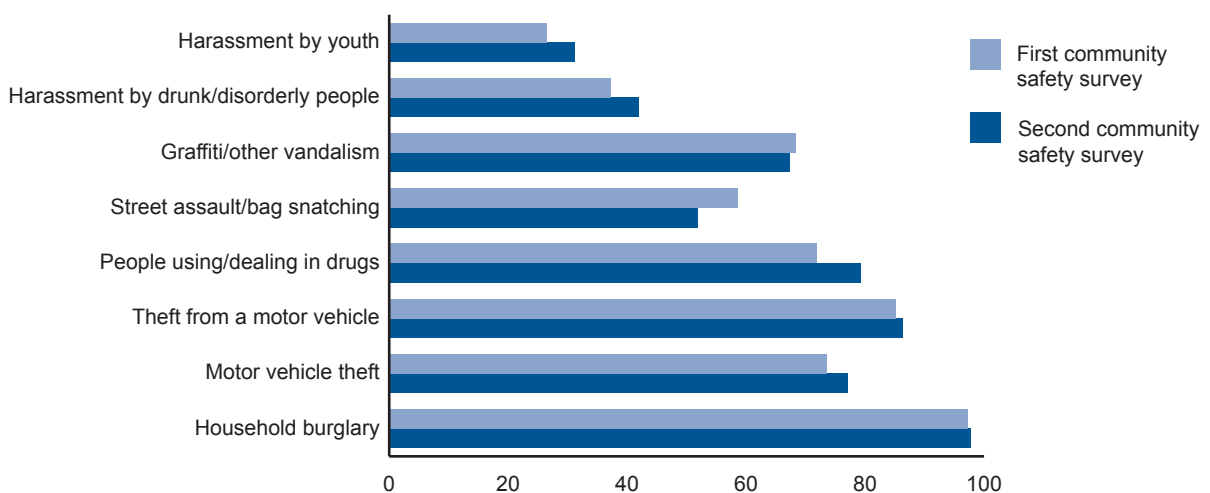
Overall there was little change over time in the perception of problems in either of the suburbs. Only one issue (people using and dealing in drugs) changed significantly in Narrabundah. The decrease in the extent to which this problem was observed in Narrabundah may be reflective of the effect of the SCPT in the area, though it is difficult to determine this conclusively. Exploring the Narrabundah results further, it was revealed that only upper Narrabundah experienced a statistically significant decrease in the number of people identifying people using/dealing drugs as a problem in the suburb (t=–2.58, sig=0.01; sig at p>.01). It is possible that the SCPT was in part responsible for this change in perceptions due to inadvertently (as they did not directly target this area or this activity) impacting on those using and dealing drugs in the area. Such a result does not mean that the SCPT was not addressing the other listed crime problems (nor that they were not working towards addressing these problems). Rather, it indicates that there was little change in the perceived extent of the problems in the suburb overall. As this finding was similar to the findings in Ainslie, it can be concluded that for the whole of Narrabundah the SCPT had little measurable impact on respondents' perceptions of crime-related problems.

A further issue to consider is whether there was an increase or decrease with regard to residents' perceptions of how the police were dealing with these problems. The level of satisfaction with how the police dealt with each of these problems is considered below.

Satisfaction with police dealing with community problems

The questions regarding satisfaction with police efforts to address problems were used elsewhere to create a scale for overall satisfaction with police. Here, each item is considered individually and analysed slightly differently, as the response options were recoded from a scale score of 1 to 5 (very satisfied to very dissatisfied) to become a dichotomous variable. The recoding to 'satisfied' versus 'dissatisfied' make clearer any shifts over time in satisfaction levels of police dealing with each crime problem.

Figure 27: Percentage of respondents satisfied with how the police are dealing with crime problems in Narrabundah (first and second community safety surveys)*

* missing excluded

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

AIC Technical and Background Paper
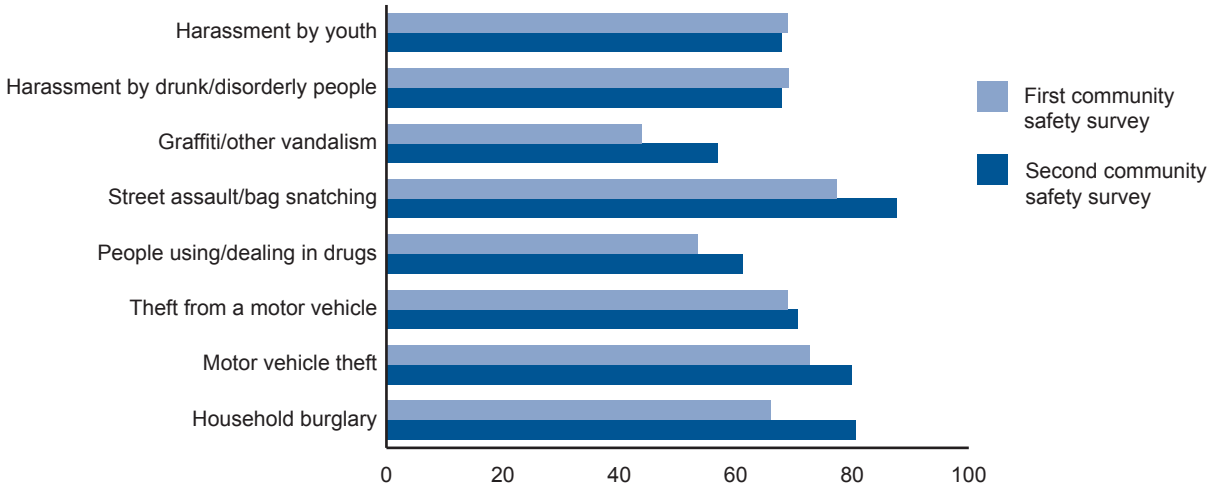
Figure 28: Percentage of respondents satisfied with how the police are dealing with crime problems in Ainslie (first and second community safety surveys)*
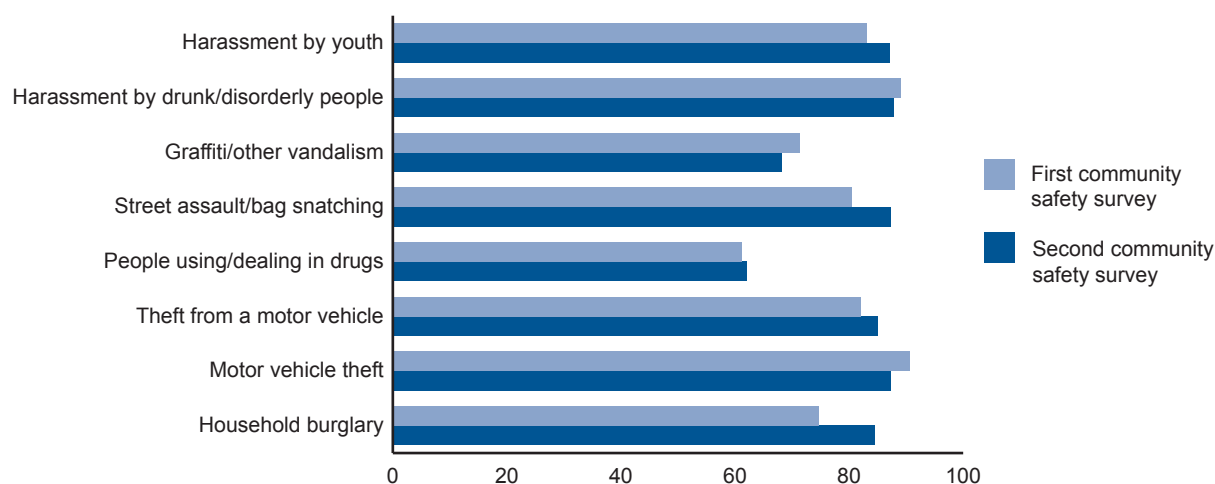
* missing excluded

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Over half of the Narrabundah respondents were satisfied with police efforts to deal with each of the problems. Although there appeared to be an increase over time, none of these changes were statistically significant. (These results were obtained via the application of a paired-samples t-test to each crime problem.) The results for the two areas within Narrabundah were similar, again with no statistically significant changes over time. In Ainslie, the degree of satisfaction with the police dealing with each of the problems was slightly higher than in Narrabundah. This possibly reflects the lower proportion of respondents from Ainslie identifying each issue as problematic.

Overall, the results from the community safety surveys indicate that although many of the problems listed in the surveys were considered problematic by Narrabundah residents, this was not reflected in levels of satisfaction with police dealing with these issues. This may be explained in a number of ways. For example, residents may not expect the police to be responsible for dealing with all of these issues. The lack of any consistent or statistically significant change over time indicates that the SCPT had little impact on respondents' satisfaction with police efforts to deal with these issues.

Operational measures forms

Relevant activities recorded in the operational measures forms were not easily identifiable. Activities aimed at 'developing/implementing strategies to solve problems' were included for this analysis, as were all cases that involved discussion of any of the following:

- specific crime problems;

- local crime problems;

- local concerns/problems (not crime-related);

- strategies to address local crime problems; and

- practical implementation issues for strategies to address local crime problems.

