

Avoiding the Dangers and Pitfalls of Community Policing: Ten Questions that need to be Addressed

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It is possible that we may all become enthused with the concept of community policing. Such forms of policing have much to offer. But they also have many problems not the least being the implementation of this form of policing. Just some of the problems will be outlined in this paper.

- What are the primary aims of community policing?

Is it to benefit the police, the community or both? The author suggests that the major primary aim should be to obtain stronger police-community relationships. But how can we do this without the privacy and liberty of citizens being threatened? Is it possible to have good community policing without unwanted intrusions from authority? May we not want, in a democracy, at least some distance from the authorities in order to protect privacy and liberty? And, is it really possible to have proper community policing without some genuine form of control of the police by the community?

- How do we define 'community'?

What exactly does the concept of 'community' mean in the context of modern urban Australia and indeed, is it possible to have such an entity in our fast-moving, impersonal and increasingly heterogeneous cities? If 'communities' are broadly defined as groups of people who share a sense of 'we-ness', then, it is important to recognise that at least some such groups often develop because they distrust outsiders—that distrust can manifest itself in high rates of assault, racism, graffiti, arson and other crimes. In other words, we have to be careful that we do not, unwittingly, reinforce bigotry and prejudice in attempting to build up this concept of 'community'. In some communities in North Queensland people were proud of living in a town or a particular geographical area. But Aborigines were certainly not welcome in the town or area. Community policing must not reinforce this sort of prejudice.

■ Whose needs are being addressed?

This introduces a major issue for the police. When police liaise with these 'communities', whose needs are being addressed? Whose order is being upheld? Do the police talk only to formal community organisations who represent, undoubtedly, the predominance of power, status and wealth within an area? How can police be sure that they are hearing from, and really listening to, the voices of street kids, drug users, minority groups and others? If they do not listen to these groups then a cosy relationship with a particular and privileged section of the community could develop (white home-owners) that ignores tenants, young people, Aboriginal people, new Australians and others. If this happens there is a real danger that an even-handed application of justice will never eventuate.

■ How do we avoid the police imposing their will on neighbourhoods?

The police are, as they say, 'the biggest gang in town'. They have huge resources and are potentially able to manipulate groups of citizens, who, so overwhelmed with gratitude for police interest in their affairs, will go along with any agenda proposed by police. A few years ago in Victoria, Neighbourhood Watch groups were accused of handing out material pushing the police agenda for more police and more police powers. The problem here is that other groups in the community, which might well have different agendas, will quickly lose interest in the community consultative process and disengage from it.

■ How do we train police to deal with community policing?

By definition community policing gives the police increased discretion to deal with specific problems and to make on-the-spot resolutions regarding potential and actual disturbances of public order. This requires them to have a vast knowledge of social problems and skills in dispute resolution. But what sort of training do they receive to acquire these skills? What sort of training should they receive? It seems that there is no real evidence indicating that current training courses for Australian police forces equip young recruits to acquire the interpersonal and social skills so necessary for successful community policing.

■ How do we make police organisations take community policing seriously?

Police themselves will tell you that, in introducing Neighbourhood Watch programs, many sections of the force saw Neighbourhood Watch as 'soft' law enforcement and not 'real' policing. How do we ensure that police careers give adequate recognition to the skills and values of general duties officers, the backbone of community police? It may be necessary, if we are serious about community policing, to reconsider the traditional para-military police structure and replace it with a more flexible 'tier' organisational model. These questions, even if not resolved, should at least be addressed.

■ How do we measure the success of community policing?

What criteria do we use to evaluate community policing? A drop in crime, increased confidence in the police, less fear of crime, more use of community facilities like parks and streets, all of these? Before community policing is introduced in Queensland it would be appropriate for both 'communities' and the police to agree on what indices of performance or 'success' should be utilised to measure community policing impact. If no proper evaluations are planned, community policing could well dissipate into nothing more than an empty public relations exercise.

- What model of policing should community policing promote?

Basically there are two models of policing, one of which is the crime control model, the other, the English-styled 'peace-keeping' model. Depending on which of these models is used, community policing will have markedly different characteristics.

In Australia, unfortunately, too much emphasis has been given to the crime control model. Community policing is sometimes seen as the eyes and ears of the police in the fight against crime, and, to some extent, the Neighbourhood Watch scheme is based on this model.

In New Zealand a wider, peace-keeping approach is used with what are called Neighbourhood Support Groups (rather than Watch Groups) who tackle non-property neighbourhood social issues such as domestic violence, child abuse and incest. These support groups actively seek to generate a sense of belonging and 'community', freeing people from a sense of disorder and insecurity. Legalistic, crime control models of policing (which themselves are a failure of early more local community order maintenance models) have reached their limit. As Kelling and Moore argue (1987), police need to become more democratic and less formalistic and legalistic.

- If we see community-policing reinforcing the 'peace-keeping' model do we have to reconsider the law officers' physical image and bearing?

Is it necessary for the police to carry guns conspicuously? Can the police ever get close to the community if they have a para-military presence? In England, deliberate attempts have been made to conceal truncheons which are carried in order to improve the police officers' image as mediators. Should we not consider this issue now before community policing is introduced in Queensland?

- How do we ensure that the police adequately handle, and act upon, criticism from community groups?

This point is different from the issue of groups with which the police consult. No-one likes to be criticised, and the police are no exception to this rule. But if the police are serious about community policing, they must provide groups and individuals with the mechanism to voice their opinion about past, present and future law enforcement events. And, they must ensure that, when warranted, consultation and criticism leads to action and a re-direction in policy.

Not one of these ten questions has easy answers, but if community policing is to be more than an empty rhetorical phrase, answers to them have to be provided. It is very much in the interests of both the community and the police, that we attempt this difficult and complex task.

Reference

Kelling, George L. & Moore, Mark, H. 1987, *From Political to Reform to Community: the Evolving Strategy of Police*, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

The State of the Art in Community Policing: an International Perspective

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This topic is appropriate, because community policing has become the major movement of change and strategic reformation in policing in the 1980s. In most police forces, it is the only innovation game in town. Everybody is talking about it; every police force will tell you that it is doing it; there are books and articles about it; and there are conferences all over the world, like this one, discussing it. In fact, it has now begun to generate what I think can be described as sacred writing. A little bit of that was unearthed recently in one Australian Police Force:

In the beginning was the word and the word was 'community policing' and darkness fell upon the face of the police force.

And it came to pass that a task force delivered unto the Commissioner a plan and the plan began restructuring and there was much rending of garments and gnashing of teeth among the Constables, for they comprehended it not and were sore afraid.

And the Constables spake unto their Sergeants saying, 'Verily it is a heap of shit and it stinketh!'

And the Sergeants went unto their Superintendents and said, 'Truly it is a pile of dung and none may abide the odour thereof!'

And the Superintendents spoke unto the Assistant Commissioners saying, 'It is a mound of fertiliser and none can abide its strength'.

And the Assistant Commissioners went unto the Deputy Commissioners and said, 'It is that which promotes plant growth and it is very powerful'.

And the Deputy Commissioners spake unto the Commissioner saying, 'This powerful new plan will actively promote growth and efficiency within the police force'.

And the Commissioner looked upon it and smiled and saw that it was good. And it came to pass that community policing was implemented.

In this paper three topics will be addressed. First, a review of what is being done in some of the notable experiments in community policing in several developed nations. Second, comments about the movement as a whole. Third, specific lessons that police forces have learned about implementing community policing successfully.

Examples of Community Policing

Descriptions of some of the major programs in five countries follow—Canada, the United States, Japan, Singapore, and Australia.

Canada

In **Edmonton**, which is one of the major cities of the western provinces, the police department analysed calls for service and came up with what they considered to be the twenty-one major 'hot spots' of crime and disorder, places where there were most requests for police assistance and where most patrol activity seemed to be concentrated. In each of these delineated areas a constable has been assigned to be the primary agent of policing. The police officer is supported by mobile patrols in the traditional way. The officer is responsible for setting up a police office, for recruiting volunteers from the community to help the officer, for diagnosing the problems of the community, and coming up with action plans to meet the problems that residents of those 'hot spots' consider need attention. The community police officers also patrol regularly on foot. They are given a vehicle, but it is really just for transportation from the police station to wherever they work. The 21 beats were set up in 1987 and have been enormously popular.

Montreal, which is Canada's second largest city, is located in the French-speaking part of Canada. Without using 'hot-spot' analysis, the Montreal police have designated certain areas as 'Ilos', a French word usually translated as islands or atoms. These areas have particular disorder and crime problems, a large residential population, lots of pedestrian activity, and often retail shops and markets. Police officers, known as 'Ilotier', are assigned to these areas to work with the local communities. They do not spend a lot of time there. Montreal general-duties police work a 35-day rotation, 21 days of which are on duty, the others being holidays and weekends. During the 21 working days, 'Ilotier' spend 8 hours in their 'Ilos'. This is not very much time. During those 8 hours they walk the streets, talk to citizens, and try to build up knowledge of the community as well as the crime and order and needs of the communities. By September 1990, 297 Montreal police officers had been assigned to 'Ilos'.

Halifax, which is in Nova Scotia undertook community policing in 1986 and it became team policing. They decentralised the CIB, assigning detectives to the same three territorial divisions as general-duties officers. Teams of CIB personnel and general duties officers work together to diagnose the problems of these areas and then determine what mixture of proactive and reactive policing is required. Moreover, when any crime, except sophisticated forms of commercial crime, is committed, two-person teams composed of a uniformed constable and a detective, usually a corporal, investigate the crime. The investigation of crime is not automatically turned over to a specialised CIB detachment. These teams carry to solution about 98 per cent of the crimes that occur.

Finally, the **Ontario** Provincial Police have established a community police program involving at the moment about 100 officers, a figure they plan to double by the end of 1991. The province of Ontario is very much like an Australian state, its police force numbers about 4,000 and it covers a very large amount of territory. One hundred areas have been designated for community policing areas, encompassing 700 local government jurisdictions. Each community police officer is required to set up an office and establish a citizens' advisory committee to advise the officer about what the citizens of the area want and to

assist him/her in carrying out problem-solving programs. Because the Ontario provincial police work largely in rural areas, the community police officers do very little foot patrolling.

United States

First, **Detroit**, Michigan, a city just under one million people, has what is probably the oldest community policing program in the United States. It began in 1976 and it involves the creation of ninety-three mini-stations that now very nearly cover Detroit. These ninety-three stations are dedicated to community crime prevention and the officers there do not answer calls for service. Instead, they work with the community to promote crime prevention programs, notably Neighbourhood Watch. The mini-stations rely heavily on volunteers from the community to help in the work of implementing or promoting community crime prevention.

New York City has a program called C-POP, Community Police Officer Program, involving 900 officers out of a patrol force of approximately 16,000. In each of New York's seventy-five precincts, there are about ten C-POP officers, each of whom has been given a territory that they are responsible for policing, supported by an overlay of rapid response patrol vehicles. C-POP officers do more or less what they want. Their injunction is to get to know the community and to find out how police resources might be used in order to meet policing requirements, not as generated by the Police Department, but as suggested by local communities. This is a very popular program, begun in 1986, which shows no sign of flagging.

In **Houston**, Texas, community policing has involved two programs: the establishment of nine store-front police stations and a program called DART, (Directed Area Response Team). DART is similar to Halifax's team-policing. Patrol teams have been set up involving detectives working with general duties officers to diagnose the matters of concern to communities, to be responsible primarily for both reactive and proactive policing, and to carry through the majority of criminal investigations in those area.

Santa Ana, California, is a city in Orange County south of Los Angeles, with a high concentration of Hispanic people. Its community police program involves the creation of four community police stations, staffed by uniformed police officers, who patrol from there, and by civilian community-service officers. Although not armed, the community-service officers wear uniforms very similar to sworn officers, but with a distinctive shoulder patch. They do not carry weapons. Their role is to handle the vast amount of social service work which is connected with policing, including encouragement of citizen crime prevention. The regular police officers in these community police stations do a great deal of problem solving and patrolling, mostly on foot.

Japan

Japan created modern community policing but did not call it that until very recently. The Japanese are like the startled Frenchman who took a literature class and discovered that he had been speaking prose all his life. The Japanese system, reformulated after World War II but resting on older traditional elements, is based on 15,500 koban, or mini police stations, scattered all over Japan. There are 6,500 of them in cities and towns and 10,000 in rural areas. There is a neighbourhood police station of this sort within six or seven blocks of every urban resident in Japan. It is still the case that just under 50 per cent of all people requiring police service come to the police in person rather than calling over the telephone.

Personnel in these koban and chuzaiso do several things. They regularly patrol on foot and respond to citizen requests for service. They also make twice yearly visits to every home and business in their area, knocking on doors and asking what problems people have. They use these occasions to promote crime prevention and to offer security inspections.

Although this appears to be the most wall-to-wall community policing system in the world, the Japanese are not complacent about it. They are now involved in fine-tuning their

system—two aspects in particular. The Japanese police have never developed programs of systematic liaison with the community. As a consequence, they are now asking all of their koban to create formal community advisory boards in order to obtain feedback. Furthermore, they are now adopting a more problem-oriented approach. Previously, although the police were deployed pervasively, their emphasis was on discretionary law enforcement—impounding improperly equipped bicycles, enforcing laws against speeding motor vehicles, catching drunk drivers, and generally keeping the streets orderly. Now they are changing their priorities to emphasise matters the public is concerned with, as opposed to the matters of concern to police.

Singapore

Singapore is the most dramatic instance of a major police force deciding in a very short period of time that it wanted to change its fundamental system for delivering of police services and successfully doing so. Until 1983 Singapore was policed very much like Birmingham, Liverpool, and other major cities of Great Britain. The system was largely reactive and based on the deployment of a large number of patrol vehicles. There was also a strict division between the CID and general duties officers. Singapore had copied the British model exactly. In 1983, however, they decided to emulate the Japanese and brought off a complete conversion to their system between the years 1983 and 1989. As the Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, said forthrightly, 'We have nothing more to learn from the West, it is time we began to learn from the East'. As a result, there are now copies of Japanese koban throughout Singapore, altogether about 100, doing exactly the same work as Japanese koban. The Singapore police have at the same time de-emphasised random motorised patrolling. Perhaps most interesting of all, these changes were all made within six years, without expenditure of resources beyond the normal budget.

Australia

Community policing in Australia is primarily an add-on crime prevention program. Hardly any attempts have been made to have community policing penetrate general duties patrol work, with one major and exciting exception. At the same time the crime prevention programs of Australian police forces are very rich, varied, and represent improvements in some instances over similar programs in other countries. For example, the Victorian Police sent officers to the United States to study Neighbourhood Watch, who liked what they saw but found ways for maintaining the activity and enthusiasm of members, a problem that had bedevilled and undermined American efforts.

In addition, Australia has school liaison programs, Blue Light Discos, and Safety Houses. By and large these programs are managed by new specialised units devoted to crime prevention, often based in headquarters or some of the larger police stations. There has also been a renewed emphasis on foot patrol, but it is still very slight in relation to total patrol resources. There are hardly any shop-front police offices in Australia. Broadmeadows in Melbourne was one of the few, and it was recently closed. Shop-fronts have not been a popular form of community policing in Australia.

It seems that the only instance in Australia of a serious attempt to change the delivery of police services by general duties officers, has been in New South Wales. There, Commissioner John Avery and his staff created community policing 'beats', starting in Surry Hills, Sydney. There are now over 200 community police officers assigned to such beats in many larger towns in New South Wales. Each officer is responsible for their own area where they establish community liaison, discover persistent order problems troubling to the community, and construct solutions to those problems. In effect they are to become the 'village bobby' for their areas.

Observations on the Community Police Movement

These are some examples of what is going on in many different places around the world under the rubric of community policing. Several things should be noted about the movement that has sparked these developments. First, it should be quite apparent that community policing is not a single program. It is all sorts of things—not just the usual apples and oranges, but grapefruit, guavas, and bananas. Referring to community policing, people often say, 'How do we implement it'. The answer often is, 'I haven't got a clue, until you tell me what it is you want to accomplish in community policing'. Community policing is not an 'it'. Community policing is not one of several cans up there on the shelf that you can neatly take down, take the top off, and feed to police forces.

Community policing is sometimes only pure rhetoric, a new kind of public relations that commissioners use because it sounds wonderful and makes a police force look progressive. In other forces, community policing labels are applied to quite traditional, reactive, enforcement-oriented programs. In some Canadian forces, plainclothes squads have been created to keep habitual criminals under surveillance and this has been called community policing, as also are anti-burglary patrols and heightened enforcement of traffic regulations against speeders and DUIs. It is truly amazing what community policing is made to cover. Fortunately, however, community policing also describes many really creative, new developments in policing, where imaginative officers are taking great risks and working courageously against a climate of entrenched opinion that makes it very difficult to accomplish community policing goals.

Secondly, it is important to note some of the elements of variation in the range of community policing experiments.

- **Personnel.** The major choice here is whether community policing is carried out by new specialists or by traditional police workers, such as patrol officers and detectives, in ways that are reflective of the new philosophy and ethos.
- **Organisation.** In some forces community policing is a new command, often based in headquarters; it is a new unit of specialisation within the police. In others, it is a function that is integrated into the existing command structure. This is rarer than the first, and is more difficult to bring off, although some police forces have succeeded in it, such as New South Wales.
- **Functions of community police officers.** Some forces require community police officers to handle calls for police service, many do not. Almost all community police officers are responsible for community crime prevention one way or the other. Some do foot patrolling, many do not. Some are given responsibility for diagnosing the needs of communities and coming up with solutions, utilising police and non-police resources. Others are simply responsible for delivering traditional police services but are enjoined to do so in a more responsive and community-oriented way.
- **Basing.** Community policing personnel may be located at headquarters, in police stations, or in disbursed offices created, often, with material or financial contributions from communities.
- **Community consultation.** There are two models. The first is ad hoc community liaison, where a community police officer goes out into the community and tries to find responsive people who are on the side of the police. The second is systematic, where police departments lay down policy concerning the

membership of advisory boards, how often liaison committees are to meet, what their functions are, and so forth.

- **Volunteers.** The question here is whether community policing is strictly done by the police themselves or whether the community is to be enlisted, especially in the form of volunteers, to work with the police.
- **Funding.** Some community police programs have been established only after new levels of funding have been secured. In these cases, police executives have gone to the politicians and said that in order to do community policing, new resources would have to be generated. Other departments have taken a riskier approach and created community policing out of existing budgets.

These are some of the elements that vary in successful community police programs. The point is that police forces have got to figure out the answers to most of these questions if they hope to implement community policing successfully.

Thirdly, never forget that all that glitters is not community policing. There is a tendency now for everybody who has a hot idea to try to pass it off as community policing. As a result, a lot of time is being wasted justifying programs as being community policing. Sometimes it seems that the phrase 'community policing', should be forgotten because so much time is spent trying to define it when there are all sorts of changes that policing needs in order to accomplish its objectives better. There is no need to try to gild all needed innovations by calling them community policing. It appears that 'community policing' should be kept for reforms which represent genuinely new programs, rather than reforms that improve the effectiveness or efficiency of established programs.

Fourthly, there is a great deal of discussion about the sorts of localities where community policing is most needed. Community policing is an urban police invention that was designed initially in the United States and Great Britain for urban communities where a gap had emerged between police forces and the communities that were being policed. Community policing was viewed as a way of closing that gap and bringing the people back on side with the police. Furthermore, so far, most of the community police ventures mentioned above have worked best in relatively affluent, ethnically homogeneous, middle class areas of cities.

There are a few wonderful exceptions to this, however. Edmonton, New York City, Detroit, and the inner-cities of Japan have shown that community policing does not necessarily work only in relatively affluent and ethnically homogeneous areas. It can work in ghettos too, where non-white, chronically unemployed, badly educated, and very poor people live.

But what about community policing in rural areas? When community policing is discussed with Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officers, State Police of New York, and sometimes Australian officers, who patrol vast tracts of lands with relatively sparse populations, the response is one of a lot of ho-hums and sleepy gazes. 'This has very little to do with us?' Curiously, however, the other stock response from rural police officers is, 'Oh, but we have been doing this all along!' They cannot have it both ways. It's either necessary and they should pay attention or it's not necessary and they should not take pride in having done it well already.

In fact, they are often right about knowing a good deal about community policing already. In some of the bush police stations in Australia and Canada, we have to take seriously the claim that the quality of relationship between the police officers and the communities in many of these stations is different from that which exists in the large cities. Police officers in rural areas are able to take more time in interactions with the public; they do not have to rush from one call to another call; they spend more time on social service activities; and they have better communication with other government agencies when it is necessary to coordinate activities.

Rural police officers have a great deal to tell us about community policing. Police forces in Australia, like the RCMP and the Ontario Provincial Police in Canada, have many officers who have been unaware that they were practising community policing. Police forces should be prepared to learn from these people how qualitative aspects for community policing may be brought to urban communities. How it might be possible to bring the experience of Katherine to Darwin, of Hawker to Port Augusta, or Menindi to Surry Hills. Australia, in particular, has expertise within its own forces that is being under-utilised as they plan for community policing.

At the same time, policing is not beyond improvement in the rural areas in any of these countries. Rural police officers, too, can learn from the movement. They can learn about how to liaise in a systematic and structured way. Too often the community liaison that happens in bush police stations depends upon networks of people that particular officers know. It is very ad hoc and depends too much on the personalities of existing personnel. One officer has miserable community contacts, another has wonderful ones. Rural policing needs to learn how consultation can be done in a systematic and responsive way.

Furthermore, rural police stations also do problem-solving in very ad hoc ways. They need to learn from the community policing movement how to reconnoitre a community's problems systematically and how to choose the best targets for problem solving.

Fifthly, community policing worldwide, despite the popularity of the rhetoric, is not yet institutionalised. In five years from now, it is an open question whether we would be able to say community policing had come to be more than a brief flash in the pan. The bureaucratic corner has not been turned in any police force mentioned in this paper, not even in those examples cited. When police chiefs and commissioners change, senior staffs change and community policing can go out the window. It seems that it is not yet part of the fabric of policing in any of the English-speaking countries. It appears to be so in Japan; the Japanese will never go back to a reactive, non-dispersed system of policing. But in our countries, the paradigm of policing is still up for grabs.

One of the reasons the future of community policing is uncertain is that despite the popularity of the concept and all the activity mentioned, whether it is more effective than past forms of policing is not certain. At the same time, of course, we do not know whether most programs in policing are working either. There is a curious impracticality in police management, in the sense that it does not really know whether what it is doing is achieving the objectives it wants. There is hardly any evaluation of whether different programs for the management and delivery of police services are really accomplishing desired ends. If institutional corners are to be turned in policing, whatever is being done in the delivery of police services should be evaluated to determine whether the objectives for which they were devised are being achieved. In this process of evaluation police forces need to develop quick and dirty measures of whether what they thought they were getting out of particular programs was achieved. Until that is done, policing will always have an unreal, impractical quality about it. Time and again community policing is being hampered because police forces are being told, in effect, to change everything, that past programs are thoroughly discredited, that community policing is the only way to go. It is too much to expect police forces to change so dramatically. Community policing will come, more assuredly, through studying a few places carefully, designing community-oriented programs for them, putting some resources into them, and trying things out. As the advertising slogan said, 'Try it, you'll like it!' It is also possible you will not like it. That is fine too. Police management must learn to be more experimental. The mind-set of managers in policing is not like the mindset of people in business. Business people do not try a new model without market research and field-testing. They test for several months and if something does not work, they go back to the drawing boards and try again. In policing, however, the practice has been with new schemes that either it is adopted forcewide or not at all. What is needed, instead, is a mindset that encourages systematic attempts at evaluation of new programs.