Evaluation of a Suburban Crime Prevention Team

Figure 29: Activities to address and identify community problems by month
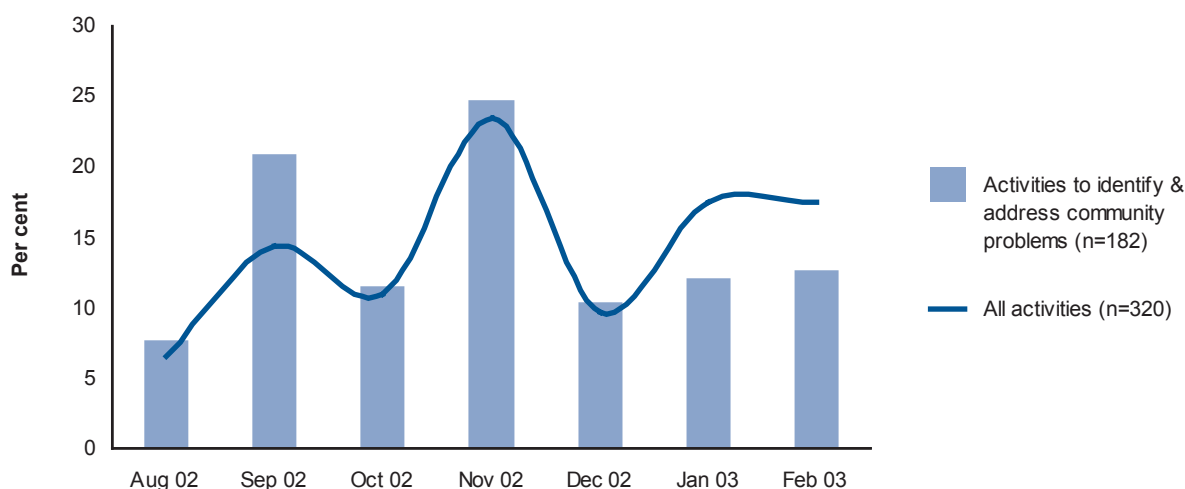
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

Combining all of these activities together allowed activities undertaken by the SCPT related to the identification and/or addressing of community problems to be captured. In total, 182 activities were undertaken. This represents over half of all the activities recorded in the operational measures forms (57%). A brief description of the main features of these activities is presented below followed by a discussion of the major outcomes identified by the SCPT.

The activities that involved identifying and addressing community crime problems in Narrabundah followed the pattern of activities in general. Activities peaked in September and November, as the SCPT was very active in pursuing community members to identify what work they could do in the area and then working with them to try to address those activities. The decline in activities after November and the stable rate of activities that followed until the completion of the project reflect the decreased interaction with the community over the Christmas period. Later, the focus was on activities bringing the project to a close in the final months, rather than undertaking activities to identify and develop plans to address new and emerging problems.

Table 45: Details of activities related to identifying and addressing community problems

Location	SCPT office, city station (26%); local business (24%), school premises (21%)
Activity initiated by	SCPT (68%)
Type of activity	Informal interaction (64%)
Activity with	Householder (26%), local business (25%), local school (22%)
Interactive activity	Yes (96%)
Referrals made	Yes (39%)
Referrals made to:	ACT Policing (general) (30%); ICLO (20%)
Intelligence gathered	Yes (26%)

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

The details in Table 45 provide a general overview of the activities the SCPT undertook to identify and address community problems. Additional information regarding the objectives being discussed and addressed, and the outcomes of these activities, was also obtained.

Objectives: Providing interaction between the police and the community was the major objective being addressed by these activities, followed by developing and implementing strategies to solve issues and developing/maintaining relations with key stakeholders.

Purpose of activity: The main purpose of these activities was to improve police relationships with members of the community and stakeholders (70%), followed closely by educating, informing and disseminating information to the community (64%).

Aim: The major aim of these activities was to address perceptions of police and to address perceptions of safety, including fear of crime.

Crime problems: The SCPT indicated in the operational measures forms which of the major crime problems were raised or addressed when conducting these activities. The crime problems can be listed according to the frequency with which they were discussed and addressed – property crime (59%), fear of crime (53%), public order (23%), violence-related matters (11%), drugs (9%), traffic matters (5%) and environment-related matters (2%).

Outcome: The main outcome identified by the SCPT from these activities was the improvement of the local environment (85%). This was achieved most often through interacting and building relationships with the community and increasing police presence in the area. A second major outcome was the promotion or development of new initiatives or strategies (53%). Most often this referred to the SCPT itself, but also included a few other activities such as the bus shelter murals, the establishment of the safety house program and the diversionary conferencing sessions run by the SCPT.

Operational measures forms: conclusions

The fact that the SCPT undertook a large proportion of activities to identify and address community problems indicates their awareness that this was a central aspect of their role. They went to some effort to work towards achieving this objective. The majority of their activities were informal, as they obtained information about problems through discussing issues in general conversation with community members and stakeholders. There was no systematic method undertaken to access community views (for example, through arranging public meetings). Rather, the SCPT identified stakeholders they considered important and listened to views expressed by community members when approached by them. Relatively few members of the community contacted the SCPT to inform them of their concerns. This may reflect the general lack of knowledge about the SCPT and/or how to contact them, or a general lack of concern about any particular issue. It may also be a reflection of the type of issues that were of concern to locals. Those concerns may not have been considered to be matters to approach the police about. It must be noted further that while property crime was discussed frequently, the issues related to addressing many property crime concerns involved working with local youth (most often the perpetrators of the minor offences). In conclusion, it would seem that although the SCPT engaged with a number of different groups in a variety of locations, the concentration of the project in one specific area of Narrabundah, and the limited awareness of the SCPT and its role in the community, would have limited the team's perspective on the problems of concern to the Narrabundah community.

Key stakeholder interviews

The key stakeholder interviews offered an insight into stakeholders' perceptions of problems in their area and their evaluation of the SCPT's work to identify and address these concerns.

Suburb-specific nature of many concerns

The crime problems and issues that exist in Narrabundah were noted by many stakeholders to be specific to the suburb: 'Some [problems] are specific to Narrabundah as there is a high population of welfare-dependent people living well below the poverty line, very disadvantaged people…' In comparison to general policing, many viewed this community policing initiative as an opportunity for the real issues and problems of the community to be understood and addressed when problems arise:

> …the SCPT are in a better position to respond to local crime issues and to know how to best deal with and approach situations, they are aware of people's history etc, they know how different individuals will respond to different approaches and they can be more effective than police officers coming in who are completely unaware…

Addressing problems: police presence

Many of the stakeholders felt the SCPT was able to identify the key issues facing the community. For some, the creation of a consistent police presence was an important aspect of addressing problems in Narrabundah:

> The presence of the SCPT (both on foot and driving around the suburb) helps to prevent trouble with 'passers-by', unfamiliar people are less likely to drop in to the shop area and cause trouble and less likely to target homes in the area. Both the kids and the alcoholics/drug-affected people who hang around are present less and are better behaved/quieter. This is a reflection of the way the SCPT treat them all with respect and they're not used to this.

Addressing problems: new level of police service

The SCPT was identified as being in a position to address issues and problems in a way that general police were not:

> The SCPT worked with at least four of the kids who are well known juvenile offenders who haven't been doing anything wrong for the past six months and they have worked with their parents…[they've] gone to that extra level which is important because often their parents are the real problem.

The SCPT's ability to identify and work to address these issues appropriately was considered a reflection of their level of involvement in the community and their ability to build partnerships and networks in the community:

> [The SCPT is] fantastic because they are liaising with families, schools, family service etc. [They are] noticing where there are potentials for community problems or harms, [and problems] for the children to occur.

Limitations: lack of preparation and narrow focus

Not everyone interviewed felt the SCPT did enough. Some noted that there could have been more preparatory work:

> I don't think they did enough surveying prior to them coming into the suburb. The police could have looked at interest groups, called a community meeting, identified a target group. If groups knew from the beginning what the SCPT wanted to achieve they would be able to achieve all that and more.

A few stakeholders around the shops indicated that their efforts were too limited:

> The area is definitely quieter during the day when they are around, but the problems at night are continuing and the SCPT hasn't altered police presence at night, this needs to be addressed – definitely need a police presence in this area at night.

Others identified their efforts and impact as limited to the short-term. They were seen to be a: 'temporary measure – they keep the lid down – but they can't be present 24 hours a day and when they are not in the area problems still arise.' The limitations placed on the SCPT by the project design was often noted as the key problem, rather than the deficiencies being a reflection of the SCPT's inadequate efforts: 'the project was a short timeframe – their potential wasn't fulfilled. Community policing…needs to be long term…Prevention would work if they were in the suburb long term.'

Complex nature of community problems

The entrenched and interconnected nature of many of the problems that exist in the area was also noted by a number of stakeholders: 'The behaviour of the kids who are hanging around is a reflection of the environment they are growing up in – a reflection of their parents.' Some criticised the SCPT for not recognising this, but the majority felt that while the SCPT had worked to address these issues, long-term strategies and permanent programs would be most effective:

> It would be good if they could assist in the development of some sort of after-school program for the kids, to help with homework, have something constructive for them to be doing in a safe place…Many of them may have troubled backgrounds, poverty/family violence/crime, and it is important to address these issues.

Dealing with problems independently

In discussing crime issues and problems that arise, it must be noted that in some cases stakeholders and community members are able to deal with problems themselves. For example, one local business operator noted that she had had trouble with loiterers coming into her shop and asking for money repeatedly during the day, so she now brings her dog into work: 'she sits near the door and I never have any trouble.' Thus, in some instances advice or assistance with developing solutions may be all that is needed from the SCPT.