Moreover, Australian police forces, like the police forces of Canada, present marvellous opportunities to do this because they cover huge jurisdictions and have many personnel. As a result, Australian forces can experiment selectively, trying different

programs in different places to see if they worked. The United States, by contrast, cannot do that because it has minuscule police departments. The average police department in the United States has twelve people in it. Twelve! If one police force does an experiment, other forces say the experience is too limited, too idiosyncratic, too unrepresentative. But Australia has large police departments where organisational climate, training, incentives, pay, etc. are the same across a vast area. Because all the organisational variables are constant, Australian forces, along with the RCMP and the OPP in Canada, can study the effects of different programs in different places. But the mindset in policing is not favourable to this. It is an odd thing to say, but police managers do not seem to care whether programs succeed. They do not continually ask for feedback from their field operations about whether programs are working or not.

Lessons in Implementing Community Policing

The following are the lessons that police departments in the English-speaking world—Britain, Canada, the United States and Australia—have learned about making community policing work. There will be 11 of them. It would have been nice to have laid down the Ten Commandments of Community Policing, but that might have been presumptuous.

Lesson 1. Police forces have to decide programmatically what they want community policing to do

Community policing must be transformed from a philosophy into a program. People are saying, 'community policing is a philosophy, it is not a program'. They mean that community policing can take different forms in different circumstances. It is an approach, an orientation, that must be flexible and adaptive. But if it does not become more than a philosophy, if it does not change the behaviour of police officers who are doing the work at the coal face, then it is only rhetoric. So the first step in implementing community policing is to figure out programmatically which of the elements of community policing are going to be adopted and then develop a concrete implementation plan. If this is not done, community policing is talk in a vacuum.

The remaining lessons are lessons that police departments have discovered when they have tried to create community policing in a particular form, namely, when they tried to involve all general duties officers in it, making it part of the standard activities of all patrolling field personnel, when they tried to make community policing more than an add-on crime prevention specialty.

Lesson 2. Community policing must be managed

It cannot be just talked about and ordered; senior managers must develop plans for bringing community policing about. This involves more than standing up before audiences like this and saying how much the Commissioner is in favour of community policing. Managers must determine what is required in terms of supervision, incentives, training, supervision, and evaluation in order to make it real. Community policing cannot be done solely by preaching, which is what happens all too often. All of this requires a lot of activity on the part of senior managers. It means changing the standard processes by which business is normally accomplished; it means changing an institution. Management of community policing requires hands-on management. It is time-consuming.

Lesson 3. Community policing must be staffed

Forces must devote human resources to it, which means that designated people must be made responsible for doing it. There are two ways that human resources are given to community policing. One is through the establishment of a centralised crime prevention or community policing unit. The other way is to turn it over to front-line troops. There are, in turn, two ways of doing this. First, by creating specialised community police officers within general duties commands. Examples would be the C-POP program in New York City and the Edmonton and Ontario Provincial Police programs in Canada, where general duties officers in uniform are given turf and told to be community police officers. The second way is to tell existing patrol personnel to do what they have done all along but give them extra time during their tour of duty to do community policing kinds of things. This is the model that is being practiced in Montreal and Houston. The problem is that too many commanders look upon community police personnel as an under-utilised reservoir of talent. Every time they become hard pressed to meet some of their responsibilities, they reach down for the community policing officers, jerking them out of what they are doing and assigning them all over the map. The point is that community policing personnel and their time must be protected. If senior managers will not do this, community policing will be only words.

Lesson 4. Community policing will not occur if forces wait for additional resources

Yet operational commanders demand this before they can seriously consider implementing community policing. In none of the countries mentioned in this paper are new resources likely to be allocated to community policing. Consequently, the only way community policing is going to become a reality is if commanders learn to use existing resources to achieve new purposes. In other words, it is not a case of doing more with less, commanders must learn to do more with the same. And, again, it is up to senior managers to show the people who are responsible for policing in the field how they can do this.

New resources are not needed for community policing because a lot of time is being wasted in current dispositions and procedures. Traditional allocations of manpower in policing are not cost-effective. If personnel are taken away from those traditional deployments, the roof is not going to cave in. In the wise words of Patrick Murphy, a former Commissioner of Police in New York City, Senior officers can rest assured that nothing they do is going to make things worse'.

Lesson 5. Community policing works best when the people who are allocated to it are given responsibility for a particular area and told to be responsible for policing within those boundaries

In this way they develop a sense of ownership and of pride. Furthermore, they must be allowed to roster themselves to some extent according to the needs of their patches. This is difficult because scheduling is very rigid in most departments. I often see frustrated community police officers who have been sent out to areas and told to get to know the community, find problems, and solve them, but have been locked into fixed rotating shifts, or given only two days every two weeks on their ground, or allowed time-out from normal duties only when it fits the convenience of a sergeant. When police forces give community police officers responsibility for an area, they must also be given flexibility in the way they are allowed to serve them.

Lesson 6. Community police officers must also handle some calls for service, at least emergency ones that are near-at-hand

If they do not, community policing will be perceived, especially within police circles, as being exclusively 'soft' policing. By handling some readily accessible calls for service, they will be seen as doing 'real police work' and sharing the frontline burden of policing. This will also keep them involved with the reactive exigencies of the patrol personnel among whom they work.

Lesson 7. Community policing is a new set of means, not a new set of ends in policing

This has to be said because one of the sad things about community policing is that it is being proposed in a way that sometimes denigrates much of the traditional work of policing. Crimes have to be solved; emergency needs have to be responded to. In selling community policing, proponents often seem to imply that officers who have given twenty or thirty years of dedicated service have failed, that there is no future for them in policing. That is a mistaken impression. Community policing does not substitute a new set of objectives; the traditional objectives of safety and order are still important. Community policing is a new approach to accomplishing the same objectives. As one young community police officer in Canada said to me, 'You know, I love being a community policing officer, but I can never forget the fact that I think my primary responsibility is to be a pillar in the night'. He is right. Advocates of community policing must bring on board people who have been doing traditional police work, showing them that it is not a threat to what they have been trying to accomplish. It is a new set of procedures for making sure that traditional objectives are accomplished better.

Lesson 8. New criteria for evaluating the performance of police officers must be developed if they are assigned to community police work

Police personnel cannot be sent out to do something utterly new and then evaluated in the same old way. They are not stupid. They learn very quickly what they have to do to please the sergeant, the inspector, and the superintendent. If those expectations do not change, police behaviour will not change.

Lesson 9. Middle rank managers must facilitate community policing and not simply supervise it

Traditionally, middle rank managers in policing do not encourage new departures. Often quite the reverse. Community policing is bottom-up policing, which requires a new form of supervision. It is more than bean counting and checking off who is on the roster. It is making sure that the kinds of institutional supports and resources that the constables say are needed actually come to the constables and to the programs they have devised in cooperation with communities.

Lesson 10. Senior commanders need to discover what community policing is all about in operational terms

Although they talk about it all the time, their own experience does not equip them to understand what this new form of policing is about. What is needed is for community police officers—the constables at the bottom—to be brought into headquarters where the brass must listen to the constables explaining what their activities involve and how they spend their

time. Unless commanders understand this, they will not be able to provide the kind of support that community policing requires.

Lesson 11. Community police personnel must be brought together at regular intervals, to share trade-craft and for psychological support

Community police officers are the odd-men/women-out in police forces. They know they are not well regarded by the rest of the force. It is necessary for them to hold hands every now and then and realise that they are not quite as alone as they frequently think.

Conclusion

Something new, vital, and substantive is going on in policing in all our countries. The time is ripe for community policing for three reasons. First, most people in policing know that what has traditionally been done is not working. Go out for a beer with police officers who are doing the work and they will tell you how the system is failing, why they are frustrated, and how tired they get responding to problems without solutions. It does not really take much to convince them that something new is needed.

Second, the only way that new resources are going to be made available for policing is through the mobilisation of the human resources of the community. Financial resources in the current economic climate are not going to come to police. The only available new resources are represented by the immobile civilian populations of your jurisdictions. That is the only way you are going to augment your resources in the decade of the 1990s.

Third, community policing is the only strategy that begins to meet the major fear that is in the minds of police managers in all the English-speaking countries, namely, collective violence by disadvantaged groups in urban communities often stratified by race and ethnicity. That is a dominant worry in the United States, in Canada, in Australia, and in Britain. Community policing, appears to be the only strategy which allows police to reach into those communities and to do something ameliorative and helpful, to build bridges before the only response these people have to conditions of modern life is violence. The other strategies of community policing do not do that.

For all of these reasons, then, the future is with community policing. Let us get on with it. We do not really have a choice.

Community Policing: Implications for Queensland

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Internationally, the concept of police working with the community in the area of crime prevention has become part of an appealing but ambiguous reform agenda for police jurisdictions.

The term, community policing, as used by some commentators, is used to invoke a vision of a better yesterday: an appeal to a golden age in which communities were harmonious and cohesive and provided an unproblematic basis for policing by consent (Weatheritt 1988). The promise of community policing is that this ideal can be recreated in the future. The appeal tends to be seductive because it can be made to appear central to a broader political vision in which the supposed ills of modern society can be cured by a return to traditional standards of behaviour, where neighbours looked out for each other, where traditional sources of authority were respected.

Other writers in the field describe community policing in terms of what small town policing has been presumed to be about. Policing stable integrated communities, active police-citizen contacts, decentralised management, responsive police services, and community accountability would appear to make small town or rural policing an ideal model for community policing even though this traditional stereotype of small town policing may be outdated and inaccurate (Murphy 1988). It may be, as Braiden points out, that small town policing is 'so far behind urban policing, that it can now be seen as being ahead of its time' (Murphy 1988, p. 181).

The rhetoric has become as important as the reality of actual programs, and has generated a sizeable body of descriptive literature and general theorising. There has been, however, only limited attempts to link empirical findings to program effectiveness, allocation of police resources or focussing of policing strategies.

The Fitzgerald Report (1989) has recommended that community policing be adopted as a primary policing strategy in Queensland. While this superficially appears a positive and directed recommendation, it is in fact ethereal. Community policing is such an elusive concept that commentators variously regard it as anything from Neighbourhood Watch to a strategic rethink of the goals and objectives of policing, and its role in a modern society.

Clearly Mr Fitzgerald's recommendation needs definition and direction before his objectives can be realised. This paper will seek to provide a platform for such an analysis.

Community Policing—A Definition

Community policing can be described as a necessary partnership between the community and the police forged to ensure that the justice system continues to operate effectively in maintaining community standards of behaviour. Four basic elements (Bayley 1988) distinguish community policing from other forms of police and/or community endeavour:

- community based crime prevention;
- proactive servicing as opposed to emergency response;
- shifting of command responsibility to lower rank levels; and
- public participation in the planning and supervision of police operation.

Elements of Community Policing

Community Based Crime Prevention

Community based crime prevention involves encouraging and facilitating efforts by the public to take protective measures on their own behalf. It grows out of the realisation that the first line of defence against crime is not the police, but potential victims (Bayley 1989).

The basic philosophy of community crime prevention is that social interaction and citizen familiarity play an important role in preventing, detecting, and reporting criminal behaviour (Mukherjee 1987).

The term community policing implies a semantic restriction on community based crime prevention. It implies the formal involvement of police in any such programs. Indeed, the *Criminal Justice Act 1989* (Qld), in focussing on the role of the Research and Coordination Division of the Criminal Justice Commission, restricts the evaluative focus to that of reviewing on 'a continuing basis the effectiveness of programs and methods of the police department, in particular in relation to . . . community policing' (s. 2.45(2)(f)).

However, there are a multiplicity of community activities with an implicit or explicit crime prevention focus; for example, these may range from church-run youth groups, community service organisations such as Zonta, Lions, Rotary, special interest or advocacy groups, community centres, to Arts Councils focussing on graffiti and vandalism problems.

As well as the small or largely voluntary organisations, there are professional organisations, both private and public, which have responsibilities in crime prevention. Clearly the police are not involved in all community crime prevention programs, and nor should they be. However, knowledge of available services and initiatives in the community is a necessary component of community policing endeavours to avoid needless overlap and duplication.

Proactive Servicing

Bayley (1986) also describes this element as patrol deployment for non-emergency interaction with the public. Around the Western world patrol deployment is based on the patrol car. Research suggests that patrol and deployment strategies are demonstrably ineffective and inefficient (Mukherjee 1987; Moore, Trojanowicz & Kelling 1988; Kansas City Police Department 1977; Avery 1981; Skolnick & Bayley 1986; Gay 1977; Wilson 1975).

Non-emergency interaction contends that patrol operations should encourage a deeper involvement with the community, an involvement not instigated predominantly by emergency calls for service. This does not mean that the police arrogate social servicing functions carried out by other communities and organisations, but that they attend to non-criminal problems and are prepared to assist in constructing solutions, either with an organisational response or a referral service. This kind of reorientation of patrol, practised in the name of community policing, is being accomplished in a variety of ways.

The most dramatic change is the redeployment of patrol officers from motor vehicles into small, decentralised police posts (Skolnick & Bayley 1986, p. 162). Foot patrols are often used in conjunction with neighbourhood stations; labour-intensive home visits and surveys are activated. However, like the concept of community policing, there is no fixed pattern, no clear operational procedure. Non-emergency deployment must be balanced with the emergency response required by the public, and defined in cooperation with the involved communities.

Devolution of Command Responsibility

Effective policing is dependent upon as many members of the police service as possible considering themselves parts of local teams and so identifying themselves with their local areas. The regionalisation of the Queensland Police Service (QPOL) has commenced with Regional Commanders appointed with control over, and authority and responsibility for resources including money, staff and equipment.

The enhancement of decision-making responsibility and discretionary power extends to the rank and file officer. The adaptation of law to circumstance often indicated by community based policing places problematic demands on the officers on the ground. The job descriptions, training and consequent performance appraisals of more junior officers involved in community policing is a matter deserving of further attention.

Officers engaged in community policing endeavours often find themselves not regarded as engaging in real police work and are commensurately rewarded within their career structure.

As Weatheritt (1988, p. 162) observed:

... what is expected of them, although undoubtedly worthy and high-minded, remains in practical terms vague, ambiguous or vacuous. It is therefore not surprising that community policing activities have proved difficult to supervise, remain unrewarded, and are regarded as marginal to real police work.

Skolnick and Bayley (1988) refer to the need for a new breed of officer as well as a new command ethos:

In addition to their traditional duties, community police constables and patrol officers must be able to organise community groups, suggest solutions to neighbourhood problems, listen unflappably to critical comment, enlist the cooperation of people who are fearful or resentful, participate intelligently in command conferences, and speak with poise before public audiences.

Community policing transforms the responsibilities of all ranks: subordinate ranks become more self-directing, senior ranks are to encourage disciplined initiative while developing coherent plans responsive to local conditions. There is no formula to incorporate community policing into the traditional areas of police work, and it will remain a minor speciality of policing until it is determined how general duties officers can further its goals within the operational structure. The process is not short-term and involves full organisational commitment.

Public Participation in the Planning and Supervision of Police Operations

Many of the decisions which police have traditionally defined as operational, and therefore in their view, appropriate to be insulated from political control, entail fundamental judgments about moral values, the balancing of competing interests, and the allocation of finite resources (Grabosky 1989).

A key element of the community policing strategy is the notion that to accomplish safer, more orderly communities, police must acknowledge that they share that responsibility with the citizenry—that indeed without close cooperation these objectives can never be realised (Greene & Mastrofski 1988).

Mr Fitzgerald recommended the establishment of community crime committees consisting of members of the public, police officers, welfare and other community groups as an important step in the articulation of community needs on a consultative basis (Report of a Commission of Inquiry Pursuant to Orders in Council, Queensland 1989, p. 231).

However, as Skolnick and Bayley (1986, p. 231) point out, this notion of police-community reciprocity or co-production has the ring of a co-equal partnership between police and the public, but in practice its programs manifest a markedly asymmetrical relationship, with citizens doing what police think is best.

Morgan distinguishes three models (not mutually exclusive) of the role that consultative committees can play (Skolnick & Bayley 1988, p. 12).

One is the steward or auditing role requiring the area officer to publish a report that gives an account of policing in the area of police authority. Policy and practice are the sole responsibility of the police. Other than the provision of information for annual reports, the writer is unaware of examples of this type in Australia.

The directive model puts police policy in control of democratically elected authorities, for example, elected local committees. Morgan (1988, p. 12) lists as 'core problems of this approach' that local political groups may disagree with the law, ignore minority interests or rights, and be susceptible to corruption.

The partner model is much akin to community policing, and stresses the importance of police jointly engaging with citizens and other agencies in crime prevention and detection initiatives. Programs such as Neighbourhood Watch are examples of this type of approach, although the partnership almost always is uneven.

Murphy (1988, p. 184) observes that in Canada, there has been aggressive promotion of neighbourhood involvement in Block Watch programs and other crime prevention programs. However, these remain typically police managed community programs that seldom translate into broader public involvement in police and accountability issues.

An example closer to home is that of Neighbourhood Watch in Queensland. The objectives as distributed by QPOL clearly address issues related to personal and household security, the discouragement of theft, and the identification of property. However, the objectives as laid down by the Queensland Neighbourhood Watch Association Inc. (1990) are much broader and include such elements as:

- to encourage and assist in arranging and providing community support for victims of crime, emergencies and disasters;
- to stimulate neighbourliness, community spirit and quality of community life; and
- to encourage and promote active participation in observing, recording and reporting suspicious behaviour, and general community education in crime prevention and apprehension of culprits.

In summary, police and the public may have divergent requirements, different information bases and often times conflicting political motivation when considering the broad issue of policing.

As Cohen (1972) comments:

Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media, the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; . . . ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges, deteriorates or becomes more visible.

When discussing community policing, 'the community' has been widely taken to be an essential resource to be mobilised in order to reduce tension between police and public, and hopefully also to mobilise the public to participate in controlling crime (Clarke 1987, p. 385). However, local crime is not a continuously salient issue.

Concern about crime arises periodically in response to what appears to be a wave of crimes in the area. Action is demanded, and perhaps even taken. Eventually, the furore fades and more routine concerns, such as schools, traffic, zoning, and trash collection, return to the top of residents' agenda. Because of this, crime does not provide a very good basis for organising a neighbourhood, strengthening its sense of identity, and getting residents involved on a continuing basis (Garofalo & McLeod 1989).

It may be that Neighbourhood Watch and other crime prevention programs are most successful at attracting residents' participation in places where multipurpose citizen organisations (such as block clubs or neighbourhood associations) already exist. Such organisations can accommodate the ebb and flow of concern about crime because they keep a variety of other local problems on their members' agendas, even when crime is not a salient issue. In summary, fear of crime per se is not much motivation for long-term collective action (Taub, Taylor & Dunham 1984).

Some writers argue that part of the attractiveness of community solutions to crime and policing lies not in the effectiveness of such schemes in reducing the actual incidence of offences—as neighbourhood watch schemes are frequently argued to do, for example—but in the development through revived community institutions of a sense of control of crime and a sense of security. This is derived from an understanding that collective resources, formal and informal, are being directed at those kinds of conduct which are held to be most offensive (Clarke 1987, p. 387). The sense of fear that a community has to its crime rate (perceived or actual) diminishes as a result.

The idea then that there is a consenting and enthusiastic community waiting to be discovered, and that the police are best placed to discover it and to give practical expression to it raises complex implementational issues which require clarification by the police and the relevant communities. The implementation of community policing in Queensland requires well considered mechanisms to facilitate community feedback that are established in conjunction with community representatives.

Community Policing Summary

It is the public participation element in the planning and supervision of police operation that is used in this paper as the major distinction between community policing and other police programs with community involvement. This is not an issue of semantic fastidiousness. The shift in the authoritative power base of policing is the crucial element which introduces complexity and emotion into the community policing debate. The other three elements can conceivably be present in community crime prevention programs that are entirely directed by the police with little or no community involvement.

Such programs are not contentious, expect little of the community and gain police acceptance. Shift the power base and both the community and the police feel threatened: the community, by how much the abrogation of their own responsibilities has removed them from the skills required to deal with crime prevention and detection, and the police, by a perceived loss of power and status.

There is little consensus amongst commentators on the nature or scope of the relationship envisaged by community policing. The complex relationship between the police and community will continue to generate considerable confusion and conflict until the implied relationships are made explicit, and the mechanism for establishing these relationships are developed.

There are no prescriptions for implementation. The role of the police and the community in community based programs will to a great extent depend on the awareness of the need for crime prevention in the community, police ability to respond to that need, willingness on the part of the community to participate and the amenability of particular crime problems to preventive strategies (Murphy & Muir 1986).

While the empirical evidence in support of conventional policing is itself limited, the community policing model and its impact on community order, crime, and stability remains largely untested and empirically unexamined. Part of the problem in testing the community policing model is the lack of agreement on what constitutes its central propositions, assumptions and measurable objectives (Murphy 1988).

For example, QPOL, as a relative neophyte in the field of community policing, have interpreted their role in community policing as establishing a visible presence in the community, by such programs as Neighbourhood Watch, Adopt-a-Cop, and Blue Light Discos. Implicitly however, the dominant role is retained.

It is apparent that a clear formulation and interpretation of community involvement is absent. This has not been adequately addressed either within the Queensland Police Service, or challenged from outside. As a result, control over formulation and implementation of structures has remained within the Service.

Conclusion

The debate surrounding community policing has been characterised by an observed cycle of evolution in the literature, that is:

- enthusiastic grasping of the notion, or the rhetoric of the strategy;
- widespread implementation of pilot schemes;
- progressive and widespread implementation of Neighbourhood Watch;
- increasing realisation of the need for research and evaluation;
- questioning of the police role in community policing; and

- grappling with the more complex organisation, political and moral issues of the concept.

Is community policing, for example, a primary policing strategy rather than a separate adjunct to 'real' policing; to what extent is 'the community' involved; are the police best placed in the community to coordinate and organise community policing, or is the long-term measure of success of a community policing program one in which police revert to an essentially reactive role in the community again?

In this context of evolution, few of the community policing endeavours in Australia can realistically be labelled as failures. Initial programs become defunct and others arise to take their place amidst progressive organisational redefinition. Lessons are learnt and the translation of concept to reality becomes tighter. In a few years a new theory or strategy may take hold and sparks the imagination of police administrators and the spiral will continue.

However the concept of community involvement in policing activities is tenacious and has been discussed, argued and evaluated for nearly two decades. Differing on crucial dimensions, two albeit oversimplified phases can be observed. Each differ in their concept of community, in the degree to which they are concerned with the offender, or potential offender, as a focus of intervention, and finally they differ on the balance to be struck between public and private responsibility for crime prevention and enhancement of community life (Currie 1988).

Phase 1 which dominated much of the 1970s was most typified by Neighbourhood Watch. In this phase the community was cognitive, a matter of collective attitudes and styles of interpersonal behaviour. Such programs were in the business of changing attitudes, or altering the symbols of community, in the hope that improved interpersonal relations would follow (Currie 1988, p. 281).

However, programs based wholly on this approach simply do not work well, and sometimes do not work at all. Moreover, to the extent that they work at all they tend to work for communities with the least serious problems and the lowest risk (Mayhew, Elliott & Dowds 1989). They work badly in resource-poor communities where victimisation is more severe.

Understanding of offenders in this approach is that they are outsiders, strangers: they do not live next-door. There is no sense that these offenders against law and civility are members of the same community who may be amenable to forms of intervention other than surveillance or aggressive policing.

The Phase 2 approach looks at 'community' in much more structural terms and recognises that real communities thrive or fail to thrive, become healthy or pathological, mainly as a result of the strength or weakness of an interlocked set of longstanding institutions: work, family and kin, religious and communal associations, a vibrant local economy capable of generating stable livelihoods (Currie 1988, p. 283). When these institutions are weak or shattered, all the Neighbourhood Watches will not put the community back together. Conversely, when these institutions are strong, far fewer of the traditional Phase 1 type crime prevention efforts are required.

This focus on community crime prevention rather than community policing is one which is pivotal to this paper—that is, the balance to be struck between private and public responsibility for crime prevention. Police generally do not and probably should not lead in community based crime prevention measures, but on the other hand, crime-ridden communities expect an effective and visible police presence. The multi-agency approach to this problem, which implies a coordinated effort by both government and voluntary bodies, an avoidance of wasteful duplication and policy confusion conveys the sense of an unproblematically 'good thing' (Blagg et al. 1988).

However such inter-agency forums can become merely 'talking shops' intent on retaining their own power bases and ultimately failing to analyse and address the problems faced by local communities. Indeed the tendency to neglect power differentials between various agencies is a serious weakness in this approach. Voluntary and other state agencies may fear that the 'police view' will come to dominate to the exclusion of other interested parties.

Using the experience gained internationally and interstate, Queensland is well positioned to develop and implement a workable Phase 2 type strategy. Phase 1 programs have set the scene and established the need for, and willingness to participate in, community policing. Led by the Fitzgerald initiatives and driven by community involvement and police pragmatism, community policing is set to reform and reshape the application of law and provision of police servicing in Queensland communities.

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Issues for the Queensland Police

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Operations
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Service is an Important Word

During the last year police in this state have been part of a major change process and no change has been more important than the transition from a force to a service. The word force denoted strength and power. Police certainly do have to be strong—though not just physically so, and when you think about the powers police have under the law you have to agree that being a police officer puts one in a position of power. However, the word force also means violence and a body of armed people, a body of police: the force. The police do not want to be seen that way. Some say that the police were seen by the public as a force rather than a body of people who provide a service.

To provide a service is to work for the benefit of others, to assist. That is what our job is all about. However, the enforcement aspect cannot be ignored, the power under the law, the obligation, to arrest under certain circumstances.

In its 126-year history the Queensland service has responded to the demands of its customers, the general public. The level of response and the service provided has been determined by the circumstances existing at a particular time and location.

Previously Professor Bayley has acknowledged 'To see community policing being practised go west of the Great Dividing Range in Queensland', and that comment is accurate. Community policing is more likely to be practised in smaller and more remote communities where there is not a 'them and us' separation between the police and the community.

The service is restructured to better serve the people of Queensland—the police and the people need to appreciate that there is no magical short-term solution that will solve the problems of society. Without community involvement in policing all that will occur is that the police of this state will continue to react to the result of social problems.

There will always be crime and there will always be a need for enforcement. What the community needs to address is what steps are needed to reduce the opportunities for crime through proactive, preventive actions.

The philosophy of the Queensland police is expressed in the new motto, 'With honour we serve'. However providing a service can be difficult and providing it with honour makes it even more difficult.

The word 'honour' is included because it encompassed everything expected of a police officer—honesty, integrity, fairness and morality. This administration does not have

unrealistic expectations of our members. Honest conscientious police have nothing to fear from this administration or the Criminal Justice Commission. Procedures are in place to deal with those who are corrupt or are not prepared to carry their share of the policing burden, to the detriment of their peers.

We do need to look at what the community expects and needs from the police service, so that the role of police in the community can be determined. Each community will require some slightly different policing service. It is only by listening to the community that those requirements will be established.

Police will not solve the community's problems. The community, which includes the police and support groups can—but only if there is communication between all of the parties. Enforcement is the final admission that society has failed to establish realistic alternatives. It does not solve the problems of drunkenness or juvenile crime but only acts as a stopgap measure. In any police division the number of citizens that repeatedly require enforcement action from police is reasonably small. Those recidivists seldom attract the attention of any support unit that offers them assistance to overcome their problems. These are the persons to whom we are forced to divert the majority of our resources rather than towards the road toll, the professional criminals and those involved in organised crime.

Police are constantly responding to acts of drunkenness and alcohol related by-products of assaults and other violent crimes. Drunkenness is a community problem and needs to be the subject of community action.

Community Action

The solution to gaining community involvement is to communicate with the community in a positive manner. The police need to explain how they see the problem and participate with the community in problem solving. The art of communication is under used by most of us both externally and internally.

To better equip the service for the future, the executive of the Queensland Police Service is currently addressing issues such as:

- the police role;
- community expectations;
- internal perceptions;
- finance;
- human resources;
- marketing;
- technology;
- training;
- external and internal environment;
- changing societal attitudes;

- development of appropriate internal strategies;
- relevant performance improvement.

Each of the above issues must be managed effectively, not only in its own right but also within the corporate and societal spheres. The role of police in society is one of the major issues facing policing in Queensland today.

Community Policing

It is no accident that smaller rural towns have lower crime rates and more harmonious living conditions than metropolitan areas where interaction between public and police is less. The police officers in smaller towns have been practising community policing for years, with a resultant better quality of life for the whole community.

A new community policing program should be built on this model.

Analysis

What do country police officers do which makes their lives (and life in their communities) so different from that of their city counterparts?

- they are known to the people in their community;
- they mix with the community socially;
- they are involved in many community activities;
- they have the trust of the community;
- their role is a caring, consultative one—not confrontationist;
- they use their powers only when absolutely necessary;
- in times of crisis, the community rallies behind their police officers;
- they assist the community to solve community problems.

That is the country community policing model currently and successfully practised by many of our officers in rural areas. What can the police service do as a whole to introduce this ethos to the urban environment?

What must be Done?

The motor car, although a great boon to civilisation, has been partly to blame for police isolation. The motor car was seen as a means to enable police to respond swiftly to calls for assistance and to reach more far-flung parts of our 'beat'. Unfortunately, the side effect was isolation from the public, the very people police were meant to serve.

It has been said many times before and is worth saying again that the police are the public and the public are the police. Expressed another way, 'People are our business and

policing is the community's business'. Left to their own devices, the police will only be partly successful.

The police must develop new strategies aimed at crime prevention, rather than crime detection. Crime detection is really treating the effect, not the cause.

The community must be encouraged to accept the fact that crime and social misbehaviour are not just problems for the police—they are society's problems and the resources of the community, not just those of the police, should be used to solve the problem.

Perceptions and Realities

Ask any police officer what the community expects of him and he will possibly tell you that they expect a reduction in crime. Ask the community what they expect of this same officer and the answer may be completely different. Preliminary surveys suggest that we have not been delivering the 'products' our communities really want from us. There may be a lack of goal congruence. Police are acting on their perceptions of the community's wants. This must be addressed, so that those wants may be identified and service may be adjusted.

The variation from community to community must also be recognised.

What can the Community do?

The community needs to become involved in improving its quality of life. Community policing is not simply a group of programs run by the police which have the effect of giving one a warm glow. Community policing is an attitude, a philosophy and style of operation, not simply a manner of operation. This applies to the community as well as to its police officers.

The community must realise that the answer to all problems is not just calling on the police to arrest some wrong-doer. Police powers would only be used when all else has failed. The community must accept its responsibility to help itself.

The Future

The police service must market these philosophies to our own members and then to the community. The police service must become involved in the planning stages of urban development and re-development. This includes all types of development—transportation, commercial, residential and holiday. The impact of development on policing must be understood by the planners and a wholistic view of community life be developed from the earliest planning stages. 'Add-on' or 'patch-up' cures are rarely satisfactory.

Finally, a new spirit of team-building, cooperation and joint problem-solving must be developed between our communities and the police who serve them, for it will be only be this new spirit that the quality of life in communities will be improved.

Perhaps that is the challenge facing policing in the future.

Community Policing—an ACT Perspective

Bernard Collaery
Deputy Chief Minister & Attorney-General
Australian Capital Territory

Before outlining the community policing strategy and its operation within the Australian Capital Territory a brief background will be provided.

Many of you know that the ACT is the latest self-governing entity in Australia. It is a city state of approximately 300,000 inhabitants—two-thirds the population of Tasmania and four times that of the Northern Territory—with all the usual Departments of state and the full spectrum of law and order issues. As the seat of national government the ACT community is probably the most politically aware, homogeneous population in Australia. By way of example at the March 1989 Assembly elections the people elected three main groupings with practically the same number of seats: the Labour Party, the Liberal Party and the Residents Rally, of which I am the Leader, a community based urban green party. As is well known, some other independents including a few ostensibly opposed to self-government were sworn in. Three of these independents opposed to high cost local government joined the Liberal Party and the Residents Rally to take office. Ours is therefore a Liberal-Community Alliance—neither politically conservative nor doctrinaire left.

Thus the initiative taken prior to self-government for the creation of community based policing simply reflected a prevailing community viewpoint in our Canberra psyche. Canberra is different. We have created not only a new Australian political model but different administrative structures to complement this—one such example being the emphasis on community-driven policing.

Legislative Developments

Some of the legislative developments enabling self-government in the ACT will now be summarised. ACT self-government was provided for under a series of Commonwealth Acts, including the *Australian Capital Territory (Self-Government) Act 1988* (No. 106) and the *ACT Self-Government (Consequential Provisions) Act 1988* (No. 109). The first of these Acts focused on the machinery of government provisions of the Legislative Assembly and the Executive. The second Act focused on the transitional arrangements for the transfer of assets and services between the Commonwealth and the ACT. In Schedule

5 of the *ACT Self-Government (Consequential Provisions) Act*, section 8 of the *Australian Federal Police Act 1979* was amended to include subsections (1A) and (1B), which read:

The Minister and the Australian Capital Territory may enter into arrangements for the provision of the police services in relation to the Australian Capital Territory that are in respect of Territory functions as defined by section 3 of the *ACT Self-Government (Consequential Provisions) Act 1988*, and, where the arrangements have been entered into, the provision of those services shall be in accordance with the arrangements.

The Minister shall try to enter into the first such arrangements before 1 July 1990.

The initial expectation, and eventual result, was that the ACT police services would be provided on a cost-recovery basis by the Australian Federal Police (AFP). In late October-early November 1988, the late Assistant Commissioner Colin Winchester, then of the ACT Command of the AFP, led a study team to assess contract policing in Canada. Mr Winchester was accompanied by representatives of the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department, the Australian Federal Police Association (AFPA) and the ACT Government Law Office. Discussions took place with both police and government officials, in order to assess all aspects of contract policing, as it applied in Canada, and to a lesser extent in the United States of America.

Before 1 July 1990, the ACT Government assessed that it had really two options, from which to choose:

- seek to negotiate with another government for the provision of police services on a contract basis (realistically, this option was limited to using either the AFP or NSW Police); or
- set up an autonomous ACT Police Service. To minimise any hasty choices and aid in transition, the AFP would continue to provide ACT police services.

Furthermore, under section 59 of the *Australian Capital Territory (Self-Government) Act*, the ACT was not liable to bear any part of the cost of matters that continue to be Commonwealth responsibilities. Not altogether surprisingly, the Commonwealth Government, through two of its Ministers, clearly indicated a preference for the first of the two options and furthermore, that this contract policing would be performed by the AFP, on a similar basis to the Canadian model.

The Canadian Model

Consultation is the centrepiece of both the Canadian and ACT contract policing systems. As far as could be ascertained, the Canadian policing contracts appear to address all significant issues and, generally speaking, they seem to work quite well, through the prevailing spirit of cooperation and political goodwill, which in turn seems to be actively promoted by the respective parties. Nevertheless, there are some problematic features. One example, of considerable, practical significance, is defining—what is law enforcement? Currently, the definition of enforcement is imprecise, but there is a perception that it does not extend to some aspects of community policing (for example, police programs involving schools or crime prevention strategies). This can lead to frustration of local policies, when requests for initiatives of this kind are declined on the basis that resources are not available and furthermore, they are not in the purview of the contract in any event.

Despite any shortcomings, the Canadian provincial and municipal officials consulted seemed to feel comfortable about the level and standard of policing input provided by the contracted police services. Importantly, they indicated that it satisfied political and community needs.

The Australian Situation

From an Australian perspective, where there are eight police services (namely, the AFP, six state police and the Northern Territory Police Services)—and until the Commonwealth/ACT arrangement, no contract policing—the Canadian policing picture may look confusing and hard to grasp. Yet despite the multiplicity of municipal jurisdictions and the potential problems in relation to cross-boundary law enforcement activities, there is a high degree of cooperation amongst the various police forces in relation to the sharing of information and intelligence, as well as facilitation of investigations and other forms of police activity. There are also legal processes designed to deal effectively with cross-jurisdictional issues, such as extraditions.

The underlying principle of community policing is that local authorities should be responsible for policing of the areas under their jurisdiction. This is to be contrasted with the situation in Australia, where our monolithic police forces cover vast geographical areas and tend to be detached, as police forces, from the communities they serve. As in many areas of government in Australia, a focus on state and territory boundaries camouflages a huge diversity of cultural, economic and community concerns that cannot be adequately addressed from a jurisdictional headquarter. The ACT Government overseeing a smaller geographic area can address some of the problems created by the 'tyranny of distance', a considerable burden for our counterparts.

The ACT Position

Following a long lead time and careful investigation of the alternatives, the Minister for Justice and Consumer Affairs, Senator Michael Tate, and I signed an arrangement for the provision of police services in the ACT from 1 July 1990. This arrangement was the product of extensive negotiations between the ACT and the Commonwealth. It provides a sound basis for the ACT to work with the Commonwealth to ensure that the high standard of policing in the ACT is maintained, and that the police continue to be responsive to the needs and concerns of the community. In 1990-91, the cost for the provision of ACT policing services was approximately \$54 million and was budget neutral to the ACT Government, due to the Federal-ACT transitional financial arrangements. Subsequently, the arrangement provides for the Commonwealth Grants Commission to assess funding compensation, where the costs (such as salaries and conditions of employment) of policing services exceeds state levels and the excess is attributable to the Commonwealth.

Although the day-to-day operational responsibility for policing the ACT rests with the AFP Commissioner, the arrangement amongst other things does provide for the following:

- regular consultation between the ACT Minister and the Chief Police Officer of the ACT on priorities and resource allocations;
- the ACT Minister to request information and reports from the Chief Police Officer; and
- revenue derived from police services to be carried to the ACT.

The arrangement provides that the goals and objectives to be pursued by the AFP are:

- to provide police services to make the ACT a safe and peaceful place in which to work, live and visit; and
- to provide a high quality, responsive police service to the ACT community.

These police services include:

- protection of persons and property;
- crime prevention and detection;
- maintaining peace and good order;
- enforcement of ACT laws;
- development and maintenance of community participation in the provision of police services; and
- being responsive to community needs in the provision of police services.

AFP resources deployed to ACT policing include over 660 personnel, together with the necessary infrastructure to support those personnel. The assets to be transferred to the ACT include the four police stations at City, Woden, Belconnen and Tuggeranong, together with the City Shopfront adjacent to Garema Place and the Sutton Driver Training facility.

This arrangement provides the ACT with a sound basis for working with the Commonwealth, to ensure that the AFP meets its goals, objectives and priorities and is responsive to the needs of the ACT community. The Alliance Government opted for this type of arrangement, when it became clear that the alternative, namely the creation of an independent police force/service, was impractical and financially imprudent, pending the transition and the outcome of the Report of the Grants Commission Enquiry.

As Minister responsible for ACT policing policy, I welcome the AFP to their revised community policing role within the ACT. The stated objective of the AFP in the ACT is to continue to improve the quality and responsiveness of police services provided to the community. The strategies which the AFP is implementing to achieve this objective are:

- to reinforce the role of the patrol officer as the cornerstone of operational policy of the ACT Region;
- to establish a regionalised organisation framework which enables the decentralisation of police services to take them as close as possible to the community;
- to develop a major crime plan which will enable the Region to respond quickly and effectively to serious crime committed in the ACT;
- to improve management, administration and operational services to provide a sound basis of support to operational activities;
- to improve community liaison and develop effective consultative mechanisms with the ACT Government; and
- to improve driver attitude, and reduce death and injury on ACT roads.

The region is controlled by an Assistant Commissioner, who is supported by 25 Commissioned Officers, 663 other members and 48 staff members. More specialised support is provided by AFP headquarters (National) Units.

The AFP's commitment to community policing in the ACT is demonstrated by the formation of the specialist Community Policing Branch. This Branch is responsible for the provision of specific support to the Assistant Commissioner for the coordination, facilitation and oversight of the implementation of community based policing policy in the ACT.

This Branch comprises three sections: Crime Prevention; Public Relations; and Planning and Research. In addition, the Branch also coordinates all community based policing activities in the ACT, as well as representing the AFP on various committees, and support groups. Some of these are the: Domestic Violence Crisis Service, Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody; Vulnerability of the Aged; Healthy Cities Project; Children in Need of Care; and Neighbourhood Watch.

Coordination of community policing matters is achieved through interaction between these headquarters and district community policing personnel located at the various police stations. The Sergeants in Charge at these stations are responsible for a number of community policing programs, such as Neighbourhood Watch (which represents one of the widest coverages in Australia), Business Watch (being trialled at Woden); and Juvenile Aid. In addition following training, two AFP officers will be deployed at two ACT High Schools.

The AFP in its recent (May 1990) report entitled, *An Evaluation of the ACT Region* has demonstrated its commitment to reviewing past and improving present AFP services operating in the ACT. Both effectiveness and efficiency of program delivery is scrutinised showing the costs and benefits to the community in the provision of police services within the ACT. Still more recently a social and community research report entitled, *Community Policing Strategy Monitor, April-June 1990* was released in August. The report describes the initial results of a survey commissioned to assist the ACT Region of the Australian Federal Police to better understand community fears and concerns about crime. As a general statement, the AFP's community policing strategy is on target. The report examines the first three months of a two-year study being undertaken by consultants, Frank Small and Associates, for the ACT's Chief Police Officer, Assistant Commissioner Brian Bates.

The ACT community policing strategy aims to increase the feeling of safety and security in the community by giving priority to crime prevention and detection programs, as well as maintaining rapid operational response capabilities. It is also important to improve interaction between police and the ACT community. The results of the survey have highlighted that weaknesses do exist and these will be progressively addressed through a number of suggestions raised by the consultants and public alike. These included: directive patrolling, where police would walk the streets, introduce themselves to residents and invite comment on likely crime concerns; attending meetings and discussions with specific groups of people, who have very high fears or concerns about crime, for example the aged and/or women; putting more effective time and effort into the setting up and maintenance of Neighbourhood Watch schemes; police citizen consultative committees, such as already operate in New South Wales and New Zealand; undertaking foot patrols in particular neighbourhoods to 'show the flag', as it has been called in the context of the Queensland Service, or rather showing citizens police are concerned and available to assist; and enhancing 'customer service' approaches, such as 'shopfront' policing—static sites are in place at Civic, or Canberra City, as well as Belconnen and Tuggeranong. In addition, two mobile shopfronts are being trialled and used to target particular trouble spots within the suburbs of Canberra. As you can see we have not sought to 'reinvent the wheel', so to

speak, but have chosen to integrate successful programs operating elsewhere in Australia and overseas into the ACT community policing strategy, but in addition, we have developed some of our own initiatives.

For an example of such an innovation, the Alliance Government has enacted a somewhat controversial (section 35(2)) amendment to the *Police Offences Act 1930*. This gives police the authority to require persons to 'move on' when instructed to do so. My strong view as ACT Attorney-General and a former practitioner in the criminal jurisdiction is that modern policing requires an alternative to arrest in dealing with indecent language or similar charges relating to small-scale public disorder. In the past, it has been my experience that arrest has been the only recourse to 'break up' violent street confrontations. In order to monitor the use of this power, I receive regular briefings on its utilisation. In addition, the legislation includes a 'sunset' clause due to lapse in 1991. Critics have argued that this law impinges on civil liberties. I take the contrary view, and initial statistics support my view that there has been a decrease in charges. The evaluation data now establishes that police have a more flexible authority to defuse situations of potential public disorder. As an aside, it should be mentioned that these provisions do not extend to industrial disturbances.

Another such innovation is the establishment of the Domestic Violence Crisis Service (DVCS). The Service was established in April 1988 as a result of an Australian Law Reform Commission Report and is funded by the ACT Government. The DVCS has broken new ground in the ACT and, in fact within Australia, in the sense that no other organisation has been equipped to work with the AFP in direct response to criminal assault within the home. Backed by our innovative legislation (*Domestic Violence Act 1986*), the Service has been given the opportunity to provide realistic intervention to the survivors of an assault, and to lobby actively for the ongoing social change to those institutions within this society that condone domestic violence. The concept of community policing is being achieved in reality in the ACT in that a community agency is working (on the ground) directly with the police in the houses where criminal assault has occurred.

Before concluding, this paper will focus on an issue likely to impact on the AFP's provision of community police services in the ACT. This refers to one of the most significant, but largely unpublicised, decisions taken in the field of Australian law enforcement in recent years.

At the June 1990 meeting of the federal, states and territories Attorneys-General in Alice Springs, I was excluded from a closed door agreement, on the basis that the *ACT Self-Government Act* precluded the Territory Legislative Assembly from making laws with respect to corporations. I subsequently learned, as did the ACT Director of Public Prosecutions, Mr Mark Weinberg QC, certain details of this agreement reached between the Federal and State Attorneys.

Essentially, the way was paved for the Australian Securities Commission to assume control over every company in Australia from 1 January 1991 and to direct the process of investigation and law enforcement over Australian corporations. The Chairman of the Australian Securities Commission (ASC), Tony Hartnell, said on 24 September 1990 in New York:

As the National corporate regulator, at the present time, we (and our various delegates) have a huge resource tied up in this investigative/accounting/legal retrospective. I announced in Melbourne on 11 September last, the 16 major national priorities for investigation and, if appropriate, litigation. These include names very familiar to the international investment community, such as Bond Corporation and Quintex.

Indeed so large is this current effort and so large is the perception of litigation that may follow from it, that eminent Australian jurists are suggesting that the Australian court system will need to be substantially streamlined (some called it 'reformed') to deal with it.

Mr Hartnell went on to say

It involves probably for the first time in our history as a country, the creation of an agency which is single-mindedly designed to enforce the corporate laws, on a professional basis and as free from partisan political influences as it is possible to get within the Australian environment and still maintain political support for the all important budget processes.

Coincidentally, the Federal Attorney-General, Michael Duffy said in Hobart on 25 September 1990:

Perhaps the most significant increase in the ambit of Commonwealth offences will occur with the implementation of the new corporations regime. Previously this area of criminal activity (sic) has been the sole responsibility of the states . . . Under the current proposals, all offences created by the laws of the states and territories will in fact be treated as federal offences and largely the responsibility of the Australian Federal Police and the (Federal) Director of Public Prosecutions for enforcement action. This initiative presents a new challenge for federal law enforcers to detect and combat conduct, which is not only illegal, but which threatens Australia's integrity and credibility in the international corporate arena.

Clearly, this profound development requires closer public scrutiny. I accept that further debate should take place within a different forum, but you may well appreciate my considerable concern about the non-consultative manner in which this major new national activity appears to be evolving. Such a new role for the AFP may well 'syphon off' some of our most promising officers and promote the Australian Federal Police into an 'FBI-like' role—a role that some AFP proponents have sought for many years. How this would impact on the many dedicated AFP officers presently provide community policing in the ACT remains to be seen.

Conclusion

The major lesson learnt from the Canadian experience of contract policing, and already applied within the ACT is that consultation is the key to both contract and community policing. Consultation means between the contracting Government Minister and his support staff, the contracted police agency's Chief Police Officer and his senior staff, and the community, whom both of these groups serve. It must be stressed that the arrangement between the ACT and Commonwealth Governments for the AFP to provide policing services to the ACT is still in its infancy. Even so, the shift from the previous situation of traditional Commonwealth oversight to that now provided by the ACT Government and administration, brings ACT policing ever closer to the community it serves, surely one of the fundamentals of community policing in operation.

Pitfalls of the Introduction of Community Policing

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In the 1970s, John Avery, now Commissioner of Police in New South Wales, began a masters thesis at Macquarie University. It was later published in a book entitled *Police, Force or Service?*. During the course of those studies he found theoretical and empirical support for the view that he had developed during his own 25 to 30 years of practical policing experience—that police generally could not operate successfully without the consent and active support of the community they served. He later noted that at that time he decided that 'if he ever got his hands on the reins' he would try to make policing in the state more responsive to and representative of the people.

With the benefit of hindsight, looking at developments from a 1990 position of advantage, this paper attempts to highlight some of the ways and means used to bring New South Wales Police and community into a fledgling partnership. And, in the process, to highlight some pitfalls identified.