Identify and address community problems: conclusions

Central to community policing is the idea that the concerns of the community can be identified and addressed through having a dedicated team of police working in the area. Assessing the SCPT's performance with regard to this objective requires first an acknowledgment that the team was not expected to identify and address every crime problem and issue that may exist in Narrabundah. Time constraints, the constant

emergence of new problems and competing views on how to prioritise the different community problems all placed limitations on the extent to which the team was able to address community problems. A more realistic approach involves assessing whether the SCPT undertook to identify and address community problems and whether their efforts were considered to have beneficial outcomes.

The community safety survey provides an indication of the crime issues considered problematic by the Narrabundah community. The results indicate that the problems identified before the SCPT began working in the community remained problems following the SCPT initiative. However, the levels of satisfaction with the police dealing with these problems, while not changing significantly, indicated that overall the majority of respondents were satisfied with police efforts.

The operational measures forms provide valuable data regarding the efforts of the SCPT to identify and address community problems. The forms indicate that the SCPT did go to a great deal of effort, with over half of their activities being related to meeting this objective. However there were no attempts to systematically gather information from stakeholders and residents from all areas of Narrabundah regarding the problems in their suburb. The concentration of the team's activities in one area, and the informal way in which data were gathered, may have meant that the SCPT identified and addressed localised problems in a small part of Narrabundah. Within that centralised area, however, the key stakeholders indicated that the SCPT did seek out and address problems successfully. On the whole stakeholders were very pleased with their efforts. However, the long-term impact of the SCPT's efforts was questioned, with some stakeholders reporting indications that some problems had resurfaced immediately following the completion of the SCPT initiative.

Objective 8: educate the community about crime prevention

The final objective for the SCPT was to provide crime prevention education to the community. Educating the community about crime prevention can happen in a variety of ways. It can be the specific goal of an activity that may involve direct interaction with the community (such as meeting with community groups to specifically discuss crime prevention-related issues) or indirect activities (such as distributing information to households). Policing organisations often have a dedicated area responsible for liaising with the community and key stakeholders, and for conducting more formal crime prevention educational campaigns and activities. Within ACT Policing, the Crime Prevention Portfolio has implemented a number of initiatives to educate. The Constable Kenny Koala campaign aims to deliver safety messages to young children, and the Indigenous community liaison officers work closely with the Indigenous community.

In addition to targeted crime prevention educational activities, police interaction with the community on a day-to-day level is another major way that the community is educated about crime prevention. Information is communicated informally and incidentally to the work the police are conducting. As a result, it is difficult to ascertain both the exact nature of all crime prevention education activities and the extent to which they are being delivered to the community. It is possible to gain some insight into police efforts through analysing data about their activities and the impact of those activities. For the SCPT evaluation, both quantitative and qualitative data were used to assess the extent to which the team provided crime prevention education in Narrabundah.

Quantitative indicators

The key data source to examine whether the SCPT met this objective was the operational measures forms. These provide details for the major activities conducted by the SCPT.

Qualitative indicators

The key stakeholder interviews provide some rich anecdotal data to explore the extent of the SCPT's crime prevention education activities. They also provide insight into the quality and impact of the SCPT's work.

Operational measures forms

The operational measures forms were analysed to identify the extent to which the SCPT's activities involved crime prevention education. The forms provided two opportunities for the SCPT to identify an activity as involving crime prevention education. The first was through identifying the objective of the activity (up to two objectives could be identified). One of the six options available was specifically to 'educate the community about crime prevention.' It was also possible, when identifying the purpose of the activity, for the SCPT to indicate that one of the purposes was to educate/inform/disseminate information. (There was no limitation regarding how many of the six possible major purposes could be selected.) The team could further specify that this information was related to crime prevention strategies and techniques. The best way to capture information about all education activities was to combine the two (objective and purpose) to create one variable. Thus, for this analysis, all recorded activities that identified crime prevention education as an objective and/or a purpose are grouped together as crime prevention education activities.

Figure 30: Crime prevention education activities by month (compared to all activities)
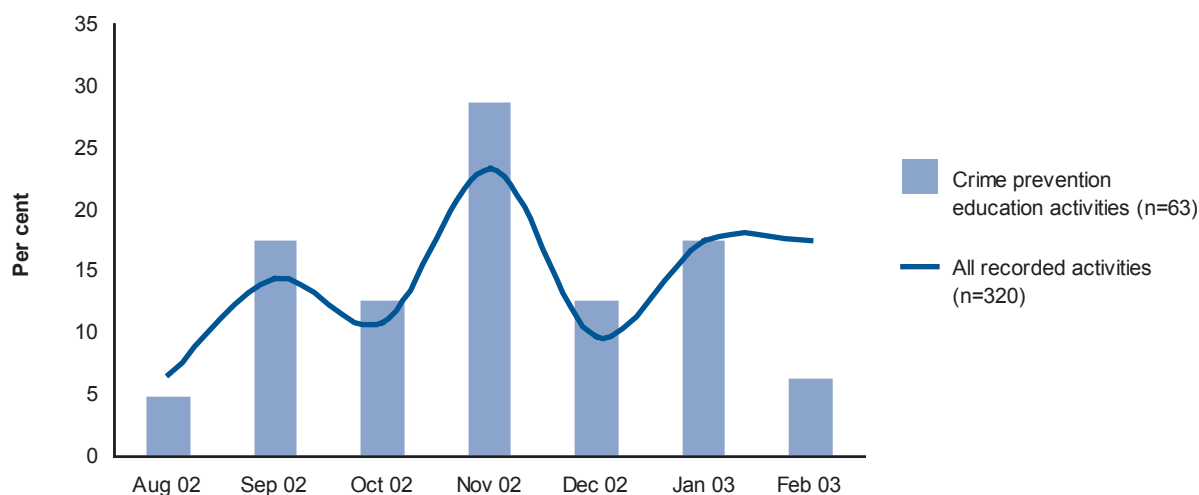
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

Crime prevention education activity details

Of the 320 activities recorded in the operational measures forms, the SCPT identified crime prevention as central to 63 (20%) activities. The frequency and distribution of these activities for the period the SCPT was in Narrabundah are presented in Figure 30. As with all the SCPT activities, crime prevention education activities peaked in November. The distribution of activities over time seems indicative of their slow build-up, followed by a decrease in the final few months. This can be explained by the Christmas holiday period, when the nature of the community's needs changed (for example, schools were closed, many community members were away). Also, the SCPT's focus shifted in the final month to the completion of tasks as the project was winding down.

Table 46: Crime prevention education activity details

Activity location	SCPT office, city station (38%); local schools (18%)
Type of activity	Informal meeting (52%)
% interactive	95%
Interaction with	Householders (48%); local schools (18%)
Referrals made	Yes (43%)

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology operational measures forms [computer file]

The details presented in Table 46 provide a broad indication of the nature of the education activities undertaken. Some substantive details regarding the nature of the educational activities were also considered, to better inform the assessment of the SCPT's provision of crime prevention education.

Aims: Addressing perceptions of police was the most frequently identified aim of the crime prevention education activities. This was followed by addressing perceptions of local crime.

Crime problems: The major crime issue/problem addressed or discussed in the course of the crime prevention education activities was fear of crime. This was followed by property crime.

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Discussion points: Strategies to address local crime problems and concerns (30%) and the implementation of these strategies (25%) were the main subjects of discussion that the SCPT engaged in when undertaking these activities.

Outcomes: Multiple outcomes could be identified for every recorded activity. In the case of crime prevention education activities, improving the local environment was identified as a major outcome for 89 per cent of activities. This specifically involved offering crime prevention advice on 25 per cent of occasions, but also was achieved through interacting and building partnerships with the community (29%). A second major outcome was the promotion of police services (86%). The service promoted in the majority of activities was the SCPT itself (55%), followed by ACT Policing in general (33%), then specific units/programs within ACT Policing (11%).

Referrals: Forty-three per cent of activities involved referrals (41% to adults and 22% to youth). The majority of referrals were made, in order of frequency, to CLASP, Supportlink, the Australian Federal Police's ICLO, BLO and CKK, the ACT Department of Education and Community Services, and the ACT Department of Urban Services.

Operational measures forms: conclusions

Crime prevention education activities did not comprise a major proportion of the total number of activities engaged in by the SCPT. However, of those activities that did have an educational aspect, the majority were:

- interactive;
- took place in an informal setting;
- were spontaneous rather than planned; and
- often addressed fear of crime and more generalised concerns rather than focusing on a specific crime or a specific vulnerability of any particular group.

Speaking over the phone while in their office, developing promotional material to distribute, and chatting with local residents and householders about general concerns and property crime issues were all aspects of the crime prevention activities undertaken by the SCPT. Although activities were undertaken that were specifically about the provision of crime prevention education to school or parent groups, crime prevention was not the central focus of many of the activities. The SCPT saw their presence and promotion of their role as an important part of their crime prevention education work. By making people aware of the initiative, residents would identify a further resource available to them to seek crime prevention advice. However, crime prevention education for the long term requires increasing residents' awareness of other services that are available to assist them in the prevention of crime once the SCPT has moved out of the area.

Clearly, crime prevention education takes many forms. It was often only one aspect of many SCPT activities. Such a finding has important implications for the role of both general duties and community policing officers – there is a need for them to be well trained and to be in a position to access and provide up-to-date information and advice where it is needed. In terms of the SCPT addressing this final objective, the operational measures forms indicate that the SCPT did provide crime prevention advice to the community. Further, it did so in a variety of ways and in a variety of different contexts, in an attempt to spread crime prevention education more widely across the suburb.

Key stakeholder interviews

The operational measures forms revealed the more informal nature of many crime prevention education activities as well as the variety of individuals and groups these activities involved. By contrast, the key stakeholder interviews tended to capture the organised activities undertaken by the SCPT in relation to the provision of crime prevention education. Although this is only one aspect of the spectrum of educational activities that the SCPT engaged in, it provides important data in the assessment of the SCPT's work in this area.

Formal activities: schools and community groups

The SCPT provided crime prevention advice and education to local schools that was extremely well received, not only for its content but also for the mode of presentation. The schools indicated that the advice given by the SCPT had a greater impact on parents, children and staff than it would have if it had been provided by other police officers. This was because the whole school community was familiar with the SCPT and had established a relationship with them: 'the children related to members of the police in a trusting relationship…It is very positive for the children to have such positive interaction with the police.' The team's work included:

- presentations to parents at a drug summit arranged by one local primary school;

- addressing school parents and friends meetings;

- giving talks to student groups about road safety; and

- providing Kenny Koala 'stranger danger' presentations.

The SCPT also worked with community groups. For example, one officer was invited to speak at a meeting regarding the establishment of a night patrol/soup van project. He gave advice about working with homeless youth and provided information about resources and other groups to contact for assistance. His work was found to be 'both helpful and useful in terms of making connections [to other services].' Another officer was involved in a presentation to the MOPS (mothers of preschool children) organised by a local outreach coordinator. This presentation was extremely well received:

> [She]…provided information and discussed home security issues. She put us in touch with CLASP and other programs – I had no idea these existed. A number of women present were glad to know about these services and to have someone they can contact for assistance.

Crime prevention advice may be as simple as giving people a contact number to assist them in the future. A leader of the local outreach community group noted that the ability of the officer to give a concerned resident the SCPT's number in itself was reassuring for both the community worker and for the client (as there would be another point of contact when the community worker could not be reached). In response to a break-in at one local business that occurred at the beginning of the project, the SCPT visited the business a few days after the event, providing them with some crime prevention advice and referred them to the ACT Policing business liaison officer. This was appreciated by the business owner as there had been no follow-up contact from the police who were called to the scene and had dealt with the situation.

Limitations and criticisms

There were, however, limitations to what the SCPT could do and what they achieved during the initiative. For example, working with the local high school proved more difficult than working with the local primary schools. For one thing, only a small proportion of the student body resided in Narrabundah. The SCPT did very little work with the school. As the principal commented:

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It is more difficult for them to get involved with the college, their role is different and the needs of the students/school community are different. The timing of their project has not fitted in well with the school timetables…Potentially, the SCPT could be introduced at assembly and could make presentations to classes on topics of relevance to their area of study – although it is important that they are very well versed and informed in that area, perhaps their role could be to organise experts to come in and give presentations.

There were also some suggestions that the SCPT could have engaged in more crime prevention education activities:

They could have sponsored seminars, for example 'safe partying' or 'what you need to know about drugs', for both a parent and youth audience because the police can work together with them.

The SCPT concentrated its efforts in the lower part of Narrabundah, which meant that for some stakeholders an opportunity to work with the SCPT and to access crime prevention education was missed. A number commented that they had been unaware of the SCPT initiative. They felt such a project would have been of benefit to them as crime prevention education and advice was needed. For example, a local business operator commented:

For [us] it would have been very useful…to have the security checked and advice given – we would appreciate any advice. It would also be useful to arrange tenant functions, bring them all together and have them addressed about security issues and to heightening security.

Key stakeholder interviews: overview

Many stakeholders did not mention crime prevention education specifically throughout the interviews. This may reflect the fact that many did not see themselves as having any major crime problems. Not identifying crime prevention as part of the SCPT's activities may also reflect the informal nature of much of the advice that was given to stakeholders. Giving advice, referrals and general crime prevention education was often not the reason for the interaction with the SCPT. Clearly the SCPT's activities were focused on providing education where it was wanted and where it was easily provided. Working with the college, for example, would have been a difficult and time-consuming process. In such circumstances the choice not to pursue an opportunity must be placed in the context of the project – the short timeframe and the multiple objectives the SCPT was expected to meet during the six-month period. Arguably some opportunities were missed for the SCPT to proactively bring together specific groups to provide crime prevention education. For example, the local businesses at the Narrabundah shops all identified similar concerns but all approached the problems differently and discussed these issues with the SCPT independently.

Educate the community about crime prevention: conclusion

It is difficult to obtain data relating to crime prevention education of an informal nature, but it was clear through the operational measures forms and the key stakeholder interviews that the SCPT engaged in a number of activities to provide educational activities to the Narrabundah community. These activities were well received and stakeholders who had been provided with these services were very satisfied with the SCPT's work. The SCPT did not initiate a great deal of innovative educational activities, although there was potential for activities to be engaged in both at the shops and through community groups. Overall it can be concluded that the SCPT provided the Narrabundah community with crime prevention education, both formally and informally, and that within the limitations of the project the team was able to address a number of different groups in the community who otherwise would not have sought out such information.

4   Conclusion

This evaluation was initially designed to determine the success or otherwise of the SCPT initiative through assessing the team's performance against each of the eight objectives identified at the outset. However, determining whether or not the project was a success is a complex process and ultimately a narrow one that provides limited insight into the potential of the initiative. The SCPT project was developed with the intention that subsequent teams would be deployed to other Canberra suburbs. As such, it was an experimental project. Thus a key focus for this evaluation is to identify the key outcomes, in addition to the strengths and the limitations of the project, for each objective. This analysis then enables the identification and discussion of the major recommendations that can be drawn from the findings for future SCPTs. Using the data to build a strong evidence base and to inform the development of future initiatives will ultimately serve to enhance the practice of community policing in the ACT.

Outcomes

Evaluating the SCPT project requires an individual assessment of each of the objectives separately. Thus, Table 47 presents the main findings from the key outcome measures and summarises the SCPT's performance for each objective.

Table 47: Overview of key outcomes for SCPT objectives		
SCPT objectives	**Key quantitative outcome measures**	**Result summary**
1 Reduce crime	***Recorded crime statistics*** Property, violent & disorder-related crime (no change) ***Community safety survey*** Victimisation (no change) ***Key stakeholder interviews*** Local problems addressed (in short-term)	While the SCPT did not impact upon recorded crime or victimisation prevalence in Narrabundah, it undertook activities to address specific crime problems experienced particularly by stakeholders in Narrabundah. Many local problems were not considered to be 'serious' or 'real' crime concerns by stakeholders in the area. However, from the perspective of key stakeholders in the lower Narrabundah area particularly, the SCPT had a short-term, localised impact, reducing the prevalence of problems such as youth loitering.
2 Reduce fear of crime	***Community safety survey*** Feelings of safety in suburb (upper Narrabundah increased) Likelihood of victimisation in next six months (significant decrease specifically within upper Narrabundah) Location-specific fear (significant decrease, specifically in upper Narrabundah) ***Key stakeholder interviews*** Fear of crime reduced and addressed through police presence	The SCPT could be identified as a factor in the reduction of the three fear-of-crime measures, but not as the causal factor. This is because these decreases occurred most significantly within upper Narrabundah. The SCPT addressed fear of crime directly in half of the major activities they undertook. Stakeholders identified the SCPT's maintenance of a consistent police presence in the community as one of the most important aspects of the project and as a major factor in reducing fear of crime in the area generally, and specifically at the local shops.
3 Gather intelligence	***Community safety survey*** Levels of contact with police to offer information and to report crimes (no change). ***Key stakeholder interviews*** Good relationships established with key community stakeholders that encouraged increased communication	One-third of the activities undertaken by the SCPT resulted in intelligence being gathered, with information reports submitted for 40 per cent of these activities. The SCPT's impact in the community was identified as one of mutual benefit for the community and for the police, with a number of stakeholders indicating that they had informed the SCPT about matters they would otherwise not have contacted the police about.