Perhaps the first point to establish is just what is this 'position of advantage'. During the late 1970s Jack McNeill, a larger than life character, came from a very distinguished career in the CIB to a senior post in police headquarters. McNeill had been a person who drew respect from the toughest crimes to the toughest cops. He was a man who worked hard and played hard, gave no quarter and asked none.

When he arrived in a headquarters arrangement, he was peculiarly off balance. It really was not his scene. The way things operated in that environment, the area of policy and politics, all was strangely foreign to him. The tough hands-on operational sphere which he had dominated was not able to help him particularly, in this area.

However, being the sort of person he was, he adapted to the new arena and began to challenge traditional thinking in a whole range of areas. He authorised some and frightened others. The author was allocated to offside him and spent the next couple of years having ideas challenged and changed, and gaining experience that could not be bought. The experience mainly centred on looking at things differently. There was strong encouragement to question, rather than simply accept the traditional view. Equally, there was a requirement not to discard anything without proper evaluation. Activities were mainly identification of operational issues which needed reform within the existing framework, and exposure to planning and implementation of the operational change.

A pitfall in this approach is that bringing about change, particularly structural change, without identifying and understanding the fundamental direction of the organisation, is in

many ways akin to shifting deck chairs on the Titanic. That is the ship goes full steam ahead, possibly even travelling more efficiently, because of the changes, without noticing that the external environment has changed—that is 'icebergs' have appeared—which call for a fundamentally different approach or direction.

Nonetheless, McNeill's creative approach to problems and his capacity and willingness to innovate, despite traditional limits being applied to him, proved to be instructive as well as a source of quite some inspiration.

Perhaps the greatest advantage to be gained from working with Jack McNeill was to identify that he had authority in the organisation well beyond his rank. He was a Chief Superintendent supporting the Metropolitan Superintendent, but his sphere of influence well exceeded that which normally attaches to a person of his rank and position. It seemed that his power and authority came not from what he had, but from what people generally thought he had. No doubt his great personal knowledge contributed to his status. It was also apparent that he had exerted the same sort of influence in his previous role in the CIB and as a District Superintendent. In summary, the power and authority came with the person, not the position.

Regrettably when McNeill retired in 1982, much of his wisdom and insight went with him, because we, as an organisation, had not learned to record the experiences of people of his ilk for the benefit of future generations. In fact, one of the pitfalls of the whole change process has been the continuing inability of our organisation to record ideas and practice effectively, such that others may learn from them. Police officers seem to record matters required by rule or instruction faithfully, but not the organisational influences and nuances which prove to be more significant and powerful.

By this time, John Avery had assumed responsibility for training and development, as one means of securing a purchase on the reform agenda. He had figured that meaningful change required a solid educational base and has applied that notion to the organisation, for the past decade. He also used it quite effectively as his means of pole vaulting himself into the senior executive of the organisation. However, Avery's rise was part of his drive to apply the precepts of community policing in New South Wales.

As part of his plan to get hold of the reins, he identified a range of junior officers who might provide support for his ideas and may have future leadership possibilities. It was through his mentorship that the author gained a second position of advantage in terms of perspective on the organisational development. Another important lesson learnt was that while one person has the clearest view of where an organisation is going, progress towards the new position can only be made through effective alliances and partnerships.

The Reform Agenda

Having covered an apparent right to proffer a view, it is appropriate to identify and briefly outline the nature and breadth of the vision of reform. Already identified is Avery's work, *Police, Force or Service?*, which provided the philosophical or conceptual framework upon which reform might proceed. The cornerstone of the vision was a need to have public confidence in the integrity of the organisation and its membership. It was considered paramount that there be a set of operating values which were more than simply a framed set of words adorning the walls of offices. The central platform of the vision was that there was an ethical component in everything we do. This subsequently became enshrined in the Statement of Values of the Service, which require integrity above all.

While critical to the maintenance of the vision, a set of values not supported by an array of other pillars was of little more value than the shifting of deck chairs referred to earlier. In this case, the other pillars of support were seen in the form of structures, strategies, skills,

systems, style and staff matters. The McKinsey seven-S framework, outlined in Peters and Waterman's (1984) *In Search of Excellence* became a very useful way of expressing the integrated relationship of each of these developments.

Subsequently, the administration identified more than one hundred issues and goals which needed to be dealt with or achieved in order to embark upon the road towards genuine community policing. Each of the matters to be progressed fell reasonably neatly into the established framework. The range and magnitude of the issues was wide and deep. It covered matters as diverse as massive structural change, the like of which had not been seen in the history of the organisation, undertaking extensive survey of police and citizens to establish any variation in outlook, and production of relatively simple manuals to guide activity and performance.

A difficult and complicated part of this process was the need to try to gauge which issue impacted on which other issue, as well as the extent of the impact. Experience has shown that it is much easier to make those sorts of judgments after the event. It is also obvious that there is no right way, because there are many moving parts and it is impossible to judge perfectly the effect of each movement. Another obvious feature is that the organisation cannot be stopped for the duration of change—the normal dynamics of the organisation make it both difficult and exciting to do anything other than hang on after precipitating a particular reform.

The Implementation Process

Once the vision had been given some, albeit sketchy form, it was a matter of research and planning. In this respect, the Avery administration followed a path of task forces to look at the multitude of issues. At one time there were some sixty odd multi-disciplined task forces from inside and outside the organisation operating on organisational issues.

Of course, the aim was to get as many of the people in the organisation as possible to think about, work on and be involved with the change, so it would be owned by many, rather than being the province of a few. However, not surprisingly, lots of people saw this as a waste of time, an indication of the organisation being out of control, as evidence of organisational issues being given preference over our real job of locking up crooks. Nonetheless, hundreds of people became involved in the development process and the organisation profited from that involvement.

A key part of stimulating interest in these task forces was Avery's invitation to Mark Moore, Guggenheim Distinguished Professor of Criminal Justice Policy and Management and head of the Executive Sessions on Policing at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, to come and work with the task forces. There is no doubt that having available a consultant of world standing is important in gaining acceptance of reform, in granting status to issues which require research, and in reassuring people that the changes are encouraged from many quarters, both in and outside the organisation.

Much of the work referred to so far: the establishment of a framework, research of issues, the development of plans, the involvement of people and the recruitment of people of status from academia, can be done by most organisations. These are the sorts of things that many text books will guide you through. The more difficult and absorbing part of a change towards community based policing is how to actually get it done. This involves many more opportunities for matters to fall between the cracks, to get lost or side-tracked, to be sabotaged by opponents.

Understanding the Organisation

To proceed without extensive understanding of your organisation and its culture is a trap. To proceed in the belief that because you have been part of an organisation for a long time you understand it, is also a trap. An appreciation of just what has happened to your organisation over its recent history and why it has happened, is imperative to actually beginning the reform process. The world is littered with organisations which have brought in reformers to them only to find that apart from some changes to the facade it continues to run much as it has always done.

It is important to know and understand the people who work in your organisation. The New South Wales Police Service has some 16,000 employees, who range in age from about fifteen to sixty-three. Some fought in the Second World War, while others were born after the Vietnam War. Some were born before the Great Depression, while some are products of the lucky country era. Police officers of today are generally not looking for a cradle to grave occupation. They are looking for life's experiences, just one of which will be as a police officer.

Perhaps one of the most difficult, and therefore challenging steps which needs to be taken in introducing community policing is to achieve organisational change without losing the established 'reservoir of expertise'. That is, not to throw the baby out with the bath water. The New South Wales experience would suggest that this aspect has not been well done. It is extraordinarily difficult to convince a detective, for instance, that his or her skills and knowledge are highly valued in the organisation, as the Criminal Investigation Branch is dismantled. There is a natural propensity to associate structure with skills. To many, the CIB symbolises quality criminal investigation.

And yet, the mere existence of large centralised branches like the Traffic Branch, Licensing Branch and Criminal Investigation Branch, prevents the creation of a decentralised responsive command structure which is required to deliver community policing. At the same time, you cannot provide a multi-disciplined community based policing service without people with exceptional skills in those specialisations being available at the community level. To achieve structural reform without signalling a devaluation of critical policing skills and knowledge, is a profound and complex challenge for police executives.

Communication is Crucial

The challenge of reform is compounded if communication channels in an organisation are not well understood. Communication within any organisation, let alone one of the complexity of the New South Wales Police, is always going to be a difficult and time-consuming task. Quite apparently, the view people take of their world is shaped by their experiences in it. Rigidly hierarchical and centralised organisations further complicate communication. The challenge is to get people involved, to get them to own and buy into much of what needs to be done. This is not easy because there are invariably risks to becoming involved. It is much safer to sit back and watch than to get involved.

One is also confronted with the notion of 'no one told me about this, that or the other'. It is an interesting observation that for people who are doggedly persistent in the pursuit of information which might lead to an arrest or conviction, police officers become somewhat lame when it comes to seeking out information about the development of their organisation or careers. In the latter case, there is the expectation that 'someone' should tell them, personally. Another interesting feature is that when desperate efforts are made to inform, there is the catchcry 'why was not I told before'? So succinct, clear and timely messages are to be cherished in a changing environment. There is much potential for misunderstanding, both by design and default.

Perhaps it was cynicism or maybe a solid insight into the psyche of police officers which caused John Avery to comment that one of the best ways to communicate with a police department was to write out a document, stamp 'secret' on it and leave beside a facsimile machine!

What, in fact, took place in New South Wales was the conduct of over 450 workshops for all levels of the organisation from top to bottom. That is now being continued with training days, as well as allied subjects and discussions being built into all the courses conducted at the Police Academy. Many explanatory publications have been rained on the organisation, along with a weekly 30 to 40-page internal publication. Yet, it is true that the concept of community based policing and the organisational direction is still not well understood.

As the noted sociologist, Hugh Mackay (1989) has observed, it is important to realise we all live in 'cages', the bars of which are the nature of our life's experience. The bars effectively are barriers to our hearing or understanding messages which are being sent. Much responsibility descends on the sender to ensure the message is being received as intended. As well, we all carry excess baggage and have unfinished business which limits out capacity to take on new things. Perhaps even more importantly, it is critical to understand that organisations have the same limitations. When the organisation is as large, as complex and as diverse as the New South Wales Police Service, it is more important that these issues be understood and applied.

The Importance of Leverage

Often the best preparation and will in the world is not enough to launch a reform package. There is insufficient purchase or leverage to enable the agenda to take hold and influence a future direction. It is usually very difficult to bring about the leverage from within an organisation. It most often requires external influence of some sort. Leverage for the Avery administration came through a decided focus on corruption within the organisation. There was a public perception that corruption had not been confronted for some years, despite having had a series of 'honest' commissioners. The subsequent leverage had been provided through the stimulation of the corruption issue by interest groups, journalists and politicians and subsequently by the general public expressing its increasing concern.

Equally, the Fitzgerald Commission (1989) in Queensland has provided great leverage opportunities for the introduction of reform in Queensland. The Blackburn Royal Commission (1990) and Tribunal hearing into the Brennan Affair (1991) in New South Wales will provide other opportunities. Police unions also can agitate or campaign on issues which bring about leverage for change in legislation or working conditions or retirement benefits and so on.

Of course, not everyone sees these occasions as heaven sent opportunities. There is often much pain associated with their advent. The public airing of dirty washing can have catastrophic implications for morale and operational performance. However, if post-trauma opportunities can be seized great potential exists for bringing about significant improvements in productivity, performance and organisational satisfaction. The principal difficulty to overcome in these circumstances is the propensity to become consumed in the associated problems rather than identifying the emerging opportunities. Again, partners can be a major source of stimulation in this regard, especially if they happen to be remote from the fallout of the problems.

The introduction of positional appointment for people wishing to advance to supervisory or management positions is an important factor in bringing about change. It effectively forces people to at least learn the words of the new style, so that they can repeat them at interview. If successful, the person is then required to act out the behaviour in the job, despite any claims that the person is not committed to the direction being taken. The interesting thing is that if that is true, more people observe the conforming behaviour than

know of the deception. Thus, content of job advertisements is a vital component in spreading the word of change. Even those people who do not apply for and win jobs still often read the advertisements and learn the new language.

Provide Ways Out for People

The advantage of this process in providing leverage for change is apparent. However, the downside is that while generally getting the right people into the right jobs at the right time, the introduction of appointment to position in place of a seniority based promotion system leaves many disaffected and disillusioned. One can easily imagine the confusion which would follow the conversion of a game of rugby league to Australian rules at half time. No doubt some would adapt their skills and quickly carry on with the game, while others would stop, disbelieving, as they watched someone continually knock-on and be admired for it.

Thus, it is imperative that avenues be found for all the people involved in the change to either quickly adapt or retire from the game with dignity. Viable retirement or disengagement options must be provided for those who do not want to make the conversion, as well as major education and training programs for those who either want to adapt to the new circumstances or who have no choice. Most people can operate successfully and with satisfaction if they know what they are expected to do, know the standards to which they are expected to perform, and receive feedback and recognition of their efforts. However, at a time of large scale change there is great capacity for some of these factors to be overlooked, or at least paid insufficient attention.

Diffusing the Heat

A further crucial factor in introducing community based policing is to avoid linking its success or failure to one person. This aspect is a fine judgment, because there is no doubt that such a change requires a champion, as all the best texts highlight. So, it is necessary to have a collection of champions to avoid the potential of the champion becoming a martyr to the cause. If a single person carries the issue, then his or her departure can effectively signal the end of the issue. This encourages opponents to target and isolate the person. The champion in this case can be organisationally assassinated, alienated or simply burnt up.

The heat and energy which someone in taking on a reform position attracts is potentially very destructive. Politicians use this tactic all the time. How many times have you seen or heard of a person being appointed to 'solve the drug problem' or similar impossible tasks. Time frames and expectations are quite unrealistic. These people are being set up to fail. Outcomes of this nature are well beyond the influence or province of any one person. However, when the problem is not 'solved', then there is a ready scapegoat. The trick is to share the heat and energy with at least a cadre of people, if not a sizeable chunk of the organisation.

Look for Partners

In the early days of reform, look for partners who can share the heat and energy. Learn to cherish those who join the cause early, regardless of competence. Those who come early are those of commitment. Others who join after reflection are also to be valued, but recognised as people whose commitment is not as strong, at least at the outset. Fundamentally, supporters of the cause are needed in just about every area of the organisation. Those who stand to gain from the change are obvious targets. But involving

people generally is the key. That is being given an opportunity to participate and to play a part is all that many people ask, and are often denied. The result can be either the empowering of many supporters or the alienation of many potential supporters who become cynical and rigid in their opposition.

The extensive use of task forces in New South Wales, referred to earlier, was seen as a means of involving a cross-section of the vast wealth of talent available in the organisation, as well as a way of sharing responsibility and ownership for the reforms. That is, a better more informed result can be achieved with a real sense of ownership and commitment, through maximising involvement of people.

Partnerships are also worth their weight in gold when the going gets tough. When unforeseen obstacles are encountered partners can be a source of support, suggestion, inspiration and defence which is invaluable. It is easy to get diverted or lose sight of the objective—partners can help to get thinking straight and bring targets back on line. Such partnerships require mutual confidence and candour. There may be as many partnerships as there are issues.

Timing

Timing is everything. It comes when preparation meets opportunity. The Kenny Rogers song which goes—'know when to hold 'em, know when to fold 'em, know when to walk away, know when to run' and 'never count your money while your sitting at the table' can be very instructive. These are fine judgments, requiring precision. Too fast, and people are overpowered. Too slow, and momentum is lost. There is also another element—consistent or constant pressure—do not let up. There is a great temptation to stop and rest, to reflect on achievements. There are many calls for consolidation in New South Wales, but the fact is that all the energy so far has been in getting into a position to carry out community policing, so rather than being a time for stopping and resting it is a time for a new surge of action and implementation. The tough structural reform is almost in place, but that is only the means to the end, it is not the end.

At the same time, it is equally important to take time out to have fun, to enjoy the experience, to maintain strength and to reflect a while. The key issue here is how long should be taken and at what point and when. Again, there is no right answer. These are matters of fine judgment, which will some times be spot on, while others will be way off. The crucial factors are recognition of the need and search for opportunities to give effect to it.

Watch the Meal Room Orator

A major pitfall is the great temptation to become absorbed in the negative aspects. The loudest voice will most often be the negative one, which must be heard and responded to, but not permitted to divert. The feeling is that Pareto's principle has application here—eighty per cent is achieved through twenty per cent of the total effort, while the final twenty per cent of the issue will drain eighty per cent of the energy. The remaining twenty per cent is more than likely dominated by negative aspects, which can easily cause direction to be lost through becoming preoccupied. Do not forget what you came to do. At the same time look

for opportunities to convert opponents to the cause—converts can be very powerful allies and can bring many people with them.

You Need Supporting Systems

The New South Wales experience would suggest that implementation of systems to support and provide evaluation of activities is more crucial than initially thought. It is easy to become absorbed in the planning and implementation phases and forget all about putting in place supporting systems and doing realistic and valid evaluations. There is sometimes an inherent assumption that something new implemented is naturally right and good. The absence of effective indicators of success at the beginning of an implementation process is a severe weakness in a reform strategy. Of course, identification of such indicators is rarely easy and therefore apt to be avoided. Such avoidance can prove costly in the long term.

The other element of the implementation phase is that of follow-up. It is very common in our Service for people to produce significant and valuable reports, which draw appropriate kudos and then gather dust for want of a follow-up system to ensure implementation. Is anyone ticking off recommendations from the Fitzgerald Report, or is there a real prospect of significant recommendations 'falling between the cracks' as time passes?

It is my view that the single most important aspect overlooked in New South Wales to date has been the implementation of systems to support the move to community policing. It may simply be a question of timing. However, there is a distinct absence of formal guidelines in place, so far, to guide people in areas of problem solving, analysis and interpretation, as well as sets of standard operating procedures, which might provide an effective means of recording good practice. Equally, although a lot of development work has gone into computerised systems, few if any are up and going in support of community policing.

Part of the reason for the absence of these systems is the evolutionary nature of the change and the wish by the administration to avoid prescriptive responses to every issue. The desire not to be caught up in the notion that you have to have the answer to meet every occasion is also a major determinant of this current situation. There is a very strong desire in the Avery administration to develop an environment where creativity and innovation are valued as highly, if not more highly, than any other attribute. As such, it may well be that new appropriate operating procedures and systems will come if the space is kept open for them to occupy.

Being able to keep a situation open to provide a chance for the answer to emerge is probably one of the most difficult things for leaders of reform to do. There is great pressure to provide a response, when it is distinctly possible that the response will be less adequate than what is needed; whereas capacity to remain silent in such situations may provide the person with the best response and an opportunity to come forward. Silence sometimes builds up great pressure in a room or in an organisation. That pressure can bring out better solutions.

Conclusion

Finally, the issue of leadership. It might seem peculiar that police officers, who exercise extensive power and authority on behalf of the community, should be quite so disempowered within their own organisation. However, in most cases when exercising the power granted by the public, police officers' authority is not questioned, but presumed and acknowledged. Whereas in the internal organisational circumstance relationships are far less

specific and deliberate. All sorts of nuances prevail, such that people tend to become paralysed by the internal workings of the organisation.

To give effect to community policing, leaders of police departments are required to provide the circumstances whereby it becomes apparent to their charges that any sense of disempowerment is purely a reflection of self-imposed restrictions. Leaders have to show their people that they can expand their boundaries, not by external influence, but by personal application and challenge to the status quo. The notion of bars on a cage referred to earlier has to be understood as something put in place largely by the individual as a result of exposure to the world and the bars can be bent or removed at will.

The capacity to provide people with authority within themselves, as opposed to authority granted by a community, in a highly structured, hierarchical, rule bound organisation is no small challenge. Yet, there are signs of just such an authorisation taking place in New South Wales. There have been incidents such as the Blackburn affair which, by their very nature, cause people to retreat into themselves. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the membership of the New South Wales Police Service is more empowered and has a greater sense of freedom in dealing with its many communities than has traditionally been the case.

The pitfalls to be confronted during the introduction of community policing into contemporary police departments are many. This paper has explored a few of the main pitfalls encountered in New South Wales during the period 1984 to 1990. The major traps have been shown to lie in the way reform is introduced, rather than in the content or the planning of the reform.

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Changing the Face of Policing

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The 1990 Conference of Commissioners of Police for Australasia and the South-West Pacific Region adopted as its theme the title 'The Future Face of Policing'.

This address aims to take that theme one step further. It is about actually effecting the change. Moving from the present to the future. The time to do that must surely be now. Confronted by a face of a different colour, that of steadily escalating crime and antisocial behaviour, now has to be the time to really start making it happen. I am reminded of the words attributed to Leo Tolstoy: 'Remember then: There is only one time that is important—Now! It is the most important time because it is the only time when we have any power.'

For people who have considered it important enough to assemble here in the Queensland capital to deliberate upon the police and the community in the 1990s, those words should be just right.

Changing the face of policing should be addressed from two perspectives:

- Firstly by viewing the face which the police present. That is their conduct. Their style. Their philosophy. Their ethics. Their attitudes. What they are.
- Secondly, by viewing the face of their performance. Their role. Their duties. Their practices. Their achievements. What they do.

Or these views could be expressed like this:

- The face which police adopt in terms of their identity.
- The face which they adopt in terms of service delivery.

Some Observations of the Police and the Community

Before any enterprise can sensibly determine its future course it must clearly understand where it has been and where it is now. A current impediment to contemporary policing effectiveness is the identity crisis faced by police themselves. The advent of community policing coupled with doubts about traditional methods have caused law and order practitioners confusion and, in many cases, disenchantment. Morale is being affected. Many police are sceptical, cynical and even unashamedly opposed to the new trends. Some

of these people are otherwise dedicated and dependable employees. Conversely, a smaller but important number of today's police at all levels are encouraged and enthusiastic about developments. It is this group of people which will determine the success or failure of policing in the 1990s. If they can withstand the strain of traditionalist resistance and over-conservative opposition which surfaces regularly at all rank levels, while at the same time increasing their own positive momentum, the future is bright and the status of policing will move to successful and exciting achievements and performance.

Another threat to the community and its police is presented by the major public sector management emphasis on economic factors. That is diminishing the quality of public and community services including the policing industry. The real strength and direction of an organisation rests with its people and their individual and collective self-esteem. In few, if any, other spheres of human endeavour is this so truly accurate as in the realm of democratic policing. Is there enough emphasis placed upon it? The primary structures and apparatus of administration and management are so often geared to budgeting, financial estimates, funding, accounting, cash flow process, auditing and the seemingly endless variations on the theme of financial affairs. Management areas are preoccupied with economics. Meanwhile the human dimensions and personal development and planning suffer. Is it any wonder people in organisations wind down? Why do managers and executives continue to ponder over increasing stress claims and stress-related attrition rates? Why is there such a financial impact from mental health deterioration? Is it surprising that apathy is so prevalent? Can we really puzzle over the reasons for which many professions seem to be becoming less respected? Little wonder police themselves lament that things are much tougher than they used to be. Is it surprising that police unions are pressing ever more strongly for greater and greater physical protection for their members whose personal mobility is already weighed down by a range of weaponry not entirely in keeping with a peacetime democratic urban street scene?

While the systems of Australian society and the heavy bureaucracy of those systems must bear a large proportion of the blame for this stagnation in perhaps the most inherently fortunate and richly blessed nation on Earth, the individuals who make up that society and system have some accountability too. Police departments and police individuals are no exception although their level of responsibility for all this is probably not as great as some others. It is time for a brighter, more dynamic police face. And there is no reason why it cannot smile frequently!

In his brilliant BBC Dimpleby Lecture back in 1973, the then Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police, Sir Robert Mark, spoke to his chosen title of 'Minority Verdict' about the need for law, order, crime and investigation to be the concern of all—not merely one section of society alone be it lawyers or police. He pressed home the crucial point that society simply cannot ask people to do one of the more difficult and dangerous jobs of our time and expect them not to reason why. In their commendable commitment to community compliance, police in the Western world have generally held back from bringing their considerable knowledge and understanding of the law and its practical applications to bear upon their steadily declining social environment.