Table 47 (con't): Overview of key outcomes for SCPT objectives

SCPT objectives	Key quantitative outcome measures	Result summary
4 Increase community satisfaction with police	**Community safety survey** Perceptions of police and satisfaction with police (no change) **Key stakeholder interviews** High level of satisfaction with SCPT, though limited impact on police in general	Approximately half of the activities undertaken by the SCPT addressed perceptions of police. These activities included the promotion of the SCPT initiative and maintaining relations with the community through interacting with the community and increasing the police presence in the area. Key stakeholders in Narrabundah indicated that within their immediate area, the SCPT had a major positive impact through their presence and their conduct in the community. While such an impact reflected extremely well upon the SCPT, the extent to which it impacted upon views of general policing for the whole suburb may have been limited.
5 Improve police–stakeholder relations	**Key stakeholder interviews** Very positive reception of SCPT from the majority of stakeholders	The stakeholders indicated that the SCPT were highly successful in developing relationships with stakeholders in Narrabundah, albeit within a very localised area of the suburb. The activities they undertook to achieve this included simply increasing awareness of ACT Policing services available to community groups and other stakeholders. This was well received by a number of community groups in particular. The indications were that the positive relations built between the SCPT and stakeholders may also result in an improvement in stakeholders' relations with the general police.
6 Improve residents' perception of suburb	**Community safety survey** Satisfaction with suburb (significant increase, specifically within upper Narrabundah) Overall safety in suburb (increase in upper Narrabundah)	Almost one-fifth of the SCPT's activities were undertaken to address perceptions of the local area. Results from the community safety surveys and the key stakeholder interviews indicated that there were some improvements in residents' perceptions of Narrabundah. However, the SCPT can at best be identified as a contributing factor, as this change occurred most significantly within upper Narrabundah (while the SCPT focused their efforts in lower Narrabundah). Also stakeholders noted a wide range of changes occurring within the suburb that could impact upon perceptions of the suburb.
7 Identify and address community problems	**Community safety survey** Community problems: no change Satisfaction with police dealing with problems: no change	Across Narrabundah there was no significant change in perceptions of problems or in levels of satisfaction with police dealing with these problems. However, identifying and addressing community problems was a major activity undertaken by the SCPT predominantly through interacting with stakeholders and members of the community to identify their concerns. While reports were mixed, the majority of stakeholders indicated that the SCPT addressed a number of the major concerns they held, particularly around the local shops area. Thus the SCPT was able to identify and address some of the crime problems effectively within a localised area of Narrabundah.
8 Educate community about crime prevention	**Key stakeholder interviews** Educational activities conducted by the SCPT were well received, considered informative and appropriate for the audience A major benefit was that the message was delivered by officers who were familiar to the audience	Approximately one-fifth of all the activities the SCPT conducted involved crime prevention education. The majority were informal activities, including letterbox drops providing information to householders. However, a number of these activities were more formal, such as giving presentations to various groups. These were very well received. It was noted that the impact of such activities was heightened due to the SCPT being a familiar presence in the community.

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The findings presented in Table 47 lead to the overall conclusion that the SCPT successfully implemented community policing in a localised area within the suburb of Narrabundah. While there were indications of some positive changes in the whole suburb, the SCPT could only be described, at best, as a contributing factor to these. Within the lower Narrabundah area the qualitative data indicate that the team's impact was considerable. Indications are, however, that this impact may be limited to the short term.

This is not to say that the project was not a success. Rather, the mixed results are indicative of an initiative which shows promise, and that can be further developed to have a greater impact elsewhere. A number of factors influenced the SCPT's ability to implement community policing in Narrabundah. The degree to which they did so was a considerable achievement given the limitations of the project and the challenges the team faced. The problems identified throughout the six-month process, and the final outcomes at the completion of the initiative, all contribute to some key recommendations and issues for consideration. These are outlined in the following section.

Recommendations

From the observations made at the design, implementation and evaluation stages of the SCPT initiative, a number of key recommendations and issues for the development of future SCPTs have been identified for consideration (Table 48).

Table 48: Key recommendations		
Stage	**Issue**	**Recommendations/issues for consideration**
Pre-implementation	Objectives	*Clear:* The SCPT needs to understand the aims and the scope of the project which should be designed with objectives that are clear and achievable. This will allow the SCPT to identify the work necessary to achieve these objectives and will guide them in the implementation of the project. *Realistic:* The objectives need to be developed with important factors in mind such as the timeframe of the project, the needs of the suburb and the officers' experience. Past research findings from other community policing evaluations should also play a key role in the development of objectives. Unrealistic objectives can result in a project being considered a failure when it is not, and can also impact negatively upon officers' feelings of satisfaction and their levels of enthusiasm. This in turn will directly impact the implementation of the project. *Measurable:* Objectives must be measurable, which requires that they are unambiguous and that information to assess them is accessible. *Prioritised:* Identifying priorities for the project assists the SCPT during implementation, in terms of addressing multiple objectives. Having identified priorities also assists when evaluating the project before and after its completion.
	Methodology	*Informed:* Measures need to be well researched and based on evaluations undertaken for similar projects in order to enable the results to contribute to expanding the community policing knowledge base. They also need to reflect the objectives so that the extent to which the objectives are met can be assessed accurately. *Varied:* Triangulated methodologies are extremely important as a wide range of data needs to be collected in relation to the implementation and impact of the project to enable the evaluation to be thorough and rigorous.

Table 48 (con't): Key recommendations		
Stage	**Issue**	**Recommendations/issues for consideration**
	Project design	***Background research:*** Information must be accessed about the target area where the project will be implemented, in addition to information about evaluations of other similar initiatives. Projects not based on strong evidence will have little to draw upon to support the design, and to inform the implementation of the initiative and will have no basis from which to anticipate possible outcomes. ***Preparation:*** Prior training is essential for the SCPT to understand the key concepts and approaches to community policing. The provision of time for the SCPT to make preparations to implement the project and to develop a knowledge base of the suburb is also essential to the effective implementation of community policing initiatives. ***Time period:*** The timeframe is a fundamental consideration in terms of the impact that the project is hoped to have and the impact that will be achievable. There are many competing factors influencing the length of time an initiative can be run for and it is not always possible for the project to be a long-term project. Such decisions need to be made early and must inform the subsequent design of the project. ***Partnerships:*** Working with general duties officers needs to be considered as an option for future SCPT initiatives. Woden police indicated that working with the Narrabundah SCPT would have been a positive partnership for them and believed it would have increased the effectiveness of both general duties policing and the SCPT in the area. Working in isolation from other police can be a difficult undertaking for SCPT officers and this daily interaction and discussion regarding the area has many potential benefits.
Implementation	Awareness	Media campaigns need to be undertaken in addition to proactive and ongoing activities to increase awareness of the SCPT in the general community. This will make clear to all members of the community what the project is about and how members of the community can contact the SCPT.
	Supervision	Ongoing supervision and guidance is essential to the implementation of the project. While officers need to debrief together, it is extremely important they have a supervisor (someone working outside of the suburb) to discuss the project with. This will allow the team to identify and work through problems and will assist in monitoring and maintaining levels of enthusiasm and satisfaction with the project. Officers' satisfaction levels directly impact upon the implementation of the project and therefore should be a key priority.
	Ongoing assessment and reassessment	Methodologies that allow process data to be collected (that is, data regarding the implementation and progression of the initiative) are essential. Such information will contribute to the final assessment of the initiative and will provide detailed practical information for the implementation of future initiatives. Community policing is based on the premise that police officers will work in the local area to identify the needs of the community and assist the community in developing strategies to address the problems and concerns they have. Thus it is important that the objectives outlined at the beginning of the project are reassessed early in the initiative and redeveloped accordingly to allow for the changes in direction that will occur.
Post-implementation	Ending the project	It is important to consider the response to the end of the project and to consider how the project will be formally concluded. The SCPT initiative in Narrabundah identified a number of issues that need to be considered such as whether there is a formal acknowledgement of the project's completion (which it was thought may encourage offenders in the area to become more active). Stakeholders in the Narrabundah community could best be described as feeling 'abandoned' with the end of the SCPT project, and many felt that the SCPT's work had just begun. These are important issues to consider when implementing future projects.
	Assessment	Rigorous, comprehensive evaluations of SCPT initiatives are fundamental to the long-term development of community policing as an effective policing strategy in local communities. These evaluations should be disseminated to a wide audience in order to contribute to the wider evidence base. Further, it is fundamental to consider the wider context of the project as so many other things are happening simultaneously that are impacting upon the suburb. As Duffee et al. (1999: 12) argue, 'neither the police nor police researchers often ask if police efforts to strengthen neighbourhoods is negated by countervailing policies concerning housing, transportation and urban development.'

While the development of the SCPT was limited in many ways, it was still a project that had a positive impact on the Narrabundah community and thus demonstrates both the potential and the need for community policing in the ACT. The results from this evaluation should be applied to future projects and these projects should also be the subject of exhaustive, rigorous evaluation. In this way, ACT Policing can continue to improve the provision of effective, positive community policing initiatives in the community.

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Appendix 1: methodology outline

Recorded crime statistics

Recorded crime statistics were gathered for an 18-month period. This was to enable time-series data to be collated to consider the pattern of crime pre-intervention, during the intervention and post-intervention. Gathering data over this period of time allows a better understanding of the crime patterns in Narrabundah, in order to better understand whether recorded crime changed significantly during and after the SCPT intervention. It also allows for a limited (six months post-intervention) exploration of the extent of any impact. That is, whether the SCPT had only a limited short-term impact or a longer-lasting effect.

According to Farrington and Welsh (2002: 10): 'the best and most feasible design usually involves before and after measures in experimental and control conditions together with statistical control of extraneous variables.' Thus, in addition to gathering recorded crime statistics for both the control and target suburb, data were also gathered for the suburbs immediately surrounding Narrabundah. Research has found that crime prevention interventions can have a number of unintended consequences and if these possibilities are left unexplored it may lead to misinformed conclusions being drawn regarding the impact of an intervention. Such consequences include the possibility of flow-on effect (whereby positive effects of the intervention flow on to other nearby suburbs) and displacement (where problems, rather than being fixed, merely shift locations) (Farrington & Welsh 2002: 40).

Recorded crime statistics were gathered for a range of crimes identified by ACT Policing as relevant to the work of the SCPT and to the Narrabundah community. These individual crimes were grouped into three crime areas for the purposes of analysis, in order to give a more meaningful indication of the incidence of crime in the different suburbs.