A question frequently on the lips of Australians in recent times is 'Can the police be trusted?' Stimulated with some apparent relish by the mass media, police corruption became a dominant theme during the closing years of the 1980s. Police suffered the smear of broad and often vague generalisations about their alleged dishonesty and corrupt behaviour. In cases where specific admissions or proven evidence were forthcoming these expressions of concern have been entirely justified. At the same time the panorama effect of course has been that all the honest and trustworthy police officers across the country have witnessed, in varying degrees, collective setbacks in their vocational standing.

Among all this we have witnessed the emergence of independent police complaints tribunals and authorities, ombudsmen, special investigative bodies, royal commissions and a

general proliferation of inquisitorial agencies probing at suspected police misbehaviour. This issue will be returned to later.

To help society to pull out of its spiralling decline and for police officers to preserve and enhance their special role within the community framework, both police management and police individuals must establish a more honest and trusted identity, together with a more relevant, more dependable, more effective and more meaningful style.

Equal Opportunity, Consensus Management and Leadership

Without being over-critical of the contemporary emphasis upon equal opportunity and consensus management, an undoubted casualty of their high priority has been leadership. Leaders emerge from among people who are high on initiative and personal drive; people who are motivated, creative, idealistic. Preoccupation with occupational and managerial consensus has blunted Australian individualism and moved society to a greater level of mediocrity than in the past. The scarcity of quality leaders in Australian lifestyle can be attributed to this factor. Consensus management sounds very good. From a managerially aesthetic point of view it is admirable, but it does not encourage individualism or strength of purpose nor, in turn, does it really facilitate strong improvement. It is a leveller. Across the span of history, the great advances in the quality of life and the behaviour of human beings have resulted from inspired individualism. Great leaders in political, humanitarian, religious, industrial, medical and social reforming spheres have left their marks. Admittedly the impact of leadership has not been the solitary domain of the righteous or the benevolent. In this century alone the shadows of Stalin and Hitler, as two outstanding examples, fall all too ominously across our civilisation to forget or overlook. But the enormous value of good leadership is incontestable and it is not doing well in the late twentieth century.

Self-Analysis

To have any chance of improving our national and collective performance people in positions of power, authority and influence must be self-analytical and purposeful enough to acknowledge shortcomings, deficiencies and mistakes. Incidentally, this raises another common flaw in old-style thinking. 'You never admit a mistake'. Regrettably that can soon become 'You never make a mistake'. When people and organisations convince themselves of such infallible perfection they precipitate huge problems. Such phenomena have not been unknown in Australian policing circles to date.

Common Community Perceptions

To return to the wider scene, consider two of our national popularisms—proudly enshrined in the Australian culture. One is 'dobbing'—the sarcastic term often given to civic responsibility for reporting illegal behaviour or identifying persons guilty of breaking the social rules. This does nothing for crime prevention or detection.

The other is the too common view of loyalty which dictates that quality must cover for almost any event or action, even if such amounts to misconduct or criminal behaviour. Police must assert that loyalty does not include dishonesty. If you are dishonest to supposedly be loyal then you fail dismally. That is not loyalty. That is complicity. People can only expect complete loyalty to themselves or to their organisations where and when they are themselves honest and of absolute integrity.

The Identity Face

There is one course to pursue which holds perhaps more potential than any other. Police should aim to establish a conduct elitism which sets its practitioners in a unique class within society. That is a fit, proper and achievable objective for Australian police. That is to say, the police become truly 'professional' in the more generally accepted sense of that term. Equal to those other specialist disciplines whose members prize and jealously guard the title 'profession'. There is nothing wrong with being elite in this sense. It need not be divisive. Properly developed there is no risk of exclusivity nor danger of separating police from the community they serve. The popular fall-back arguments that 'police are only human' or that they 'only reflect the society they serve' are a menace to the success of police professionalism.

The time has come for police to be a bit more than 'only human'. The police vocation is rendered unique by its authority and responsibility. Its members may therefore be expected to operate on unique standards. Right from the recruiting stage this philosophy should be promoted.

Another popular escape clause resorted to by many has been to argue that policies such as this are unattainable and should therefore not be applied. Unquestionably, complete and universal personal probity is an impossibility, but that is a weak reason for surrender. Police will never completely eliminate thieving. Nor, for that matter, will any human society. That being so, should the offence of larceny not be taken off the statutes? The rationale is much the same and the final results equally absurd.

Elitism has great potential for the benefit of police individually and corporately, as well as for the public at large. It is highly appropriate for policing and there is no time like the present to get started. As just one example by which to take the argument a little further, consider the 1987 declared philosophy of Qantas Airlines which was:

We are being quite high-minded about our future. We want to be the best. We are coming out very strongly about being superior. Being excellent. Being truly exceptional (Brown 1987).

The fifth of six objectives stipulated in the current Qantas Corporate Mission Statement spells out that:

Qantas will be seen as the symbol of the best Australian business—a market leader—profitable, efficient, competitive, innovative and technologically superior (Qantas Airways Limited, Passenger Services Department).

If such lofty ideals are appropriate for Australia's multi-million dollar international airline which employs something like 14,000 people, more than in the country's largest police force, then are not similar ideals thoroughly realistic for the nation's police?

We must not allow ourselves to submit to the almost certain retort that all this is unrealistic, naive, unchangeable or unattainable. What would most, if not every keen observer of international affairs have replied to any fool who, five years ago, even two years ago, had predicted that the Berlin Wall would be down and gone before 1990 began? In 1985 many so-called 'expert' critics and observers said as Mikhail Gorbachev was rising to Soviet heights, that he was tackling the impossible. He would not last more than a year or two. His problems at home were too great. He could not survive. What has happened?

Despite all his knockers, despite all the sceptics, despite the sarcasm and condemnation of all the know-alls, what has happened? He has changed the face, not of a small societal component like Australian policing, but the very face of world affairs—of international stability, of Soviet-American relationships, of East and West. So much for unattainability! So much for the defeatists of this world!

For any Australian police force seeking, like Qantas, to enjoy the distinction of being the market leader in its particular profession here is a golden opportunity. The matter is no longer 'pie in the sky' stuff, but a decisive and highly relevant issue. The police industry needs a fresh identity—a spotlessly clean one. A lot has been said in recent times about the euphemistically entitled 'sharp practices' allegedly used by police. Such deliberations have helped precipitate calls for higher ethical standards in policing behaviour, attitudes and methods. Codes of ethics, derisively written off as motherhood statements a few short years ago, have suddenly come of age. But words alone are not enough.

As an aside, but before leaving this particular issue, we would do well to remind ourselves of how disturbing it is that because of the inadequacies of our legal systems people have felt the need to even contemplate that police might resort to such desperate measures to shore up an increasingly lawless society.

Returning to the current theme however, police must also be open to public scrutiny in so far as their private behaviour and personal assets are concerned. Their high public profile demands a proportionate accountability. Thomas Jefferson put it this way:

When a man assumes a public trust, he should consider himself as public property
(Fox 1974).

Consider this pertinent 1975 observation by the then Professor of Comparative Police Science at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, The City University of New York:

In my study of the history of police organisations I have always been impressed by the importance of the ultimate leadership. In the present situation in London, Sir Robert Mark's personal contribution has been the dominant factor. The great need, as one senior officer remarked to me not long ago, is 'to make virtue fashionable'. The objective and purposeful way in which the leaders of the Metropolitan Police have set about their task is impressive. Its inspiration has come from their Commissioner's vision, his wise analysis of the police function and his exceptionally fine capacity to communicate (Stead 1975).

In 1987 I presented a suggested policy submission at the Eighth Senior Executive Police Officers' Course at the Australian Police Staff College on the topic of accepting perquisites and privileges. I was urging, among other things, that police should refrain from such practices, except in publicly stated and endorsed circumstances or where such perks or privileges were freely available to all other citizens on exactly the same basis and without qualification. The perennial 'half-price hamburger' and the 'free lunch' of course, received their usual mentions. Admittedly these are very contentious issues to grapple with but I am convinced we should do so. I have subsequently been greatly heartened to read an article by the Australian Federal Police Commissioner, Mr McAulay, headed 'The Impact of Management Practices on Corruption' and which included these comments:

After considerable soul searching, I have concluded that we managers have failed to combat the cancerous spread of corruption by ignoring three important areas within our span of control (McAulay 1989).

Mr McAulay proceeded with his first two points and then continued:

And thirdly, ignoring the special responsibilities which law enforcement officers have, we have allowed ourselves to be seduced into accepting that our members have the same rights and privileges as do ordinary private citizens as opposed to the bearers of public office (McAulay 1989).

I trust the point is made!

Another approach is to establish units within police departments which operate specifically for the active development and promotion of policing excellence and professional behaviour.

During the 1980s police affairs were plagued with allegations and suspicions of corruption, improper practices, misconduct, unprofessional behaviour, inadequate standards, lack of proper resolve, insufficient education and possibly defective training. Across the nation, in their efforts to cope with these growing concerns, governments and police set up a multiplicity of reactive instruments. Measured by numbers of complaints against police and public criticisms, these do not yet seem to have produced convincing evidence of enduring success. It appears that what is happening is a staff devouring build-up of more of the same. What is now needed is a fresh start, a different emphasis, a new direction.

Consider the most obvious examples of this abundance of reactionary mechanism. We are resplendent with Police Ombudsmen, Internal Investigation branches, Police Complaints Authorities, Internal Security units, Policy Audit sections, and Anti-Corruption branches. Take careful note that each of these outfits is effectively set up on a reactive premise. Catch and punish or discipline the offender after the crime or misbehaviour has occurred. Pick the pieces up from the floor after the china has been broken.

Perhaps the only arguable exception is the policy audit type operation. Although in my own state, and I would think in others as well, such a unit was designed with the best of intentions to be positive and constructive—it was even perceived as being predominantly reactive, in practice it was not regarded by police personnel at large to be constructive. It was seen as being inquisitorial and dictatorial which generated negative feelings and reactions all of which militate against high morale, self-generated honesty and top quality work performance.

The South Australian Anti-Corruption Branch, established in fairly recent times, comprises an audit section and an investigation section. Again, take careful note how each of these three titles is cast. They are in the negative. 'Anti', 'Audit', 'Investigation'. These comments are not a criticism of the South Australian Anti-Corruption Branch. On the contrary, its members are known to be excellent operators and there is every reason to believe the branch is serving an effective and very useful purpose. Furthermore, like Commissioner McAulay (1988), I do not for a moment, play down the crucial need for such groups, but there is an absence of positive, constructive, encouraging, supportive, or motivational titles. What is even more unfortunate is that, so far as I am aware, in no Australian police outfit (although I note the existence of an Assistant Commissioner for Professional Responsibility in New South Wales) is there a branch or unit in which corruption and misconduct prevention objectives operate exclusively on a proactive premise—one where the full and complete focus is given to the more productive approach of positive direction and encouragement.

Traditional policing has been almost totally reactive. Only in recent times have police administrators begun to act upon the fact that proactive policing is essential. Positive crime

prevention is enthusiastically received at community level and is beginning to gain acceptance as a really effective system—far more so than the old 'kick the doors down and lock 'em up' mentality. This is not to suggest there is not an important place for the reactionary, investigative function, but it can no longer be the only pursuit. Precisely the same philosophy must apply to police behaviour, standards and practices. Internal security and complaints units must continue to function and do so relentlessly, but I urge that they now be complemented, as a matter of urgency, by encouragement, directional units which come in from the front door before ineptitude, misconduct, unprofessional behaviour, criminal activity or systematic corruption can gain footholds via the back doors.

The philosophy is simple. It is the old, infallible medical formula—prevention is better than cure! Have a police unit which moves everywhere throughout the organisation, generating confidence, goodwill, high ideals, healthy attitudes, good practices, self-esteem. It does not 'report back', audit, investigate, examine, check up, probe, inquire. It is the organisational 'flying squad' for good practice, professional conduct, policing excellence. Instead of limiting our operations to trying to catch the evil-doer or the inadequate performer, let the honest, committed police personnel see there is a unit working for them and with them. Encourage these people. Support them. Back them to the hilt. Promote decent behaviour. Promote excellent police practices. Make honesty fashionable. Let good police see and know that integrity, ethical and dignified conduct are satisfying and rewarding. Let them see that their so-called 'hierarchies' are fully committed to making happen what is professed in codes of ethics and statements of values. Have a unit which specialises exclusively in directing and helping police to wholeheartedly adopt such utterances and put them into practice. The productivity and the rewards of such a course will outstrip those of units which operate solely in the reactionary mode.

To give it the required status and impact, such an outfit, which could be given a title such as 'Professional Development Services', should be headed by a Chief Superintendent or above and staffed by commissioned officers and senior NCOs. They should be hand-picked with great care. Essential qualifications would include personal integrity, vision, demonstrated commitment to policing excellence, very high enthusiasm for police objectives and values, and ability to enthuse and motivate others. They should preferably be drawn from high profile, high police status areas such as major crime, drug squad and front-line operations command areas, but well skilled and qualified people will obviously be available elsewhere.

The Service Delivery Face

The responsibility for public safety is borne more heavily by police than any other part of the judicial system.

In the final analysis the safety of people in our society lies in the keeping of the man or woman who occupies the lonely office of constable. The most modern and sophisticated equipment coupled with the most advanced technology cannot be a guarantee against the antisocial person nor the forces of evil. That rests solely with the personality of the police.

Existing responses to policing and crime problems are not working very well. Traditional systems, tactics and approaches are not having the desired effect on crime control. Therefore we must experiment with alternatives, with new ideas. We must be imaginative, innovative, entrepreneurial, even adventurous—a characteristic which does not

rest easily with public servants and government agencies. We need some fresh approaches if we are to cope with new challenges.

By way of support for this particular contention let me quote from an American criminal justice newsletter. It concerns new recidivism studies by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, a San Francisco-based criminal justice research organisation.

In a world where predatory violence and exploitation by other inmates is prevalent, young people are taught by necessity to become more aggressive and manipulative, which is the opposite of what we would like them to learn.

States relying on institutions alone to handle violent and non-violent offenders are costing their citizens more money, and returning to society a youth who is virtually unchanged (*Criminal Justice Newsletter* (USA) Vol. 21, No. 1, January 2 1990).

These findings suggest to me that all justice agencies, and particularly the police, need to do some radical thinking.

Another militating factor today is the undue emphasis on clinical skills—to the detriment of people skills. The continuing technological explosion consumes virtually all our financial and much of our human resources, leaving precious little for human skills development and human relationships.

Yet another factor is the question of police numbers. Government resources pits are not bottomless. The answer is not simply more police—although if additional police were used in innovative, creative, therapeutic, and non-traditional ways that would certainly go a long way to reaching the answer. A superior answer is to do better with what we have got. Take just one striking example.

In a 1988 address to a national seminar held by the Australian Institute of Criminology on Police Resources and Effectiveness, Australian Federal Police Commissioner, Mr Peter McAulay referred to the police complaints system. Talking specifically about the huge use of valuable police people in the complaints investigation process he explained that he was not criticising the present system.

I believe police have to be accountable and that we have to have the proper mechanism for investigating complaints. But the fact is now that if someone walks into the front office of a police station anywhere in this country to buy a gun licence for instance and decides that the police officer dealing with him was rude, he will make a complaint. I can guarantee that the complaint will be investigated by someone with at least the rank of commissioned officer—Inspector, Chief Inspector or above. If that same man gets home and finds that his house has been broken into and his wife murdered, he might get a Detective Sergeant. That is where a lot of police expenditure is going (McAulay 1988).

If time and space permitted numerous other examples could be given of ways and means by which we are not using police resources to their full advantage.

So it is abundantly clear that what must be done is to redefine for the 1990s what policing is, and what trained, experienced and skilled police people should be doing. From that exercise, we can significantly enhance the value, quality and effect of the crucial service the police provide.

Methods of policing are being widely discussed and reviewed in both police circles and elsewhere. It has been said that despite improved efficiency in reactive policing strategies, corresponding increases in effectiveness have not been achieved. It has been speculated that reactive policing has not been effective as it deals with the symptoms rather than the

causes of the crime. Other views suggest the challenge for the future is to devise policing strategies which focus effort and energy on the underlying problems which cause or contribute to repeat incidents of crime. These strategies must be more innovative and flexible than in the past and must go beyond traditional criminal justice responses in an attempt to find solutions. Police at all levels must accept a role as key problem solvers in the community. In terms of really meaningful community policing we could do worse than to adopt that as our benchmark philosophy and outlook.

Powers, staffing and equipment are enjoying unprecedented public exposure. Together with their supporters, police are appealing for more with which to meet the growing service demands being thrust upon them. We are heavily demand led. We are a growth industry. Rapid and widely diverse growth. So the call is for greater investment and faith from governments to police. From their point of view, governments are urging police to 'get onto the front foot' more often and to meet the demand challenges in that fashion. Here we have the classic philosophical dichotomy of police and politics. The police want more resources. The politicians want police to work smarter. It is this writer's view that both parties need to contribute more. More meaningful acts of faith by government on the one hand, better 'front foot' work by police on the other.

Conclusion

To conclude, I return to the all-important question of leadership. Australian society is in a drifting mode. Exacerbated by both international and national economic uncertainty, high unemployment, widespread disillusionment, rural depression—in South Australia described as worse than the 1930s, financial crises—in Victoria the debt stated to be of the almost incomprehensible magnitude of 32 billion dollars, increasing lawlessness, fear and anxiety among the elderly, alarming levels of despair in lower socioeconomic groups, bored and bewildered young people; the time is ripe and the scene is set for strong and effective leadership.

When, as is certain, it is argued that such primary leadership is not exactly the responsibility of the police profession I would, with some qualifications, have to agree. Proponents of such an argument must surely, however, also agree that our community needs improved direction and purpose. But who is giving it? Who is going to give it? Young people generally and offenders in particular, whether it is acknowledged or not, are searching for directions and parameters for living in a difficult society. Police, by their training, exposure and experience of life at the delightfully colloquial 'coal face' are nicely positioned and qualified to assume such a role. They need not be coy or reticent about doing so. The very nature of their work is guidance, control, influencing behaviour, directing action. Police are strategically placed and well qualified to lead their community with strong, confident, purposeful example. This should be the new face they present by way of service delivery. Let it begin quickly. Away with non-productive duties, and there are not a few, and in with the community service components. Coupled with a new identity 'face' this could make the 1990s a spectacular and rewarding era.

If we can get it right there is every reason to be confident about policing and optimistic for the community in the nineties. And for those who are seriously worried about this final decade, reflect for a moment upon some of the others.

Changing the face of policing is inextricably linked with leadership. It is also about making things happen—not merely espousing them in conference, conversation or the written word.

I close with words from amidst the monumental dramas of the 1930s by Winston Churchill, whom history will surely record as among the greatest leader of the twentieth century:

It is time we passed from shadow into substance from theory into practice, from rhetoric into reality (Manchester 1988).

It is an identical time for Australian policing. Dare we hope this conference could be a real passing point?

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Community Policing^{3/4} Questioning some basic Assumptions

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Community policing is the principal operational strategy for many police organisations throughout the world. However, Community Based Policing, Community Oriented Policing or simply Community Policing is a value laden idea. Consequently, the way an organisation understands the history of police/community relations and the notions of 'community' and 'community policing' will largely dictate outcomes in terms of its implementation. The thesis of this paper is that our understanding of these issues at both the theoretical and operational levels contains certain assumptions which, when unpacked, provide a greater understanding of the processes involved in implementing community policing models in Australia.

Amongst those assumptions are, the historical context of policing in Australia and its effect on police/community relations; the problematic notion of 'community' and its implications for the implementation of some form of community consultation; the way in which 'community policing' is understood the nature of community involvement will dictate the organisation of community consultation and the predominant role of the community in police/community relations.

The Historical Context of Policing in Australia

The seventh of Sir Robert Peel's nine Principles of Policing is a worthwhile starting point for discussion. It is:

To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen, in the interest of community welfare and existence (Community Based Policing Paper No. 6).

Implicit in this statement is the notion that there is some congruence between the understanding of the police as to the duties incumbent on every citizen and the citizens' understanding of those duties. Historically, this does not seem to be the case. At the inception of the colony, the views of the military and those of the convicts were antithetical. In the nineteenth century a number of influences, not the least of which was that of the militaristic policing style of the Royal Irish Constabulary, maintained a certain antipathy

between police and the public. The extent of this antipathy can be seen in the following quotation from Russell Ward:

It may be doubted whether the police force of any English speaking country, except Ireland, has ever been more thoroughly unpopular than were those of most Australian colonies in the last century (Ward cited in Chappell & Wilson 1969, p. 28).

Whether or not the unpopularity carried over into the twentieth century is not as critical to the argument as the effect that it had in insulating the police from the community. Placing the police forces of the states under state-wide control further added to the police alienation from the communities. Police were moved in and out of areas at the will of the department and were frequently sent to areas in which they had little interest. If this was not sufficient to alienate them, the fact that they knew that they would ultimately be transferred certainly ensured they did not establish themselves as part of the community. The effect has been that police have tended to develop an 'us and them' mentality. 'It . . . [the 'us' and 'them' mentality] . . . is,' says Commissioner John Avery, 'an unintentional institutional device which contributes to a dichotomy between the police and the public.' (Avery 1981 p. 60).

If one adds to this the alienating effect introduced into policing with the advent of motorised patrols and radios, contact between police and the people has been reduced to emergency situations and limited often to distressed victims and witnesses. These circumstances are not conducive to the introduction of community policing. In fact, they militate against it because the perception of police officers is that the job consists of reacting to reported incidents in a community which is something apart from them.

The corresponding attitude of members of the public relies increasingly on the media, and on personal experience which for the most part, is concerned with breaches of the *Motor Traffic Act 1909* (NSW). The media image, both at the news and entertainment levels, concentrates on the law enforcement role of the police which makes it difficult for members of the public to understand the concept of community policing.

If these circumstances have played some significant part in the development of police/community relations, then the introduction of community policing in Australia is not a return to some grander age of policing in which police and the people were as one, willing to work together to maintain public order. Rather, it is something new surrounded by suspicion on the part of both the police and the community. Accordingly, our goals need to be modest regarding its introduction.

Educating both the police and the public regarding their new responsibilities may take longer than imagined. If this is the case, progress towards the goals of community policing will be slower, and final judgment regarding the effectiveness of community policing will be delayed.

The Concept of Community

The second part of Peel's statement introduces the notion of 'community'. This stands at the heart of any successful introduction of community policing. It is one of those words which never seems to be used in an unfavourable tone. Unfortunately it is also an ambiguous and an elusive concept (Skolnick & Bayley 1988).

Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990, pp. 80-92) outline a number of definitions of community none of which appears to capture a workable idea for community policing. It is not difficult to picture something like a community if one thinks of many of the smaller country towns in Australia. In them there is a geographical community, a sufficient community of interest and a community largely with shared values each of which circumscribes most of the population. Unfortunately, about 80 per cent of the population lives in large, cosmopolitan cities which are destructive of social harmony. Klockars (1989, p. 248) says that 'nothing, in fact, is more different from community than those relationships

that characterise most modern urban life'. Nowhere is this more evident than in Australia's larger cities.

The industrial growth within cities has meant the construction of large tracts of housing with little or no thought for the provision of amenities. With the bursting of the employment bubble in the early 1970s these places became the homes of those most directly affected by technological change in industry and the export of work to cheaper labour markets overseas. Not only were more people out of work than ever before but they could expect to be out of work longer (Jamrozik 1988, p. 467). What is even more disturbing is the fact that many of the new generation of the permanently unemployed were between the ages of 15 and 25 years (Jamrozik 1988, p. 468). They could not find work upon leaving school and had little likelihood of finding it later.