Table 49: Recorded crime statistics, ASOC codes and offence definitions

Category	ASOC code	Offence
Violent crime	0211	Aggravated assault
	0212	Non-aggravated assault
	0611	Aggravated robbery
	0612	Non-aggravated robbery
Property crime	0711	Unauthorised entry with intent (UEWI)/burglary, break and enter
	0811	Theft of a motor vehicle
	0812	Illegal use of a motor vehicle
	0813	Theft of motor vehicle parts or contents
	0821	Theft from a person (excl by force)
	0822	Theft of intellectual property
	0823	Theft from retail premises
	0829	Theft (except from motor vehicles) not elsewhere classified
Disorder-related crime	1031	Manufacture or cultivate illicit drugs
	1041	Possess illicit drugs
	1212	Graffiti
	1219	Property damage, not elsewhere classified
	1313	Offensive behaviour
	1411	Driving while licence cancelled or suspended
	1431	Exceeding the prescribed content of alcohol limit
	1432	Exceeding legal speed limit

Note: ASOC codes refer to the Australian standard offence classification (ABS 1997)

Benefits

- data for control, target and suburbs adjacent to target suburb; and
- time-series data.

Limitations

- Recorded crime statistics reflect crime that is reported to and recorded by police. As such they are problematic as a single source of crime data. Major problems include the under-reporting of crime. This is well known as the 'dark figure' of crime. However, it is difficult to ascertain the extent of under-reporting and the variation in the recording of crime by the police (see van Kesteren, Mayhew & Nieuwbeerta 2000);
- difficult to interpret change, for example, an increase may be due to an increase in reporting; and
- recorded crime statistics have been identified as reflecting recording practices rather than the level of crime that is actually occurring (thus an increase could be interpreted positively).

Community safety survey

The community safety survey was designed specifically for this project. It is based on a number of similar surveys used in other jurisdictions (for example, the Local safety survey used in Victoria) and collects data related to:

- perceptions of local crime (including levels of crime and identification of problems);
- perceptions of safety (including at home, in the street and at the local shops during the day/after dark);
- perceptions of police (including satisfaction with police and contact with police);
- victimisation (including recent experiences of crime and response to crime);
- perceptions of the local environment (including satisfaction with maintenance of the local area and identification of unsafe places); and
- demographic characteristics.

The survey was distributed in two waves. The first wave was prior to the implementation of the SCPT initiative, and the second stage was post-implementation. There was negligible change to the survey between these two phases in order to allow for a comparison of results from the two waves. The survey was distributed simultaneously to the target suburb, Narrabundah, and the control suburb, Ainslie, by an outside research agency.

The response rates in the community safety survey were as follows. In the first wave there were 380 respondents in Narrabundah and 400 in Ainslie. In the second wave there were 526 respondents in Narrabundah and 362 in Ainslie. For this evaluation the individual panel sample (based on sex and age) was used for the analysis, with a sample size of 178 in Narrabundah and 202 in Ainslie.

Benefits

- pre- and post-SCPT intervention data allow a comparison over time between the two surveys to measure the impact of the SCPT;

- panel data, at the individual level, increases the robustness of the results; and

- crime victimisation surveys that allow individuals to indicate whether they have been the victim of specific crimes counter many of the limitations of recorded crime data; in particular they allow data to be captured relating to crimes that have occurred that have not been reported, thus allowing a more informed view of the incidence of crime and victimisation to be developed (see van Kesteren, Mayhew & Nieuwbeerta 2000).

Limitations:

- the community safety survey was distributed to households across the whole suburb, but it does not reach children at school nor the shops (unless business owners live in the suburb and are randomly selected), and these are the people the SCPT had most contact with.

Operational measures forms

In order to collect data on some of the major activities of the SCPT, a form was developed by the AIC in collaboration with ACT Policing. This form was designed to record significant incidents and to provide some indication about the work and involvement of the SCPT in Narrabundah.

The forms were designed pre-implementation, and were redeveloped slightly in the early stages of the project by the SCPT. All data recorded on these forms were entered in the redesigned format. However, the form remained problematic during the entire evaluation – some of the issues are discussed below.

The form collected information on both the practical aspects of the activity and the subjective approach to the activity by the individual SCPT member who is completing the form. More specifically, the form is divided into:

- activity details;

- objective/purpose/aim that the activity is addressing;

- description of activity (category of crime/interactive or non-interactive activity);

- outcomes (key outcomes/intelligence);

- referrals; and

- details/comments.

Benefits

- provides quantifiable information regarding the SCPT's activities; and

- provides a formal record of SCPT activities.

Limitations

- only major activities are recorded (that is, it only provides an indication of activities);

- cannot gain information about the quality of the activities (that is, the community's perspective) through the form;

- problematic in terms of ensuring the SCPT completed the forms regularly and accurately; further problems in terms of recording consistency (that is, filling the form out consistently) and enthusiasm to complete; and

- restricted choices, for example, there were problems when activities did not fit into given categories.

Physical disorder measure

The measurement of physical disorder was conducted twice in both Ainslie and Narrabundah, firstly mid-way through the implementation of the project and immediately following the completion of the project. The decision to use of this tool was not made until after the SCPT program had been implemented, explaining the two stages of analysis. Ideally this aspect of the evaluation would be conducted at three stages: pre-implementation, during and post-implementation. This would enable changes over time to be monitored and measured more accurately and to assess whether the impact of the SCPT in the suburb had any impact on physical disorder within the suburb during the project. It could also be monitored beyond the end of the program in order to assess whether any changes were maintained beyond the program.

Key stakeholder interviews

In the development of the interview schedule for the key stakeholder interviews, the central aim was to discuss with stakeholders past crime and disorder concerns, current concerns and the extent to which they had noticed any recent changes. In addition, questions were asked specifically about the SCPT, their knowledge of the SCPT's activities and their assessment of the team's work and its impact.

Benefits

- provides qualitative data about the SCPT's activities and impact; and

- provides a community perspective on SCPT.

Limitations

- only the views of key stakeholders in the community were accessed (a small percentage were actually also residents); and

- interviews do not represent the views of those across Narrabundah but predominantly where the SCPT were working.

Weekly meeting reports

The difficulties involved in evaluating policing initiatives, in terms of recording and measuring police activities, have been well documented. In order to evaluate such an initiative, it is important to have a clear understanding of the work that is involved and to follow the development of the project as it emerges. This type of realistic evaluation was advocated by Pawson and Tilley (1997). The SCPT was given a mandate to implement community policing in Narrabundah in order to achieve broad objectives identified at the outset of the initiative. The work of the SCPT was defined as identifying and responding to community needs and, as such, there were no designated activities identified prior to the team's deployment.

The two researchers working on the evaluation of this initiative met with the team on a weekly basis and maintained a record of these meetings in the form of a 'meeting diary'. This regular contact was an important aspect of the evaluation, as it allowed important information to be accessed, including:

- the development of the SCPT's understanding of what needed to be addressed in the community and how they could address it;

- insight into the SCPT's approach and response to the members of the community they worked with, and their view on the importance and impact of their various activities;

- identification of some of the issues internal to ACT Policing and the effect of these on the implementation of the project;

- additional information regarding the details of activities outlined in the operational measures forms, and knowledge of other incidental activities of the SCPT not recorded in an operational measures form;

- insight into the range of ideas developed by the SCPT and the process of implementation, particularly in relation to what was eventually abandoned, what was acted upon (and how) and the attitudes/ explanations of the SCPT in relation to these outcomes; and

- a weekly insight into the officers' attitude to the project and an ability to monitor their enthusiasm levels and contribution.

Appendix 2: control suburb

In order to best explore the effect of the SCPT in Narrabundah, an experimental design was utilised. An experimental design involves consideration of cause and effect, ideally in a controlled setting. This is not possible in social research as often researchers are unable to conduct random allocation of intervention (random allocation was not possible for the SCPT evaluation), however it still has considerable advantages even when not applied in its purest sense.

An experimental design typically measures two points in time (in this case pre- and post-intervention). Pre-intervention data gives a base level from which to compare post-intervention data to see if there has been any change, with the intention of exploring the extent to which any change was attributable to the intervention. A control group provides additional information to isolate effects of the intervention (that is, of the independent variable on the dependent variable), and thereby assist in determining whether any changes are due to the SCPT intervention.

A control group is chosen through a process of matching key characteristics of both groups as closely as possible. This enhances the ability to rule out other causal factors for changes that may occur to the treatment group. This is based on the idea that the two groups are equivalent pre-intervention and that without the intervention similar patterns over time would be expected.

The suburb chosen as the control group for this research was Ainslie, a suburb on the north side of Canberra. Population characteristics, crime statistics and police intelligence were all drawn upon to locate the suburb that best matched Narrabundah (as Narrabundah had already been identified as the target suburb).

		Ainslie		Narrabundah	
		First community safety survey	**Second community safety survey**	**First community safety survey**	**Second community safety survey**
Sex					
	Male	48	43	40	40
	Female	52	57	60	60
Age					
	16–24	9	8	5	10
	25–34	18	19	20	17
	35–44	24	23	25	26
	45–54	19	20	22	22
	55–64	10	10	11	11
	65 plus	21	21	16	14
	Mean age	47 yrs	49 yrs	47 yrs	47 yrs
	Median age	44 yrs	46 yrs	44 yrs	44 yrs
Employment*					
	Full-time	43	56	50	50
	Part-time	17	14	13	13
	Home duties	6	13	10	12
	Student	9	10	4	8
	Retired	24	24	20	17
	Not currently employed	3	3	3	4
Time in suburb	Mean	15 yrs	15 yrs	13 yrs	12 yrs
	Less than 1 yr	11	8	11	14
	1–5 yrs	32	32	40	37
	5–10 yrs	17	18	15	17
	10–20 yrs	15	19	11	11
	20+ yrs	25	24	23	21
	Mean yrs	15 yrs		13 yrs	
Number of people in household	Mean	3 people	3 people	2 people	2 people
Ownership status	Owner	62	65	61	62
	Renting	38	35	39	38

Table 50: Comparing demographics of control and target suburb for sample for both surveys (panel only) (% unless otherwise indicated)

* nb percentage that responded 'yes', employment status was a multiple response variable (that is, respondent could be part-time employed and a student)

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer data file]

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Appendix 3: census data

Target, control and surrounding suburbs

For the comparison of recorded crime statistics data, additional suburbs surrounding Narrabundah were also considered in the analysis to test for possible displacement or diffusion of benefits effects. Below are some selected data from the 2001 census relating to all the suburbs considered in the evaluation. Ainslie was chosen as the best match for Narrabundah based not only on the data below, but also police intelligence and crime statistics (not made available to the researchers). The decision regarding the suitability of Ainslie as the control suburb was ultimately made by ACT Policing, based on their own data and advice offered by the researchers. The data presented below are for the five suburbs that are included in this report (Narrabundah, Ainslie, Red Hill, Griffith and Kingston) and for the entire Canberra population.

Table 51: 2001 census data (selected) for target, control and suburbs surrounding target suburbs and Canberra as a whole (% unless otherwise indicated)							
		N	A	RH	G	K	Canberra
Sex	Male	48	47	50	51	52	49
	Female	52	53	50	49	48	51
Age	0–14 yrs	19	18	20	14	8	21
	15–24 yrs	13	12	15	15	14	16
	25–44 yrs	33	35	23	35	49	32
	45–64 yrs	20	20	24	25	20	23
	65 yrs plus	15	16	18	12	9	8
Median age		36 yrs	36 yrs	39 yrs	36 yrs	33 yrs	32 yrs
Marital status	Married	38	40	49	44	32	49
	Divorced/separated/widowed	22	22	18	17	18	15
	Never married	40	39	33	40	51	36
Dwellings	Separate house	70	79	70	45	9	76
	Semi-detached, row, terrace houses	8	14	16	5	11	13
	Flats, units, apartments	22	7	13	46	78	10
People of Indigenous origin		2.5	1.0	1.4	0.6	1.9	1.2
Birthplace	Australia	73	72	72	69	67	74
Language spoken at home	English only	82	84	82	80	78	82
Median individual income		$500–$599	$500–$599	$500–$599	$700–$799	$800–$900	$500–$599
Mean household size		2 persons	2 persons	3 persons	2 persons	2 persons	3 persons
Total population		5,688	4,500	3,088	4,257	2,145	311,518

N = Narrabundah; A = Ainslie; RH = Red Hill; G = Griffith; K = Kingston

Source: ABS 2001 census basic community profiles and snapshots

Appendix 4: representativeness of the panel sample

The tables in this appendix compare the individual panel sample used for the evaluation analysis to the whole sample in order to identify the extent to which the panel group is reflective of the whole sample. The results indicate that while there are a few statistically significant differences between the two groups, for the most part they are very similar.

Table 52: Narrabundah, first community safety survey, comparing the whole sample to the panel sample

Variable	Mean		Error	Z	Sig.
	Whole sample (n=362)	Panel sample (n=178)			
Sex					
mean	.60	.62	0.02	0.54	0.59
std dev.	.49	.49			
Age					
mean	46.68	48.0	1.32	1.04	0.30
std dev.	16.64	16.25			
Time in suburb (yrs)					
mean	12.98	13.69	0.71	0.63	0.53
std dev.	14.92	15.34			
No. people living in household					
mean	2.34	2.38	0.04	0.35	0.73
std dev.	1.54	1.87			
Victimisation level					
mean	.49	.51	0.02	0.33	0.74
std dev.	.80	.78			
Perception of safety					
mean	15.66	15.75	0.09	0.30	0.76
std dev.	3.94	3.77			

Table 53: Narrabundah, second community safety survey, comparing the whole sample to the panel sample

Variable	Mean		Error	Z	Sig.
	Whole sample (n=526)	Panel sample (n=178)			
Sex					
mean	.58	.62	0.04	1.08	0.28
std dev.	.50	.49			
Age					
Mean	46.51	49.00	2.49	2.00	0.05*
std dev.	17.28	16.28			
Time in suburb (yrs)					
mean	12.63	14.48	1.85	1.58	0.11
std dev.	15.66	16.05			
No. people living in household					
mean	2.39	2.37	-0.02	-0.18	0.86
std dev.	1.46	1.80			
Victimisation level					
mean	.49	.47	0.02	0.31	0.76
std dev.	.86	.81			
Perception of safety					
mean	17.55	16.22	−1.33	−4.56	0.00**
std dev.	3.89	3.97			

* significant at p>.05 **significant at p>.01

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Table 54: Ainslie, first community safety survey, comparing the whole sample to the panel sample

Variable	Mean		Error	Z	Sig.
	Whole sample (n=400)	Panel sample (n=202)			
Sex					
mean	.53	.56	0.03	0.85	0.40
std dev.	.50	.50			
Age					
mean	47.42	49.19	1.77	1.37	0.17
std dev.	18.32	17.38			
Time in suburb (yrs)					
mean	14.86	15.89	1.03	0.86	0.39
std dev.	16.94	16.80			
No. people living in household					
mean	2.56	2.52	-0.04	-0.41	0.68
std dev.	1.38	1.34			
Victimisation level					
mean	.49	.42	-0.07	-1.18	0.24
std dev.	.84	.76			
Perception of safety					
mean	17.47	17.49	0.02	0.07	0.94
std dev.	4.21	4.36			

Table 55: Ainslie, second community safety survey, comparing the whole sample to the panel sample

Variable	Mean		Error	Z	Sig.
	Whole sample (n=380)	Panel sample (n=202)			
Sex					
mean	.58	.56	–0.02	–0.58	0.56
std dev.	.49	.50			
Age					
mean	48.03	50.08	2.05	1.60	0.11
std dev.	18.22	17.51			
Time in suburb (yrs)					
mean	14.74	17.16	2.42	2.10	0.04*
std dev.	16.38	16.86			
No. people living in household					
mean	2.68	2.65	–0.03	–0.33	0.74
std dev.	1.30	1.34			
Victimisation level					
mean	.38	.37	–0.01	–0.20	0.84
std dev.	.72	.74			
Perception of safety					
mean	17.55	17.69	0.14	0.51	0.61
std dev.	3.90	4.03			

* significant at p>.05 **significant at p>.01

Table 56: Upper Narrabundah, first community safety survey, comparing the whole sample to the panel sample

Variable	Mean		Error	Z	Sig.
	Whole sample (n=233)	Panel sample (n=119)			
Sex					
mean	.56	.57	0.01	0.22	0.83
std dev.	.50	.50			
Age					
mean	45.54	46.96	1.42	0.95	0.34
std dev.	16.25	15.83			
Time in suburb (yrs)					
mean	11.23	11.74	0.51	0.40	0.69
std dev.	13.98	14.18			
No. people living in household					
mean	2.37	2.36	–0.01	–0.07	0.94
std dev.	1.53	1.82			
Victimisation level					
mean	.42	.50	0.08	1.21	0.23
std dev.	.72	.76			
Perception of safety					
mean	15.67	15.01	–0.66	–1.75	0.08
std dev.	4.12	3.93			

Table 57: Upper Narrabundah, second community safety survey, comparing the whole sample to the panel sample

Variable	Mean		Error	Z	Sig.
	Whole sample (n=247)	Panel sample (n=119)			
Sex					
mean	.56	.57	0.01	0.22	0.83
std dev.	.50	.50			
Age					
mean	45.81	47.92	2.11	1.37	0.17
std dev.	16.74	15.86			
Time in suburb (yrs)					
mean	10.66	12.48	1.82	1.42	0.16
std dev.	13.98	15.0			
No. people living in household					
mean	2.49	2.44	–0.05	–0.31	0.76
std dev.	1.74	2.00			
Victimisation level					
mean	.46	.54	0.08	1.08	0.28
std dev.	.81	.87			
Perception of safety					
mean	16.52	16.50	–0.02	–0.06	0.95
std dev.	3.95	3.94			

Table 58: Lower Narrabundah, first community safety survey, comparing the whole sample to the panel sample

Variable	Mean		Error	Z	Sig.
	Whole sample (n=129)	Panel sample (n=59)			
Sex					
mean	.66	.71	0.05	0.80	0.42
std dev.	.48	.46			
Age					
mean	48.73	50.10	1.37	0.61	0.54
std dev.	17.20	17.00			
Time in suburb (yrs)					
mean	16.17	17.61	0.83	0.40	0.69
std dev.	16.06	16.90			
No. people living in household					
mean	2.29	2.43	0.14	0.70	0.48
std dev.	1.56	1.98			
Victimisation level					
mean	.61	.53	–0.08	–0.67	0.50
std dev.	.92	.84			
Perception of safety					
mean	15.67	16.03	0.36	0.67	0.54
std dev.	4.13	3.46			