These people represent a division of the working class into those that work and those that are unable, and unlikely, to find work. If, by the use of terms such as 'dole bludger', that group is stigmatised, it becomes alienated even from the remainder of the working class. It becomes an underclass with little sense of belonging to any particular community. 'It is almost cruel,' says Graef, 'to describe the many lonely pockets of alienated, embittered people with whom the police most often have to deal as "the community"' (1989, p. 94).

Cumberbatch and Tadesse (1987, p. 62) summarise the way in which the debilitating effects of membership in the underclass of society affect the relationships formed amongst people forced to live in it when they say:

Problems of unemployment, poor education, inferior housing, high crime, lack of transport and so on . . . are not the sole source of conflict. They aggravate other tensions which exist due to different world views, social habits and conflicting interests.

Tensions such as these are readily identifiable in Australia. One only has to look at the circumstances of Aborigines, both in the cities and in the country or at some of the ethnic communities to see these tensions and to be aware of their propensity to flair into violence.

This is not to say, however, that there is, in any sense, any feeling of community amongst either the remainder of the working class or of any other class. Other factors have intervened.

Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux point out (1990, p. 86) that with the advent of mass transport systems, mass communications and the mass media, individuals are able to keep in touch with people with whom they share common interests either across the city or across the nation. In times of need it is these people to whom members of any community turn for assistance. The effect has been to reduce reliance on the geographic community in favour of associations formed through family members who have moved away or through members of various communities of interest.

This has alienated people from the local geographic community for the most part of their lives. Research by Cumberbatch and Tadesse (1987, p. 62) indicates the extent to which this alienation has taken place. In their survey in England they discovered 42 per cent of the people with whom they spoke '. . . do not know their neighbours well enough to borrow a pint of milk or ask favours like this'.

Groups which are loose and ill-defined make little attempt to contribute to a set of values or a sense of community in the geographic sense. What is left then is a number of individuals pursuing their own goals and sharing a location the security of which is important, if not essential to the attainment of those goals. It should be pointed out that for some the goal is simply survival.

If this is the nature of society, particularly in the cities of Australia, then it is difficult to find a community in the general sense in which that word is used. If a community, and a homogeneous one at that, is a prerequisite to the effective introduction of community policing (Doone 1989, p. 85), then, unless 'community' can be defined in some other way, community policing seems to be in danger of failing from the beginning.

Police are not tied to sociological theorising. Crime happens to people in places and police must deal with it, usually by deploying human resources and equipment geographically. It is in that geographic location that police do what they do and it follows that for them that area represents 'the community'. Community policing is an attempt to come to grips with solutions to problems within a group of disparate people who, for whatever reason, live within an area serviced by a particular group of police officers.

For some police, the community is the great untapped resource by which police will be able to achieve their objectives (Smith 1984, p. 66).

If, as perceived by Smith, the public is willing to participate actively in police initiated programs, this gives the police a predominant place in the maintenance of social order which is not rightly theirs.

Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990, pp. 11-12) see the development of trust between the local patrol officer and the community, and the sharing of power with the community, as the twin cornerstones of the development of community policing.

Commissioner John Avery (1981, p. 3) quoting from the Report of the Royal Commission on the Police in England clearly placed the responsibility for the policing function with the public in these terms:

The prevention of crime and the detection and punishment of offenders, the protection of life and property and the preservation of public tranquillity are the direct responsibilities of ordinary citizens. The police are given certain functions to assist the public to do its work but it simply cannot be left to the police. It is destructive both of police and public social health to attempt to pass over to the police the obligations and duties associated with the prevention of crime and the preservation of public tranquillity. These are the obligations and duties of the public, aided by the police and not the police occasionally aided by some public spirited citizens.

Whilst it seems to go without saying that the responsibility for the maintenance of a tranquil society rests with the public, the way in which that responsibility is addressed is problematic. The directive model of policing outlined by Morgan (1985, p. 8) is one way to approach the carrying out of this responsibility. Simply stated it is that the police should be under the direct control of the government, which, because it is elected by the people, is capable of directing the activities of the police in accordance with the wishes of the people. Such an approach requires police management responsible for making policy to have an understanding of the needs of a vast number of communities few of which share much in common.

Community Consultation

Given the diversity of communities in Australia, police managers are likely to require adherence to policies that suit the broader community rather than allowing police to address the specific needs of local communities.

There is a need, then, for an approach that includes the local community at the decision making level of the policing process. The English response to this need, following the Brixton riots and the Inquiry by Lord Scarman (1982), was to legislate into existence police consultation with the community. Section 106 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (UK), required that arrangements be made to obtain the views of the people concerning the policing of the area.

The legislative approach is something akin to trying to legislate morality. It can set up the framework, express the intent of the government and require that certain meetings be held. What it cannot do, is create the will on the part of the participants to work through the problems that will inevitably arise.

The introduction and maintenance of community policing relies on the understanding of both the police and the public that the existing approach does not provide a safe community and that only by working together can this be achieved. Further, there must be a general understanding that conflict will arise in the relationship and that there must be a commitment from the beginning to overcome it.

The question is, how best might this be accomplished? Much of the rhetoric refers to a partnership between the police and the community and Skolnick and Bayley (1988, p. 3), quoting Percy speak of the community as 'co-producers' with the police of public order. The latter is a richer notion because it suggests that the relationship is capable of bringing about positive results. The problem with the partnership/co-producer idea is the equality of the partners. On the one hand, police control the flow of information to the consultative group and ultimately decide whether the decision of the consultative group will be put into practice. On the other hand, if one accepts the notion that the community has the ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of public order, then decision made by the community or its representatives must be informed and must be carried into practice.

In these circumstances, any difference between the community and the police will necessarily result in a position where the will of the community expressed through the consultative process, is unlikely to be put into practice. It follows that something more than a partnership is required if the community is to assume its responsibility to maintain public order.

Philip Stenning (1984) argued that in any democratic community two of the fundamental principles are those of accountability and control. Since policing is the quintessential responsibility in a democratic society the principles of accountability and control apply to policing. Simply stated these principles mean that those who exercise any authority on behalf of the community are accountable to the community for the exercise of that authority unless there are sound reasons in the interest of the community for not doing so.

Similarly, the community has the right to exercise control over the way in which the authority given to its representatives is exercised.

It follows from these principles that those who undertake the policing function in society must be accountable to the community for policing decisions and activities and must be subject to more or less direct control over policing policies if not their implementation. In Australia policing is relatively centralised on a state basis, therefore, the state is the community that exercises accountability and control. It follows that no arrangements exist for the local exercise of accountability and control. However, to operate successfully, community based policing requires a local control over police policy and practice (Stenning 1984, pp. 84-7).

Despite the tensions inherent in trying to graft a system of community accountability and control for policing onto a system of entrenched state level control, it can be made to work. The successful introduction of accountability and control at the local level seems to require a reasonably homogeneous community. A failure to achieve this raises the question of the position of minority groups in such a system. It might be difficult, for example, to be a member of the Aboriginal community in a country town where the majority white community is in control of police policy and practice.

Although there is now considerable legislation to protect the rights of various groups in the community which are designed to prevent overt acts of discrimination and harassment, consultation with majority groups define the problems to be addressed by police by providing the dominant ideology from within which community problems are viewed. Without some control on this aspect of community policing, empowering the community remains problematic.

Values are becoming increasingly important in policing as it moves towards professional status (Trojanowicz, Community Based Policing Paper No. 4, p. 2).

The Role of the Community in Police/Community Relations

Devolution of control over police practice and policy to the local community level empowers communities. In an organisation driven by values, police may refuse to carry out inimical policy directions from the community citing the particular set of values upon which their refusal rests. The role of the central agency is not, in these circumstances, the setting of police policy and practice. Rather, its role is to monitor the adherence to the organisation's set of values by police at the operational level who are setting policy, priorities and practices in conjunction with the local community. Part of its role as the moral guardian of policing is to monitor the control of corruption which has been a concern of those who criticise community policing.

If such a system of checks and balances makes empowering the local community an appropriate and valid method for maintaining public order, the next question is what form should community/police relations take? Clearly, at some point the community as a collective needs to be articulated with the police as a body. The nature of this organisation in most cases has been through community liaison organisations from which police gain some understanding of community concerns and organise their policies and practices accordingly. Whose understanding, though, of the community's concerns do police get?

In England Home Office Circular 54/1982 indicated that consultative groups should not become too large because of the danger that they would become 'talking shops' which would achieve little. However, the attitude of the Home Office had clearly changed by 1985. Circular 2/1985 indicated the desirability of openness, inclusiveness and representativeness as the guiding principle for the establishment and operation of community liaison groups (Morgan 1985, p. 19).

Lyons (1988, p. 18) points out that, in England, representatives of the community are seldom less than 30 years of age, respectable, representative of one organisation, although they belong to others and have not had much exposure to the police but are favourably disposed towards them.

Marginal groups such as the young, the economically disadvantaged and those of ethnic background are not generally represented. In addition, special provision is made for the inclusion of local councillors and members of parliament. Further, heavy emphasis is placed on the inclusion at the consultative level of representatives of various government and non-government agencies and community organisations (Morgan 1985, pp. 17-19). The membership of various consultative groups in Australia exhibit similar qualifications.

The question is whether such a pluralist approach to the constitution of community/police committees provides police with a balanced view of community demands. Each organisation has an agenda of its own and a philosophy which drives it. Community needs are interpreted within the context of the organisation's philosophy and, to the extent that they are, they may not represent the needs of the community as perceived by the individuals who live within it. Further, representatives of government agencies and non-government agencies may act as a barrier to the involvement of ordinary community members.

This is not to say that sound working relationships with other agencies, both non-government and government, are not important. Harding (1984, p. 5) points out that better relationships between police and other agencies ultimately lead to better relationships between the police and the community. However, improvements in relationships must not be confused with discovering the needs of the community. Whilst better relationships between the police and the community may be a precursor in many instances to discovering community needs, the process of negotiation between police and the members of the community ought not to be obfuscated by the presence of a number of different organisations.

Of course, if representatives of various groups choose to attend community liaison meetings as private citizens they cannot, and should not, be prevented from doing so.

However the emphasis on recruiting people should not focus on community groups and government agencies if the desire is that community/police committees be as representative as possible.

If the aim is to place responsibility for policing squarely onto members of the community, some method has to be devised that allows for continuity of tenure for members of the liaison group, since experience and training in the position will enable group members to discharge their roles more effectively. However, such a process might lead to the election, and the entrenching in relatively powerful positions, of people who are, or become, unrepresentative of the community. Its decisions, therefore, must be subject to public scrutiny.

For this reason, meetings of the committee must be open to members of the public and its decisions must be widely reported. In effect, the community/police committee ought to act as an executive for the community in the setting of police policies and practices. Further, it must produce an annual report of its activities and network with other committees regularly (Lyons 1988, p. 23) to exchange information and to see where the community its members represent fits into the wider scheme of things.

The process by which police policy and practice are set requires significant input from both the police and community members. The community/police committee looks at information gained from the police and at the knowledge and experience of the community gained by its individual members and, based on this information, sets policy and priorities for police within the area. As these policies are put into practice police liaise with other groups who may not be represented on the community/police committee and feed back to it input from those groups which in turn affects future policies and decisions. For their part, community representatives must consult widely so their input can be as reflective as possible of community concerns. All the decisions must be seen by police in the light of the organisation's values and any decision which requires them to act in some way which is not in accordance with those values is not binding on them.

Conclusion

This paper challenges some of the assumptions upon which current decisions concerning community policing are based. It is erroneous to see the introduction of community policing as in some way returning to halcyon days when police and the community were of one mind regarding policing in the community. Rather, we are embarking on a new approach to policing that, to some extent at least, challenges the way in which police have seen their role and requires much more of the community. It also requires that police and other members of the community work more closely together in the maintenance of public order. The redefinition of roles is not something that will take place quickly and may meet with resistance from both sides. It follows that any decision with regard to the effectiveness of this approach to policing ought not to be made prematurely.

The debate regarding community policing suffers at the hands of some theorists who seem more concerned with conceptual elegance than with social reality. The 'community' of community policing is an arbitrary group of people with its own tensions, socioeconomic mix and ethnic component. What its members share in common is the need for the maintenance of public order so they can go about the business of achieving what, for some, are modest goals and aspirations in relative safety.

The concept of community policing is presently limited to police consulting with the community in order to set their own priorities to address those issues of concern to community members. This arrangement does not allow for the primacy of the community in establishing police policy and practice. If we are serious about the injunction of Sir Robert Peel which was reiterated by the Royal Commission into the Police in England, then the community must be empowered to make decisions concerning the way policing is carried out at the local level. The fact that police organisations are centrally organised and

controlled was seen by Stenning (1984) as an impediment to this process. However, it turns out that, with the importance value systems are receiving in policing as police become more professional, it may be that a centrally controlled system provides the kind of checks and balances necessary to protect the rights of minorities in the community.

Empowering the community means that a certain continuity is necessary in order for people to gain the necessary experience to make effective decisions. However, this creates the problem of representation. To overcome this, all meetings of the community/police committees should be open to the public and the decisions it makes must be widely reported.

Much of the detail has to be worked out but the prospect of the community making decisions for itself in policing matters within the law set by a wider society is an exciting prospect even if there may be some bumpy patches along the road.

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Community Policing in a Multicultural Australia

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We are all acutely aware of the impact the advancements in information technology and physiological and biological sciences have had upon practically every aspect of our lives over the last decade or so.

However, there still seems a tendency among many of us to believe, at least at first thought, that multiculturalism has only meant a greater selection of food or entertainment. There would be very few of us who do not work with, or come into contact almost daily with, someone who has migrated to Australia or is a first generation descendant of an immigrant family.

The impact of the cultural intertwining of immigrants from many different countries, for police agencies, has been quite dramatic.

I have been privileged to share more than thirty-three years of the police interaction with a variety of ethnic groups and this paper draws subjectively upon some of my experiences. There is an abundance of people more capable of providing an academic overview of police ethnic relations.

To give some perspective to my views I should point out I was raised in a small Victorian country town in the southern Mallee. Like much of the Mallee, the town was populated by people of primarily Anglo-Saxon descent, but with a great many of German origin.

Racist bigotry was not unknown. During the Second World War the Lutheran Church had been burnt to the ground. This sad episode apart, however, those from all ethnic origins seemed to live in reasonable harmony and contentment. One of my best friends at school was a Koori (except then we called them Aborigines or even Abo's without offence being given or taken) and no-one seemed to notice he was black, and I express it that way deliberately. Greeks traditionally ran one local cafe and the greengrocers were almost always Chinese whose ancestors had arrived during the gold rush of the 1850s. People seemed generally to treat others simply as people and the only bigotry occasionally noticed was religious.

I joined the Victoria Police in 1957 in the post-war era of industry reconstruction which stimulated a vigorous immigration policy in the 1950s and 1960s. During this period, refugees and displaced persons from Northern Europe and Germany, together with Dutch and Scandinavians, migrated in numbers to Australia to compliment the traditional settlers from Britain and Continental Europe.

Support could be given to the theory that the foundations of multiculturalism were laid throughout Australia's short history rather than being of recent origin. Regardless of any debate concerning its birth, the fact remains that today people from over 140 countries live

within the boundaries of Australian states and territories. Four out of ten Australians are immigrants or children of migrants. The 'original Australians' also cannot be forgotten.

By the 1970s Australia was a 'melting pot' because of the many diverse cultures sharing its boundaries with immigrants from Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, India, Vietnam and Malaysia. The 1970s also signalled a change in immigration philosophy and a change in public perceptions.

By the mid-1970s the new emphasis was on cultural diversity and pluralism yet at this time this cultural diversity and pluralism was not reflected in police recruiting which remains disproportionately Anglo-Saxon based. Police recruiting practices simply failed to recognise that anything had changed and at this time the idea of police responding to community demands for service, instead of dictating to the community what service would be provided, was not within the contemplation of most police.

Over the years it is apparent that the policy directions pursued by police agencies inadequately catered for the diverse cultural composition of Australia's society. The challenges facing police today in providing the service demanded by a richly diverse community are great and policing for the whole community has become the accepted and preferred strategy.

The Challenges Facing Multicultural Policing

Although I consider I did not have a racist attitude when I joined the force, until comparatively recently my sole overseas experience had been confined to a visit to New Zealand. This was hardly the ideal background for one charged with the responsibility for meeting the challenges facing multicultural policing—particularly as there is a belief among many in the police services that community policing in a multicultural society is at the crossroads. These concerns were the catalyst for the conduct of a Conference on 'Police Services in a Multicultural Australia' hosted by the Victoria Police Force in Melbourne on the 28-31 August 1990. The Conference was sponsored by the Australian Bicentennial Multicultural Foundation and initiated by the Commissioners of Police of Australasia and the South West Pacific Region.

It was, in part, my lack of first-hand knowledge of others in their own environment that led me to travel overseas several times in the past three years. I had also noticed a proliferation of signs in foreign languages around Australia and a certain hostility among some members of the public to those signs. Signs in foreign languages seemed to somehow be thought of as un-Australian. Yet, if one was to question Australians of Anglo-Saxon origin regarding their racial prejudices, most would present the view that they do not harbour feelings of resentment towards individuals and groups from non-English speaking backgrounds. The answer would, in most cases, be believed to be a truthful answer.

It was within this framework I went to Rome in 1988 where I visited the Carabinieri Headquarters for a Conference. During the Conference I decided I needed to confirm onward airline bookings and in my few rehearsed words of fractured Italian I asked a young Carabinieri officer if he could direct me to a telephone. To my surprise the officer in a broad 'Ocker' accent said, 'It's over in the corner mate'. Noting my complete surprise, he then said, 'It's all right, I was born in Carlton.' I must have struck the only Carabinieri officer born in Carlton in the whole of Italy, a fact about which, given my language difficulties, I was extremely grateful. On other trips overseas I have often been comforted in non-English speaking countries by an abundance of signs in English and by the prevalence of English speaking citizens.

These experiences were important in that I gained some insight into the problems non-English speaking immigrants have in just surviving in Australia. If we then consider how they

must feel to see signs in their own language in Australia we have the beginnings of understanding. If we add to the language difficulties the lack of knowledge and understanding of policing, we begin to appreciate how hard it is for immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds to approach or deal with police when there is a problem.

Police certainly believe that the law and enforcement agencies treat all people equally, but do we? And is racism solely the prerogative of Anglo-Saxon descendants, or of police? Australia has been fortunate in that scenes of racial violence of the magnitude of those witnessed in the United States or Britain have not occurred here. Notwithstanding this fact, to ignore the presence of underlying problems and tensions would be folly. Tensions are present in our own society and the Asian and Aboriginal populations particularly suffer, disproportionately perhaps, from racial violence in random and individualised instances. Racial violence has also been evident against members of the Jewish community.

If we take the Aborigines (and even that term is offensive to some who want to be called Koories or some other name) as an example, even in urbanised Victoria clan conflicts of a limited kind are not uncommon and kinship relationships are a constant problem for my own Aboriginal Affairs Adviser. Is this not a form of racism? And try to buy real estate in some Asian countries—there will be swift and complete rejection and some of these countries criticise Australia's policies as racist.

My point is that feelings of individual or collective guilt have no place in determining policing strategies and those with Anglo-Saxon ancestry and police do not have a mortgage on racism or racist attitudes. This is an important fact to keep in mind when discussions about multiculturalism arise and the old saying about 'people in glasshouses' ought to be remembered.

Operational police moving among a community of various cultural groups have the benefit of being able to identify conflicts as they arise. In the words of Commissioner, Mr. Bill Horman of the Tasmania Police Force, they do, in a sense, fulfil the role of 'cross-cultural agents'. Recognising the need to understand something of the nature and culture of all the ethnic groups in need of policing services, law enforcement agencies have formalised their role as cross-cultural agents by initiating a number of liaison schemes (both Aboriginal and ethnic).

Liaison Schemes

In 1977 the Police/Ethnic Affairs Liaison Committee was established in Victoria to facilitate greater understanding and positive relations between police and ethnic communities through community education and information. Almost 12 years after its establishment the Committee is still acting as a catalyst for the implementation of strategies to enhance police and ethnic relations. On Friday the 12th October, I attended a Police Ethnic Liaison Function in Melbourne hosted by the Egyptian Federation of Victoria. It was of great comfort to see such a diversity of ethnic groups coming together with police in mutual support and enjoyment.

Apart from the Police Ethnic Liaison Committee, Victoria for its part established an Aboriginal/Police Liaison Committee in 1982 and appointed an Aboriginal Affairs Adviser. The Adviser's broad role is to bring to the notice of police matters of concern among Aboriginal groups, as well as to assist in the implementation of measures to provide a more constructive and effective police service to these people.

The lessons of 'grass roots' policing targeted at the improvement of confidence between police and Aboriginal youth are applicable to general policing philosophy. Socialisation of youth which results in the destruction of bigoted and racial prejudices is a major objective of law enforcement agencies and an integral part of true community policing. Police have a unique role in the community. We are the peacemakers in a troubled society. As

peacemakers, we have a responsibility to police, and to police for, all ethnic groups. That is a responsibility we readily accept.

As part of the acceptance of our responsibility, in Victoria we have implemented and continue to implement initiatives to improve police community relations. Community policing for police is simply treating all ethnic groups as we would like to be treated.

Addressing the needs of both police and ethnic communities has resulted in police receiving lectures in cross-cultural awareness focusing upon such important issues as attitude, cultures, refugees, resettlement and communication strategies and the effective workings of professional interpreters.

Victoria Police identified that sections of ethnic minority groups were being subjected to unlawful racial practices and in 1985 the 'BAO VE' (Protection in Vietnamese) Investigation Group was formed as part of the Crime Department. The group has now been reorganised to include all Asian communities in Victoria.

Of more recent note is the formation of the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit. Praise must go to the Vietnamese Community and the Footscray City Council for their contribution to the Unit's existence.

The Unit has the objectives of:

- increasing migrant confidence in the police and criminal justice system; and
- the reduction of crime levels in their specific geographical areas.

The Unit's very being is standing illustration of the level of cooperation which can be achieved by organisations concerned for the promotion of community values.

Police and Community Relations

The concept of community policing is not new. In a sense we have reinvented the wheel. Sir Robert Peel espoused his perception of police/community relations in 1829 when he stated:

The police should at all times maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historical tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police. The police are only members of the public who are paid to give full time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of community welfare.

Ideally no separation should be evident between police and community but it is apparent that the perception among some is that police are failing to protect the rights of disadvantaged and powerless members of our community. Too frequently perceptions are that police are either unresponsive to racist violence or themselves commit acts of racist violence, according to submissions to the National Inquiry into Racist Violence.

It is not hard to comprehend why people who come from countries where the police are the enforcers of undemocratic and stringent government policy sometimes view our members with distrust and apprehension. What is more alarming, however, is the notion that our police forces possess a 'police culture' which effectively prevents the development of meaningful community relations. Greta Bird, the Director of the National Centre for cross-cultural studies in law at the Monash and Melbourne Universities asserts that:

There is within the police force a dominant culture based on common values and aspirations, arising out of a need to be able to depend on other officers in times of physical danger and mental stress. There is also a tendency for the police to be, because of their profession isolated from the general community.

I believe Ms Bird's conclusions are largely historic, but, in any event, the critical linkage between community values on one hand and notions of police culture on the other is professionalism. Professionalisation of policing is a primary goal of all senior police administrators.

It is imperative that organisational policy and procedures affecting the personnel infrastructure of a police force be kept in line with the current cultural social structure of society. Put another way, police must serve all elements of the community. Police are not ignoring the challenge. Entrance requirements for a policing career which may have inadvertently discriminated against applicants from minority groups have been abolished. Additional emphasis is being placed upon attracting persons possessing linguistic and cross-cultural skills and the advantages of present recruiting practices cannot be overstated.

The problem still is that police endeavours only provide answers to half the problem. Some ethnic groups consider it undesirable to serve in a police force and it is vital that we recruit people from all ethnic groups who are blessed with broad social backgrounds or who can be given adequate cross-cultural training. It is necessary to break down the barriers remaining within those ethnic communities where policing is not viewed as a desirable profession to enter.