Table 59: Lower Narrabundah, second community safety survey, comparing the whole sample to the panel sample

Variable	Mean		Error	Z	Sig.
	Whole sample (n=279)	Panel sample (n=59)			
Sex					
mean	.66	.71	0.06	0.96	0.34
std dev.	.48	.46			
Age					
mean	48.48	51.19	2.71	1.25	0.21
std dev.	16.62	17.03			
Time in suburb (yrs)					
mean	14.98	18.44	3.46	1.66	0.10
std dev.	15.98	17.43			
No. people living in household					
mean	2.31	2.22	–0.09	–0.56	0.56
std dev.	1.24	1.33			
Victimisation level					
mean	.41	.32	–0.09	–0.89	0.37
std dev.	.78	.66			
Perception of safety					
mean	16.25	15.66	–0.59	–1.17	0.24
std dev.	3.86	4.02			

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Appendix 5: the SCPT in Narrabundah

The community safety survey was distributed to both Ainslie and Narrabundah, the control and target suburbs. For the first phase of the survey, an identical instrument was distributed, with the exception that each referred to the specific suburb of distribution. The second phase, distributed in March 2003, was primarily the same instrument, however additional questions were added regarding crime prevention initiatives in the suburb. Narrabundah respondents were asked 13 questions specifically about the SCPT, including:

- whether respondents were aware of the team;

- how they became aware of the team;

- the extent to which they noticed the team's presence;

- their interaction with the SCPT; and

- any suggestions for future SCPT initiatives.

The data relating to the SCPT are presented below, predominantly with response frequencies to give a better indication of the extent to which Narrabundah respondents were aware of and satisfied with the SCPT. As there was no possibility for exploring time-series data, the entire Narrabundah respondent sample from the second community safety survey was utilised (n=526).

Table 60: How often the SCPT was seen (%)	
Never	28
1–2 times	32
3–5 times	24
6–10 times	8
11–20 times	5
21–30 times	1
31–40 times	1
41–50 times	1
51 or more times	1

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Awareness of SCPT

The first two questions asked respondents if they were aware of the SCPT. This was followed by a brief explanation of the SCPT. Respondents were then asked how they first became aware of the team. As there were some response inconsistencies (with regard to only one of the questions being answered) awareness of the SCPT was measured by combining all those who had indicated either that they were aware of the SCPT and/or who identified how they first became aware of them (excluding those who first became aware of them via this survey). In total, 151 (29%) of respondents were aware of the SCPT. Of these, 117 (77%) were from lower Narrabundah and 34 (33%) were from upper Narrabundah.

Much of the following analysis considers the responses of this proportion of the sample (that is, those who indicated that they were aware of the SCPT).

The SCPT was in Narrabundah for approximately 26 weeks, or 130 days based on a five-day working week (counting from the official beginning in September 2002 until the final week of February 2003). The results in Table 60 indicate that the majority of those who saw the SCPT saw them between one and five times – that is, less than once a week or once a month for the entire period of time the SCPT were in the suburb.

Of those who were aware of the SCPT and saw them in the suburb, only a small proportion (20%, n=29) indicated that they had actually been in contact with the SCPT during the six-month period. Though the numbers are small, it is still useful to further explore the data in relation to those 29 respondents regarding their satisfaction with the contact they had and who was responsible for initiating the contact.

Table 61: Where the SCPT was seen (%)*	
Narrabundah shops	79
Local schools	15
Local event	19
Walking in Narrabundah	12
Driving the SCPT van	32
Local meeting	9
Other	9

* Respondents could give more than one response
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

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Table 62: Location of contact with SCPT*

Location	Percentage respondents	Number respondents
Narrabundah shops	48	14
Local school	10	3
Local event	35	10
Walking around Narrabundah	21	6
Local meeting	7	2
In my home	14	4
At someone else's house	0	-
Telephone	14	4
Other	10	3

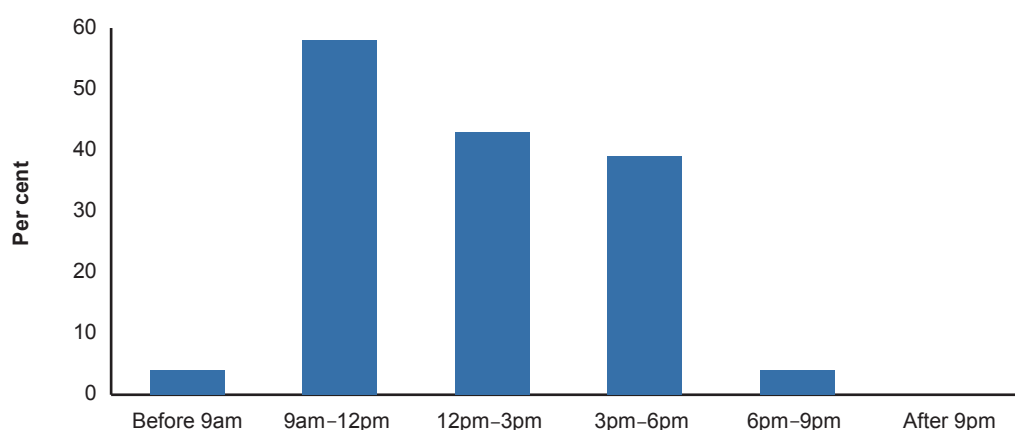* Respondents could give more than one response

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Of those who had contact with the SCPT, 90 per cent were satisfied with the contact (55% very satisfied, 35% satisfied). Only three per cent indicated that they were very dissatisfied (none indicated that they were dissatisfied).

Time of day

There was a marked difference between the time of day the SCPT were seen in Narrabundah and the time of day respondents indicated that they would like the SCPT to be present in Narrabundah. Tables 31 and 32 present this information. (Note that Figure 32 is drawn from the whole sample, not just those who were aware of the SCPT's presence.)

Figure 31: Time of day that respondent noted SCPT's presence

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Evaluation of a Suburban Crime Prevention Team
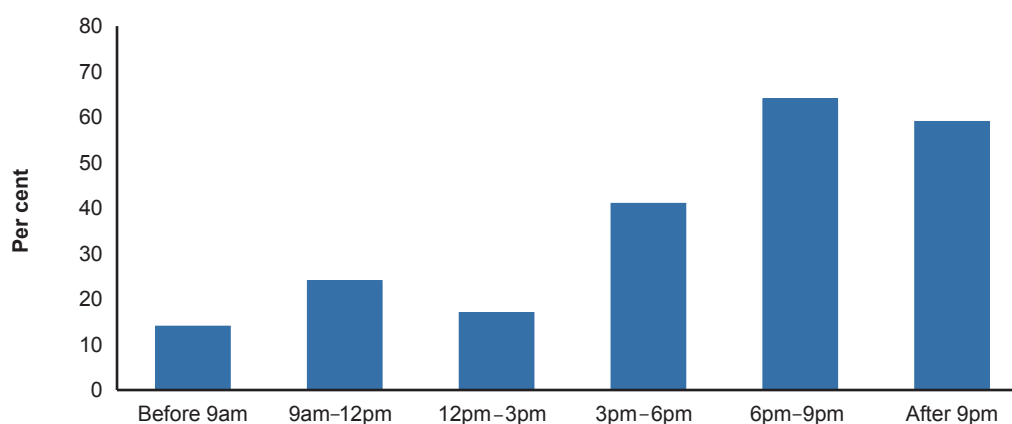
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Impact of SCPT

Those who were aware of the SCPT indicated the effect the knowledge of the team's presence had on their feelings of safety in Narrabundah. The results are presented below:

- more safe – 47 per cent;

- no effect – 33 per cent; and

- less safe – one per cent.

A number of questions were asked regarding the SCPT's efforts in the community (see Table 63).

Table 63: Assessment of SCPT's efforts in Narrabundah*

	Agree (%)
The SCPT identified local safety concerns	26
The SCPT worked to resolve local safety concerns	31
The SCPT identified local crime problems	27
The SCPT worked to resolve local crime problems	27
The SCPT was easily accessible/contactable for residents	35

* Respondents could give more than one response
Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

Future SCPT activities

The final question posed to Narrabundah respondents was to indicate what activities a future SCPT initiative ought to undertake. The major activities were grouped according to major headings and are listed in Table 64.

Table 64: Future SCPT activities	N respondents
Traffic-related issues	7
Community participation (in activities both formal and informal)	5
Community consultation	8
Beats/active and visible presence	12
Patrol – regular, visible car patrol	8
Build relationship with community	1
Proactive crime prevention	8
Address youth issues/problems	9
Address drug/alcohol-related issues	7
Address property crime	2
Education for schools/community groups/residents	2
Follow-up on victimisation/address underlying problems	2

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology community safety survey [computer file]

What is important to note from the findings in Table 64 is that the SCPT undertook many of these activities but respondents were relatively unaware of the SCPT. If they were aware of them, few would know of the variety and scope of activities being undertaken. This is due both to the nature of some of the activities the team undertook (for example, liaising between families and school communities) as well as the SCPT's inability to tap into key information sources that would increase knowledge and awareness of their work. Although the team worked hard to promote themselves, they perhaps limited how they undertook to do this and promoted themselves often to those who were already aware of and supportive of them.