Migrant groups do suffer from an unfamiliarity with police procedures and lack of understanding of their rights under these procedures. Now, at last, police now have at least the beginnings of understanding of the problems of migrants and the pressures of multiculturalism—and we share a determination to police for everyone in the community. In Victoria we are actively encouraging police to use discretion when dealing with people from non-English speaking backgrounds and to consider a person's understanding of the law and the English language and their differing customs. The contradictory demands of consistency and flexibility will pose problems, but police are no strangers to difficulty.

It is hoped that such positive steps will go a long way towards rectifying past oversights.

Conclusion

Police forces in this country and throughout the world have drawn closer in recent decades with many integrated strategies and co-operative arrangements. The same approach is now being developed for policing in a multicultural society. Most significant innovations in the past have been implemented with very little feedback between one police service and another and usually with little liaison and networking between departments and agencies. This is changing very rapidly. Within the wider community there is a wealth of resources with which police can interact and networking strategies aimed at tapping into these resources are now a primary objective. Police forces now have the infrastructure and policy developers to link policing strategies with community resources.

There is no doubt that the establishment of harmonious relations between police and immigrants founded upon mutual understanding, tolerance, respect and trust, is an essential condition for the delivery of an effective police service in our society.

Much is still to be achieved but we have the collective skill, ability and will to effect enormous improvement to our policing of a multicultural society. We are entering a new era—an era of challenge and excitement. The beneficiaries will be all of us—whatever our ethnic origins. Community policing is alive and well.

Community Policing—Success or Failure? Exploring Different Models of Evaluation

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Reforms as Social Experimentation

In Donald Campbell's now famous article 'Reforms as Experiments', he wrote that modern nations ought to 'be ready for an experimental approach to social reform, an approach in which we try out new programs designed to cure specific social problems, in which we learn whether or not these programs are effective, and in which we retain, imitate, modify, or discard them on the basis of apparent effectiveness' (Campbell 1969, p. 409).

The experience of the last twenty years has demonstrated, however, that meaningful experiments in the 'social' laboratory proved harder to implement and to evaluate than many had expected. A key set-back in the development of social policy experimentation was Martinson asking, 'What works?' in his review of correctional programs in the United States (Martinson 1974). Although his work was widely misunderstood—indeed often misquoted as 'nothing works'—his inherent assumption was that, in so far as social scientists were in the business of providing policy-makers with options and solutions, no one program could be shown to have made any marked improvement upon the status quo. There followed a flood of misgivings and consequent polarisation. As a result, funds for criminal justice and other social welfare programs were curtailed in many jurisdictions, further alienating the policy-maker from social scientist. The dialogue between them became scant as their roles became confused and their widely divergent ideological positions became evident.

In the two decades since Campbell's work, these wounds have largely healed and policy-makers are now some distance further along the road of discovering what experimental programs can and cannot accomplish. Some theorists have called for a new regime of social experiments (Berk et al. 1985, p. 389) although commentators have been cautious and have noted that policy experiments are only one type of evaluation study (Chelimsky 1985, p. 435). Whatever the nomenclature, it is clear that some form of evaluation is required in the criminal justice policy-making process. What is becoming more apparent with the process, however, is how difficult it is to engage in meaningful evaluation that actually reveals something worthwhile.

Evaluation Studies: Community Policing

It is essential that the experimenting society knows whether or not what has been planned has occurred in fact. Evaluation studies are the means by which this is accomplished. Evaluation is the assessment of the effectiveness of programs that were designed as tentative solutions to existing problems.

This paper is concerned with the extent to which (if any) the phenomenon known as 'community policing' has undergone systematic evaluation. An examination of the literature in Australia indicates that there have been no serious evaluative studies conducted here. The only systematic studies that appear to have been conducted have concerned Neighbourhood Watch (Mukherjee & Wilson 1987).

Why have no serious evaluative studies been conducted? There exists a large volume of literature on evaluation methodology. There are consistent calls for evaluations to be carried out and for governments to be accountable financially. There are substantial amounts of public moneys being spent on policing programs launched on the basis of anecdotal evidence and faith alone. Given that commentators note the distinct theoretical difficulty with the notion of community policing in the Australian policing climate (Chappell 1984, p. 118; Stenning 1984, p. 87), evaluations to ensure that these moneys were not misspent ought to be on the top of the criminal justice agenda. Indeed, who would have thought that any social policy experiment, especially one so widely hailed as the strategy for the future, would continue without the fiat of evaluators? Bayley puts the issue succinctly:

[Community policing] ... represents a new way of more effectively achieving traditional goals. Unless this point is accepted, and the demonstration carried out, community policing should not be touted as the wave of the future (Bayley 1989, p. 81).

Why does Evaluation not Occur?

There may be a number of reasons why so little energy appears to be devoted, however, to evaluative studies.

There are firstly difficulties in knowing exactly what community policing is, but assuming that it is possible to delimit the subject area there are other obstacles. It is commonplace to relegate such evaluations into the 'too hard' basket, simply because of problems with definitions, and the lack of objectives. Problems with methodology regularly surface. Evaluators consistently find that it is well-nigh impossible to control scientifically for all variables. Evaluators often find that the terminology has changed (Skolnick & Bayley 1986, p. 116) or that there is no data available from before the change in strategy for the purpose of post-strategy comparison. There are, further, difficulties with the expectations arising from the evaluative studies, and the extrapolation that may follow. Most 'one-off' evaluations are necessarily going to be so specific to the time, the culture and the environment in which they were carried out that their external validity will be questionable.

Furthermore, evaluators are often met with problems of limited funding and limited resources, and there are resultant pressures from their political masters to get results within certain time frames. Other issues concerned with time also become immediately obvious. Neither the public interest nor the interests of government are eternal truths. These interests change from week to week. An evaluation commissioned one year might be presented to a government with a different agenda a year later. In that environment, it is possible that research becomes subservient to short-term administrative and political concerns (Clarke & Cornish 1983, p. 5). Perhaps the results of the evaluation will be juxtaposed with a media, political or industrial issue. These trends may preclude a hearing for potentially significant research. For example, when the public was clamouring for harsher treatment of offenders

and determinate sentencing was gaining popularity, the few studies that predicted the incredible rise in prison populations were given short shrift' (Petersilia 1987, p. 107).

One of the most common points of contention is whether, in the evaluative process, the evaluators have been too subjective. There is no doubt that evaluation can never be value-free, and, since evaluators may so easily become advocates of their own cause, their results may be merely justifications for the status quo rather than useful and objective appraisals (Petersilia 1987, p. 102; Sarre, forthcoming). Finally, there is the ever-present fear of failure and fear that the weaknesses of the theory and/or the implementors may be exposed. Thus it is probably not surprising that evaluations are not easily conducted nor are their results readily forthcoming.

An Emerging Role for Evaluation Studies: Seeing the Task in Different Terms

There may be an emerging role for evaluation studies, explored to only a minor extent in Australia, which may, to a large extent, overcome a number of the difficulties raised in the preceding discussion. Rather than merely being a study to determine whether certain specific criteria were met, the evaluation process could be seen also as an area of activity devoted to collecting, analysing, and interpreting information on the way in which, and by whom, the ideas of community policing are implemented and controlled. Through this process it would be possible to expand the range of standards by which a judgment of success or failure can be made. As Goldstein foreshadowed, 'a fully developed concept of what we now allude to by 'community policing' could be constructed' (1987, p. 8). In other words, evaluators can play a greater role than has formerly been witnessed if they see their role as assisting in the process of the development of the implementation of the reform itself, and assisting the process towards a better understanding of the milieu in which the reform is introduced.

In the past we have considered that a single study which looks for a certain outcome—namely, whether certain goals had been reached—has been the ideal form of evaluation. This is known as 'accountability evaluation' (Browne & Wildavsky 1984, p. 255). This form of analysis is based upon an erroneous assumption, namely that the policy-makers, before they act, identify goals and specify different ways of achieving them, assess the alternatives and then select the best option. The assumption is erroneous because in fact what happens is usually the direct opposite—policy-makers tend to act first and think about the analysis of what they have done some time later. This, evaluations based upon this 'rational' model of policy design would seem to be inappropriate.

Furthermore, such evaluations would too easily seek support for action already taken, and seek evidence that serves the interests of the policy-making community (Palumbo & Nachmias 1983, p. 67). While it is never possible for any evaluation process to be completely value-free, 'accountability evaluation' too easily falls into the trap of being too narrow, self-serving and overly subjective. Furthermore, 'accountability evaluation' pays scant heed to the implementors themselves—in our case, the police administrators and officers charged with the responsibility of plotting the ideas into practice. Where in the standard evaluations, for example, of Neighbourhood Watch, do we find amongst the details of the dipping burglary rates, some analysis of the enthusiasm or otherwise of the officers to whom the task has been assigned, their fears, their workloads, their sense of control, or their relationship with their community?

According to Browne and Wildavsky, evaluation that is insensitive to the problems of transforming policy-makers' ideas into implementors' action' . . . leaves the best bits behind

unexamined' (1984, p. 255). The argument for a 'new look' evaluative process is based upon the view that evaluation is an exploration from which we can learn about implementation. This evaluation style is termed 'learning evaluation'. The evaluation should not be made in light of prospectively stated objectives alone (assuming there were any) but in light of the discoveries that emerged during the implementation process. In the context of the evaluation of community policing, evaluators will be searching for information about the police and the police processes in bringing about changes to their duties and responsibilities.

It is possible that an evaluation study may enable policy-makers to discover weaknesses in implementation. There may be an inherent flaw in the theory of the concept. But there may also be institutional constraints which were unanticipated, or there may be resistance by any of the players in the implementation process for any one of a number of reasons. To meet these wider concerns, our understanding of what we mean by evaluation will have to change. Evaluation must come to mean a vehicle by which we generate hypotheses in a larger evolutionary process. Such evaluation thus prizes ubiquity and diversity. It does not merely compare outcomes with expectations. Rather, the criteria are fluid, dynamic and open-ended. If there have been baseline objectives set, they may have to be redefined along the way. 'Learning evaluation strives to unearth faulty assumptions, reshape misshapen policy designs, and continuously redefine goals in light of new information derived during implementation' (Browne & Wildavsky 1984, pp. 255-6).

Evaluation in these terms will cause evaluators to draw a distinction between seeing the world in what have been referred to as 'programmed' or 'adaptive' terms. Under the 'programmed' approach (Hope 1985, p. 39), policy objectives are constructed on a cost/benefit analysis. Any implementation program is devised to activate the objectives in the most efficient manner. According to this approach, if something frustrates the implementation phase, it is a problem of control. If, for example, there is an initiative to put more police officers on the streets for longer periods in a push towards more pedestrian 'beats', and something goes awry (for example, the officers become involved in corruption bred from familiarity), then the problem is with the lack of control by police administrators over the street officers. An evaluator viewing the world in 'programmed' terms might come to the conclusion that implementation of the policy will be improved by increasing control, and improving the communication of policy objectives.

Contrast the 'adaptive' view. Instead of viewing implementors as inefficient, uncoordinated or even subversive, evaluators adopting an 'adaptive approach' see all participants in the implementation process as acting quite rationally, but acting also with a view to achieving personal and organisational goals, notwithstanding that these may often be quite different from the aims and objectives of the policy to be implemented. This approach, too, contains a prescription for improvement. According to this view, if the policy is seen not as a set of objectives to be achieved but as a process where broad intentions gradually evolve into practice, the possibility of ultimate failure will be reduced. In other words, policy implementation is the process of exploring and testing hypotheses.

Any political body that argues otherwise mistakenly regards itself as omniscient and omnipotent . . . [T]here is no amount of statutory specificity and top-down control that will prevent an implementation process from becoming a test of its own efficacy . . . What an organisation devoted to learning can do about implementation failure is to utilise it as a route to implementation success—successful exploration. Rather than seeking to make tractable eternally intractable social problems, or designing detailed problem-solving policies, a learning organisation must avoid an unquestioning, uninquiring myopic stance. It must analyse its policies, not against prospectively stated objectives alone, but in light of discoveries made during implementation . . . The learning society views the implementer as a source of new information. On this basis, a case can be made for the reconceptualising of implementation as an exploratory rather than an unquestioning, instrumental, and even subservient type of behaviour (sic)(Browne & Wildavsky 1984, pp. 254-6).

Examples of 'Adaptive' Evaluations

It could be useful and instructive to put the above discussion into the context of evaluations from different jurisdictions. These following examples indicate that a great deal can be learned about the nature of police and their role, the power structures in society, and the role of implementors and evaluators by viewing the world in 'adaptive' terms.

The British Home Office conducted evaluation studies of their practical crime prevention measures (Gladstone 1980; Home Office 1983; Hope 1985, p. 39). The results revealed a great deal about the implementation of these measures. The most recent of these studies found that the focus of attention for the failure of programs usually fell upon the agencies who were expected to put the policy into effect. Within these agencies, had anyone bothered to look, there was evidence that designers of implementation strategies ensured that their plans had provided for a scapegoat in the event of inevitable failure. Hope cited other studies which reached similar conclusions (Wallis & Ford 1980; Greene 1981). He formed the conclusion that the organisational context in which new initiatives are to be implemented was therefore a crucial determinant of the outcome. Organisational resistance against change is very powerful, particularly where there are interagency struggles over territorial 'domain'. In other words there is always an organisational bias in favour of the status quo (Hope 1985, p. 40).

Weisburd et al. (1988, p. 31) focused their analysis of policing styles on the apparent contradiction between the bureaucratic, para-military model of police organisation and the professed aims of the community policing model which encourages initiative and flexibility. They identified this as a potential barrier to the success of community policing initiatives in Canada also (Murphy & Muir 1985). Weisburd et al. conducted a pilot project evaluation of the Community Patrol Officer Program in New York City in 1984. They found that the new roles assigned to the CPOs in New York were indeed a fundamental challenge to the military model. As a result of their findings, they suggested sifting the supervisory strategy away from a preponderant concern with controlling misbehaviour and focussing rather on the adequacy of the officer's community involvements (1988, p. 45).

Carriere and Ericson made a study of the Canadian community policing initiative known as 'Crime Stoppers', moving away from the standard 'accountability'-style evaluations undertaken by Rosenbaum and Lurigio (1985) and Rosenbaum and Lavrakas (1985). Their case study was focused upon the political context that flows from the organisations and institutions associated with Crime Stoppers, particularly the media, and 'how the ingredients of their collective recipe gives them the upper hand in hegemonic processes, helping them to sustain their preferred visions of social order' (1989, p. 8). Carriere and Ericson's theme had been explored previously by Ericson in his Ontario case studies of the way in which police inflect a dominant positional advantage over the community and yet make it appear that they merely reflect the sentiments, priorities and interests of the community at large (Ericson 1981, 1982). In other words, such an evaluative exercise may assist in the identification of overriding police industrial concerns and the extent to which their policing methods are influenced by the media and other social forces.

Future Directions

What can we learn from the adaptive style of evaluative study? The thrust of the argument is that it is somewhat trite to suggest that the success or failure of the notion of 'community policing' somehow rises or falls on whether or not a Neighbourhood Watch scheme reduces burglaries, or that a community liaison scheme doubles the assault clear-up rate or reduces fear. What we can achieve from the process of 'adaptive' approach to the study of implementation in practice by the 'learning' evaluation is a greater insight into the workings of

the implementors whose task it is to put the ideas into practice and a better understanding of the nature and practice of policing in an Australian setting.

Conclusion

If anything has been learnt in the past two decades of so called 'implementation research' it is the wisdom of seeing the world in 'adaptive' rather than 'programmed' terms. Such an evaluative analysis of the notion of community policing could prove invaluable in assisting to determine how and where we need to make the cultural and social adjustments required to bring about better societies. At the moment, it seems, we are only dabbling with evaluative studies which measure merely pedestrian matters such as apprehension rates. A new structure of policing and social control theory may be required. Existing studies are thus bound to prove not only inadequate but disappointing. To halt the momentum of an accepted idea and to re-examine assumptions is a disturbing process. The learning that will result in undertaking this task, however, could be immensely rewarding.

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The Role of the Community in Crime Prevention—Neighbourhood Watch and the broader Community Interests

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Public Becoming Innocent Prisoners

Neighbourhood Watch (NW) is a program created by the police to enable the community to help protect themselves and to assist police.

NW communities focus on securing property and reporting suspicious behaviour. Many residents have become so fearful of venturing out that they are effectively incarcerated behind their own security bars. They have become the innocent prisoners in our crime-prone society.

The police see great value in NW because it has reduced offences where NW areas are established. However, the NW Program has been dependent on police initiatives, and a staleness has crept in. This has occurred particularly in New South Wales and Victoria.

In South Australia, police and the community are closely linked in their state NW Association. The community and police cooperate as members of the Association and the police service is represented at all levels from local police station to Commissioner in NW services and community policing.

In Queensland, the state NW Association was incorporated in July and it has set out to produce a community policing environment. We want the police service to cooperate at all levels in a community needs driven program. We want the Queensland Government to adopt a campaign to reduce crime and we want to help them to 'Make Queensland the Safe State'.

This paper presents the background to Queensland NW. It sets out to create a willingness on the part of police service and government to enable the community to influence changes in the police service to suit community needs. It presents our recommendations.

The NW Program—The Need for an Association

The NW Program was set up and is administered by the Queensland Police Service. The Queensland NW Association was formed to arrange for greater cooperation and assistance from the community volunteers in the conduct and planning of NW services.

NW is a community based crime prevention program organised by members of individual communities. It is aimed at minimising the incidence of residential crime within a defined area (*Neighbourhood Watch Hints for Coordinators* issued to all Queensland Neighbourhood Watch areas by the Police Service when an Area is founded).

In the introduction the Acting Commissioner of Police, R.J. Redmond, QPM says, in part:

If community-minded citizens are prepared to work together and coordinate their efforts with local police, then very beneficial results may be achieved.

The booklet presents the basic structure and concepts of the Neighbourhood Watch Program for its Areas—what to do about suspicious behaviour, running an Area program, home security hints, personal safety, property identification, etc.

Nowhere in the booklet is the term 'community policing' used. However, it is interesting that, under the heading 'Vigilantism', the booklet says:

While communities are required to organise themselves in the fight against crime . . . they leave methods of direct intervention to police, who are trained for this purpose.

Areas in the NW Program in Queensland and in other states, apart from South Australia, had no Constitution and were not required to adopt formalised committee procedures, income and expenditure records, etc. Committees could well be criticised and members could even be enjoined in damages actions in certain circumstances. A number of Areas in Queensland therefore sought to become incorporated under the *Associations Incorporation Act 1981*.

A number of Area coordinators discussed the desirability of achieving a number of collective and common goals:

- to coordinate activities;
- to share experiences and gain from each other;
- to plan services and schemes;
- to extend the benefits of NW to the neighbourhoods surrounding NW Areas;
- to assist police to reduce crime by demonstrating support and encouraging wide community support; and
- to provide the benefits of incorporation to all NW Areas, as branches of a state association.

In response to numbers of coordinators' requests, the Officer in Charge of the NW Unit arranged for a constitution to be devised. He formed an Establishment Committee of 10 NW Area coordinators to advise on its contents and if considered desirable, to apply for incorporation.

The Constitution was prepared after lengthy discussions with other states on their NW programs, particularly with South Australia where a state association had been formed many years earlier. The Queensland Constitution took advantage of the experiences interstate and set out to overcome the difficulties they experienced with or without an Association.

In all states, the greatest issue raised was the need to obtain cooperation and liaison between the branches of the police service and the community. There was reported strong

support from some police in each branch and at different levels. But there was a perceived need to develop a 'country police station' response from many district and headquarters officers to 'spring to the aid' of the community reported needs.

In all states, there was a declared need to establish and test the value and usefulness of the community resource in Neighbourhood Watch. The community joining NW wants to be active. This desire to serve is strongest in those who become coordinators, whose prime purpose is to reduce crime in their area and to arrange for neighbours to support each other to achieve this. However, numbers of coordinators and Area members want to assist in extra ways, and do so. Some initiate Blue Light Discos, others try projects such as 'Whistle Blow', 'Junior Watch', 'Skateboard Derbies', or simply conduct fairs or barbecues. They expressed a need to be organised to assist the police in reducing crime.

Everywhere, it was reported that the introduction of Neighbourhood Watch had achieved its stated goal of reducing burglaries in particular, and crime in general. The local police stations were regarded as the NW community friends, working together to achieve common goals. The same spirit of participation was lacking in other branches of police, and NW members were often amazed at the unresponsive uninformed and sometimes negative response from officers who did not deal directly with NW, and who possibly considered it a waste of time.

The Queensland Neighbourhood Watch Association

It was decided that, in forming an Association, every endeavour would be made to create a structure which brought the NW community members into contact with police at the various levels of police management functioning. It was our purposeful endeavour to provide a model to suit the vastness of Queensland and the intended introduction of NW-Rural, NW-Industrial, NW-Marine, and any other programs which may be devised.

The structure established the NW Area and local police station as its base. Each Area has approximately 500-550 dwellings, divided usually into 5 zones each with a zone coordinator, each zone comprised of blocks of 10-15 dwelling units with a block coordinator. An Area committee is elected comprised of Area and zone coordinators, a secretary, a treasurer, and an activities coordinator.

Police are organised and regionally managed in districts. It was therefore decided to establish a district committee comprised of the Area coordinators in the district and the district police officers in charge. The purpose of this was twofold:

- It set out to formalise a meeting and communicating process by which information and understanding would flow in both directions. Police operations people would be able to advise NW coordinators of their schemes and programs, progress on crime reduction, advances in technology, etc. NW coordinators would advise police of their needs and of suggestions for mutual help and support.
- It provided a framework for election of officers to the NW Association State Board. Each district nominates its district representative to attend state general meetings and vote on behalf of the district. All Area coordinators may attend general meetings, but cost precludes wide attendance and districts are equally represented for voting purposes by this structure.

President of the state association is the Commissioner of Police, who appoints two vice presidents—one civilian, and one police officer in charge of police operations. The Directors are elected, and they appoint an executive committee from among their number. Directors

may establish sub-committees and coopt members or non-members to assist them in their planning.

The state association is comprised of its community members and through its hierarchical organisation and meeting agenda, the association is intended to be independent of, but in close liaison with, the police service at local police station, district, and headquarters levels.

It was recognised that the Community Relations Branch, and the police officers of its NW Unit in particular, may be inhibited or limited in bringing needs and concerns of NW communities to the attention of Operations Branch Police because of internal reporting protocols. It was recognised that it was impossible for any direct influence or instruction to be applied or issued across organisational lines.

It was intended to bridge the gaps which exist and to create regular forums at all levels with ongoing cooperative schemes and services hopefully emanating from them.

The point should also be made that there was a consciousness in the Queensland planning, that the NW program and the NW communities are not the whole community. The Association and NW members do **represent** the community at large, but viewpoints of members and willingness to adopt and develop services among those members does not mean that the wider community has or will take up the proposals.

It was the intention, however, that the NW Areas would act as catalysts and as bases to extend suitable services and schemes to the wider community. This would mean greater assistance from the community to the police, and wider availability and usefulness of services from the police to the community.

Community Policing Proposals

It is a matter of fact that in all the NW material produced in Queensland, until the advent of the state association, there was no mention of the words 'community policing'. The Minister for Police, the Police Commissioner, senior officers, and many others were asked if this expression or term, had been defined. To date we have not been favoured with any definition!

The Fitzgerald Report's Recommendation C16 stated the following, and we recommend that this be adopted by the Queensland Police Service and the Queensland Government:

Community policing be adopted as a primary policing strategy, with policing again becoming a neighbourhood affair. The police service must move toward mobilising the community and its police to prevent crime, maintain order, and deliver services dictated by the needs of the community.

For the purposes of the state association, we propose that the following definition be adopted. Simply, 'community policing' should mean:

Mobilising the community and its police to prevent crime, maintain order, and deliver services dictated by the needs of the community.

We propose that further Fitzgerald recommendations also be adopted to give effect to the community policing strategy:

preventative policing strategies to be an integral part of the normal activities of every police officer; the community to be involved with the police in preventing crime through establishment of community crime committees and community crime prevention programs based on the needs of individual communities.

The NW Association committees, at Area, district, and state level would serve this purpose very well. It is apparent that crime is not centred on the domestic environment by, we believe, about 30 per cent, additional schemes are required to cover all communities.

As an example of what might be done, the state association has established sub-committees, each chaired by a director, to develop policies and strategies to assist police:

- Community Policing Policy Advisory Committee
- Public Relations, and Commercial Support
- Activities, Materials, Meetings & Program
- Training & Development, and Volunteers
- Security, Services & Schemes.

Taking 'security' as a specific case, we found that there were no building code standards for security! The committee consists of representatives of the Institute of Architects, Master Builders, the Insurance Council of Australia and police. The committee accepts police recommendations on secure 'products' such as locks, hinges, grilles, etc., but is concerned that 'secure products' are totally ineffectual and insecure unless adequately installed. They are therefore preparing standards for installation.

In the case of 'Training & Development', the committee is setting out to establish with police, a training program for local police and citizens in observation and reporting. We recognise that Australian citizens abhor the idea of 'dobbing in'. There is some concern about retaliation and victimisation by the offenders. We have to help householders overcome these fears and train them on the techniques of observation and reporting and develop their natural talents as observers.

NW Seeks Police Support

NW seeks police support for the following:

- Police Operations and Detection Branches linking with and making use of present and new NW community committees and volunteers at area, district and state levels, to introduce and develop community policing.
- Police Operations and Detection Branches supporting and assisting the development of rural, industry, transport, marine, and other community policing schemes under the auspices of NW.
- Police Operations linking with and making use of the Police Community Relations Branch NW Unit staff to foster and assist development of the NW community policing schemes.
- Police training to introduce and foster community policing strategies and NW program participation.
- Police policy and procedures to require community policing involvement at all police levels, to obtain, listen to, and take advantage of community needs, proposals, and assistance.

Strengthening the Police Headquarters NW Unit, strongly supporting the NW Association (at district and state levels) and welcoming and arranging NW volunteer assistance for community policing activities at district and state levels.

NW seeks Government Support

NW seeks government support for the following:

- A Premier's Committee Against Crime, to be chaired by the Premier and comprised of leaders in the Queensland community should be formed, similar to that in South Australia, to provide a top-level forum to advise government on crime reduction and prevention.
- The government should launch a campaign to reduce crime. Statistics of offences should be published monthly, together with statistics of arrests and reports from the community leading to arrests. This campaign should go beyond the 'Crime Stoppers' initiative, which focuses on convicted people, and should aim to Make Queensland the safe state.
- To reduce crime, a concerted effort is required involving the community, police, law society, judiciary, corrective services, and law makers. In addition it is not sufficient to apprehend offenders. We recommend that those apprehended should:
 - be prosecuted adequately;
 - be defended according to the intent of the law rather than the letter of the law, where inequity would otherwise result and the guilty go free;
 - be sentenced to serve the community where possible;
 - be held, where custody is necessary, according to their security risk, to keep the community safe at all times;
 - be rehabilitated to help fight crime on release.

A Ministry of Crime Prevention should be created in the Attorney-General's Department as in South Australia or the Criminal Justice Commission, with adequate terms of reference and powers, and staffed by appropriate dynamic people to get things done to make community policing effective and to make Queensland the safe state.

The Logic and the Possibilities of 'Wholistic' Community Policing

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The concept of 'wholistic' community policing is not anything mystical or spiritual. It is, however, about a vision. It is a vision of a police organisational structure and management which is organised around what police actually do, rather than around only a part of their duties—that is crime fighting. Where police at every level can be efficient, effective, responsive and accountable in **all** their duties. This is not a 'pie in the sky' ideal. It seems that the 'wholistic' approach to community policing is essential for the future of policing. So first, what is wholistic community policing? There are three types of approach to community policing currently discussed in the literature.

In the first approach community policing is seen as just one pattern or unit within the police organisation. In the second approach community policing is the name given to small-scale initiatives, usually local, which are designed to bring police into non-confrontational contact with the community in some way. The third approach is the 'wholistic' approach. This approach sees community policing as affecting every aspect of the police organisation, including being reflected in the informal corporate culture. It would involve the police organisation being organised in such a way that it could be demonstrably effective and responsive in its service and peacekeeping tasks and in its prevention of crime and disorder. It makes sense for the police organisation to be organised around what police actually do and around what the community wants them to do. Instead though, police appear to be organised around assumptions which, at the very least, are open to question. These are discussed below.

A Perspective on Community Policing

In the early 1980s the Research and Development Department of the Victoria Police monitored and evaluated what some now consider to be, the most innovative and 'premier' community policing experience—the Frankston Police Community Involvement Pilot Project.

The author was involved with PCIP and conducted a number of research projects concerned with monitoring and evaluating PCIP. From extensive reading, it seems that the Frankston PCIP had, in fact, been doing amazing things. It was a program unique in the world. The PCIP at Frankston could be used as the model for 'wholistic' community policing in the operational field. At the very least it provides some valuable lessons for the future.

Types of Community Policing in the Victoria Police

In Victoria at present the police force has at least six distinct areas which could be classified as community policing:

- every police officer in the course of his or her normal day to day duties is involved in community relations and is therefore trained and encouraged to interact with the huge variety of people who make up a community. Country police officers in particular have traditionally operated with a less 'authoritarian' style of policing based on interaction and consultation with their local community.
- A second form of police community relations is the more structured encouragement by police of public involvement in helping to solve crimes. Annual state-wide programs are run: for example 'Operation Noah', where members of the public are encouraged by police through extensive television, radio and print media publicity to volunteer information about drug-related crime using a special anonymous 'hot-line'; 'Operation Paradox' where members of the public provide police with information on paedophiles and their activities and 'Crime Stoppers' consists of television channels showing re-enactments of recent unsolved crimes to provide police with the information they have needed to solve crimes which may otherwise have remained unsolved. Between November 1987 and April 1990 there were 476 arrests made and 2127 charges laid as a result of information received through 'Crime Stoppers'. \$1,559,928 worth of property was recovered and \$12,152,845 worth of drugs were seized in the same period as a result of information received through 'Crime Stoppers'.
- In Victoria there are twenty-nine Community Policing Squads throughout the state. The Squads used to be called Women Police Divisions but were renamed to bring them into line with the state's Equal Opportunity legislation. The Squads' main functions are to assist women, children and families in crisis. They also conduct enquiries regarding child offenders, missing children, children at risk of abuse or neglect, and provide a specialist response to victims of sexual offences. The Squads liaise closely with other state and voluntary agencies.
- Police liaison officers comprise the fourth area of policing. These are police, or sometimes public servants, who are appointed as contact points between police and a variety of community groups. There are two ways in which liaison officers are used. The first involves working full-time on liaison with groups who have a special or potentially difficult relationship with police. For example there is an Aboriginal liaison officer, a gay liaison officer, victim liaison officer, ethnic affairs adviser and media liaison officer. The second type of liaison involves the appointment of police representatives onto committees and working parties which are set up from time to time to coordinate/share information about a common area of concern and responsibility.
- Victoria police have had a Public Relations section since 1956. Its functions are to educate and inform the community about the police force in an attempt to gain public support and confidence. The Crime Prevention Bureau was established in 1969. Its function is to inform and educate the public about how to prevent crime, primarily with regard to the various security systems, alarms and locks available and how to use them.
- A Special Projects Implementation Office (SPIO) within the Victoria Police accommodates the large-scale programs of Neighbourhood Watch and the

Police/Schools Involvement Program. This involves fifty police officers tasked full-time to ten schools. It is also an umbrella for other smaller projects which involve police working with other government departments and community groups. Whilst programs run from the Special Projects office involve the community, they differ from the programs run by the (now discarded) Police Community Involvement Program in that control of them is retained by police.

As can be seen from the above, the use of the term 'community policing' has become very general. In Victoria (which is probably typical of other forces) community policing has come to mean anything from foot patrol to dealing with child abuse.

The Police Community Involvement Program

In size, the Police Community Involvement Program (PCIP) consisted of one Inspector, who reported directly to the Assistant Commissioner (Chief Inspector Barbara Oldfield), one senior sergeant, four sergeants and seven constables. A total of thirteen police personnel. In a letter to the then Chief Commissioner, Mr (Mick) Miller, Assistant Commissioner Mr Dennis Ball described the Police Community Involvement Program:

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

The Frankston Police Community Involvement Program was established in 1981 and ran for four years. Programs developed by PCIP included Neighbourhood Watch and Safety House, to name the largest. A further forty-nine projects were undertaken over the four years of operation (*see* Appendix A).

The PCIP was really breaking new ground in Australia in 1981. It was such a radical departure from 'ordinary' policing that the government Minister responsible for police tried to forbid its establishment. The Minister's argument was that it was a non-crime fighting unit in which police would be used 'to carry out duties which were not their primary role' (Victoria Police file: 'Community Involvement Program—Development of', p. 53).

In some ways Frankston PCIP was similar to what is called in the literature 'team policing'. However, PCIP was unique for a number of reasons:

- Its internal management was 'participatory' and truly democratic.

- It had a purpose-built system for handling information and, the information was used in the development and measurement of specific project.

- It had a unique form of internal accountability and public accountability.

- It developed its priorities on the basis of what the public thought was important.
- It developed projects with the full and active involvement of community groups and individuals.
- And, what is particularly unique, its projects were monitored and evaluated by the police practitioners themselves.

For a variety of reasons, the concept embodied in the Police Community Involvement Project at Frankston, was allowed to lapse. What exists now in Victoria is a collection of various programs which involve members of the public. It is important, though, that the lessons learnt during the life of PCIP should not be allowed to pass away into obscurity.

Perceived Problems with Community Policing

There are many benefits to be gained from community policing, however defined. However, there are also some potential problems with community policing which perhaps should be acknowledged. One fear which has been expressed is that community policing may afford police the means (whether intended or not) of manipulating the community. There is another danger that police, under the guise of offering advice and assistance, will use community policing as a means of surveillance and control of communities.

A third problem with community policing is that it may be used by government and police merely to gain support for the more 'authoritarian' type of police action. Gordon (1984) was of the opinion that Community Policing in the United Kingdom was recommended by Lord Scarman (1981), in his Report on the Brixton riots, in order that police had support of at least some sections of the community in the event of future 'Special Patrol Group' activities and similar 'special efforts' by police. (These were the police activities which were alleged to have sparked the Brixton riots of 1981.)

The Enduring Myths and Assumptions About Policing

Victoria Police are obviously aware of the benefits of closer contact with the community, as demonstrated by their various liaison committees, programs and activities. It is apparent though that community policing in Victoria, and in most other forces, is merely an addition to an organisation which sees its main, and most important task, as crime fighting. Community policing has never been seriously considered in the 'wholistic' sense in Victoria because community policing is regarded (perhaps unconsciously) as a distracting side issue to the 'real' job of fighting crime.

It is possible that most of the police resistance to the notion of community policing is due to the enduring myths and assumptions upon which police, and government, generally base their policing policies, priorities and practice. In the last two decades however, there has been a growing body of research which points to serious flaws in many of the fundamental assumptions about policing.

The Crime Fighting Myth

Crime fighting is still regarded as the real work of the police, by government, police and the public (Reiner 1985).

Only in a small number of atypical, but prominent, cases does detective work have any resemblance to popular images (Lambourne 1984).

A further reinforcement of the myth is that status and promotion within police forces is strongly linked to successes in the crime fighting field whilst, 'skill in preventive work, excellence in community relations and the ability to sympathetically handle victims of crime is undervalued in police culture . . .' (Jones 1980).

It is clear from all the evidence that the majority of police work consists of activities other than fighting crime. Sandler and Mintz found in their study that 80 to 90 per cent of police work consists of service and peace keeping functions (Sandler & Muntz 1974). Similarly Goldstein et. al. found that 80 per cent of police time is devoted to the service aspects of policing (1977). In a study of Queensland police it was found that 50 per cent of police tasks were human service, 20 per cent peace keeping and 30 per cent law enforcement (Wilson 1987). 'Equating the police mission with their crime [fighting] function ignores . . . key realities.' (Robinson 1989).

Problems with Traditional Measures of Police Effectiveness

Police traditionally measure their effectiveness in crime fighting by the collection and analysis of statistical data in relation to the number of offences committed and the number of offenders per crimes obtained. At best, this tells police what is happening in approximately 20 per cent of their activities. Very little, if anything, is known of police success or effectiveness in the other 80 per cent of their work. Whilst these types of figures can perhaps tell police what is happening—if the figures are genuinely accurate—they cannot tell police how well they are doing. For example, an increase in the rate of reported crime can as easily be interpreted as an indicator of increased police effectiveness as it can be of decreased police effectiveness.

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

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

What should be of particular concern to police managers is the mounting body of research which shows that traditional police responses to improving police effectiveness in crime fighting are extremely limited. For instance, 'increasing visible police presence in marked cars does not appear to have any effect on the crime rate . . . nor to reassure the citizenry about their safety' (Wilson 1975).

Several studies have shown that uniform patrol has no effect on crime (Bright 1969; Schnelle et al. 1977). Police patrol in vehicles is not effective because most offences occur away from public places, or in places least accessible to police intervention and crimes which are committed in public are quick and without warning. (Clarke & Hough 1984). The two studies most quoted (These studies were: New York Police Department, *Operation 25*, 1955, and J.M. Chaiken, M.W. Lawless, and K.A. Stevenson, *The Impact of Police Activity on Subway Crime*, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, 1974)

in support of the effectiveness of patrol were subject to data rigging according to D. J. Farmer (1980).

Decreasing police response times to crime has been shown to be irrelevant to the apprehension of offenders. Rather, the time between commission of the offence and police receipt of the call appears to be the most critical factor (Eklom & Heal 1982).

Police spend considerable amounts of time and money on trying to improve their crime fighting function. Yet, all the evidence points to these attempts being inadequate since they are based on unsubstantiated assumptions. The effect of accepting these assumptions uncritically is that the organisation becomes incapable of evolving and developing as a professional organisation. Police measures of productivity tend to be in terms of how to reduce input costs, and this definition of productivity is then equated with efficiency.

There are other problems associated with basing police policy on myths and assumptions. There is the difficulty of maintaining high levels of personnel morale and motivation, and of justifying certain practices to the public and government who want to see value for public money.

There is the further difficulty that police are not able to respond quickly, flexibly and locally to community needs and expectations, nor to change as these needs and expectations change. Instead police provide a standard service. Many police managers also delude themselves into thinking that bigger and better technology will solve their problems.

The remainder of this paper will focus on the problems associated with the present police organisational structure, management style and informal culture which supports crime-orientated policing, and how a 'wholistic' approach to community policing might be used to enable police to become more effective, and more responsive, as well as more efficient. It will be argued that the present difficulties police have (in measuring their effectiveness, in providing a service which fulfils the public's needs, in responding easily and rapidly to social change and in providing police personnel with a satisfying work environment), are caused by a rigid organisational structure and a demonstrably inappropriate management system which is primarily organised around assumptions.

Police Organisation

Police operate within a bureaucratic organisation which is based on a quasi-military, or 'command and control' system of management. The bureaucratic organisational structure has some severe limitations as pointed out by Warren Bennis (1965):

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

Police Management

The 'command and control' style of police **management** which operates within the police bureaucracy also has some serious problems. The discrepancy between procedural obligations and work realities produces many subtle costs to the organisation. These are identified by Kelling et al. (1988):

1. Individual discretion is driven underground.
2. Creative/productive adaptations go unrecognised and unrewarded.
3. The organisation fails to tap the potential abilities of its officers.
4. The ethos of 'stay out of trouble' stifles officers who are otherwise resourceful and assists officers who merely sit in their positions.
5. It helps foster a police culture characterised by suspiciousness, perceptions of great danger, isolation from citizens and internal solidarity.

It is little wonder that police suffer from stress and low morale when they are regarded as 'god on the street' (Lidgard 1989) but at the station are treated like children, and where fear is often the most used 'motivational' tool. In addition, operational police work in an organisation whose orientation defines success as being the number of traffic bookings made, criminals charged and so on, to the exclusion of the other eighty per cent (approximately) of their work.

A 1989 study of police resignations in Victoria found that dissatisfaction with police management was the most cited reason for resigning amongst resignees (Henry & James 1989). This finding is supported by an earlier study which found that one of the most consistently cited negative influences on ex-police members in Victoria was that of, 'perceived lack of support from management and administration levels towards the junior ranks' (Research and Development Department 1988).

The frustrations of police personnel, particularly those of lower rank, perhaps occurs because the 'command and control' management structure they are forced to work under is unsuited to the nature of the work they do and to the physical reality of police work. For example, police management is set up to control everything constables do in the quasi-military style. The reality of the job, though, is that constables are usually physically away from the direct supervision of their superior officers.

Police Culture

Police culture refers to the informal part of the organisation arising from personnel interaction within the organisation. Informal culture is present in all organisations (Schein 1986).

The assumptions in the organisation are taken for granted by personnel to such an extent that they have 'dropped out of awareness'. In police organisations, such assumptions include the idea that police patrol in vehicles is the most effective way to police the community; that greater patrol reduces the road toll, deters criminals and increases feelings of public safety; and that reduced response times to calls increases police effectiveness. Assumptions, unfortunately, have the effect of distorting the interpretation of data. Whilst the external environment may have initially influenced the formation of the policing culture, the shared internal assumptions within the police, then have the tendency to influence what is defined and perceived as the external environment (Schein 1986). Having defined themselves as crime fighters, police culture then interprets the 'outside world' in terms of

fighting crime, regardless of other possible interpretations of their role; for example, that the role of police is to provide an effective service, including the service of preventing crime.

Instead of orientating the police organisation to be sensitive to the needs of the community, police have become what Lidgard calls 'product-orientated', rather than 'customer-orientated'.

Such managers are supported by a rank structure which shields them from the need to explain and justify their actions to those below.

The answer to this, of course, is that up until now, police forces have been able to keep themselves closed to outside scrutiny. Police have always been able to hide their lack of effectiveness behind a shield of organisational solidarity and secrecy and an increasingly technical infrastructure. Decisions about what are 'right things' for police to do have never previously been called into question. Police have never before been seriously questioned about their interpretation of what are 'right things' to do as an organisation. Their assumptions about themselves have previously given the police organisation a defence against outside scrutiny and a buttress against the possibility of change.

Social and Political Pressures

The traditional defensive strategy of police was successful in the socially stable 1940s and '50s. However social changes such as the decriminalisation and deinstitutionalisation movement, strong civil rights movements, an increase in minority groups and an increasingly better educated public has created social conditions where this strategy is no longer successful. In addition, the present climate of tight budgetary restraints, are forcing police, for the first time, to look more closely at the value of their practices.

In response to government sentiments like this police have been trying to carry out program-budgeting, and have come to the conclusion that it is a very difficult task (Nixon 1988). The task of program budgeting is virtually impossible because police are trying to justify what cannot be justified. In order for police to have the ability to meet present and future social and political demands, police managers need to consider seriously changing the organisational structure, the management style and ultimately the informal police culture. Trying to meet the present expectations and demands of the public, interest groups, government and personnel within the current style of police organisation would be at least as difficult.

Many police managers would probably defend their management style by saying they are changing to a system of management which involves the setting of goals. This has not meant the old notions have been left behind (Robinson 1988).

In addition, despite attempts to change police managers, they still tend, particularly at station level, to be:

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

In the context of police forces, management by objectives appears to be another name for the 'numbers game' in which objectives are based on assumptions, and statistics are gathered in the belief that they will somehow show police productivity. Policing by objectives is meant to systematise all police work (Lubans & Edgar 1979). Whilst it is possible to design research which can measure final outcomes, this can never form part of a routine evaluation of police work because most of the outcomes are subject to complex social processes of which police are only a small part. Rippy observes that:

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

Management by objectives then, cannot successfully measure police effectiveness. The Management by Objectives-style of management has, in fact, been 'old hat' for decades. In modern management practices the dominant principle of organisations has:

shifted from management in order to control an enterprise to leadership in order to bring out the best in people and to respond quickly to change (Naisbitt & Aburdene 1990).

The greatest resource the police organisation has is its personnel. Police organisation and management should be structured in such a way that it gets the very best out of its personnel for the longest possible time.

A Change to What?

The vision of the author for policing in the future is a police organisation which has a 'participative' management style complimenting a problem-orientated policing style within all levels of the organisation. This combined approach best represents what was meant by the expression 'community policing', as it applied to the Victoria's Police Community Involvement Program (PCIP). A force-wide or 'wholistic' approach to community policing is vital if police forces are to emerge in the future as effective, responsive and professional organisations.

Under a system of problem-orientated policing, operational police are given the time and opportunity to think about what they are doing, instead of merely going from one job to another. Police Commissioner Francis Roache is quoted as saying, 'in Boston we run from one call to another. We don't accomplish anything. We're just running all over the place. It's absolutely insane' (Kelling 1988).

In a problem-orientated style of policing, police organise resources (within the community and within the police force) to resolve problems, rather than merely to respond to them. In one United States police department, for example, it was found that 60 per cent of operational police work came from only 10 per cent of the addresses calling for assistance. The same addresses were being visited over and over by police. A more effective way of dealing with these calls would obviously be to work on ways to resolve the problems associated with the calls rather than merely to react to each incident as it arises (Kelling 1988).

Although it was not called that at the time, Frankston PCIP had a problem-orientated working style. Police staff were encouraged and trained to identify the underlying causes of incidents and to find and carry out workable solutions with the full consent and participation of interested community members. It is essential though, that solutions to problems emerge from:

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

Unless this is done there is the danger of solutions and programs being mere ineffective 'window-dressings'—giving the appearance of being effective crime control strategies when

in fact they are not. Ways of systematically monitoring and evaluating any programs implemented must be incorporated in the planning of programs. It then becomes a matter of routine to periodically review programs for efficiency and effectiveness. PCIP did this quite effectively through its purpose-built administrative system and its democratic management style.

Most of the problems on which Frankston PCIP focused were originally brought to police attention by members and groups in the community. Solutions were formulated after literature reviews and community consultation and participation. Implementation included the goal of minimum police involvement. Once projects were running, they were then routinely scrutinised with civilian participants to ensure they were still appropriate and effective.

The literature provides many other ideas about how problem-orientated policing could be initiated. For example, the territorial responsibility of operational police could be changed from the time-span of a shift to a geographical area. The twenty-four hour demand on police service necessitates other police answering calls to that geographical area. However, the operational police officer assigned the area will know they have principal responsibility. This forces the officer to be concerned with long-term problems, of which the incidents occurring there are probably symptoms (Sparrow 1988). Individual police will want to find out what happened in their area when they are off duty and emphasis would be on regular contacts with citizens and community groups within the local area.

Having identified an area of concern in his or her personal 'district', operational police will need to liaise with the community to establish contacts and to seek out possible resources for the design and implementation of small-scale, local projects which will have been designed specifically to suit local conditions and local community needs.

For problem-orientated policing to succeed, current administration and leadership would need to be changed. For instance, it would need to be value-based rather than focused on detailed instructions. Police instructions have been designed to prescribe police action in every eventuality and their effect has been to push 'underground' the initiative of police and the encouragement of the unproductive police philosophy of 'just stay out of trouble'. The new management approach would assume workers care about the substance of their work, and would recognise the importance of informal leadership, of resourcefulness and peer influence and use them on behalf of the force mission, instead of pushing them underground, as is done under the present organisational structure. Fundamental changes would need to be made to the management, supervision, promotion and training structures within the force (Sparrow 1988).

'Participative management' has been in the private sector for some time. In this style of management the rank and file are involved in the formulation of objectives, setting of priorities and development of strategies, **as well** as the implementation of them. Instead of a few people doing the thinking in the organisation whilst the rest carry out their ideas thousands of brains would be working on problems.

New programs or procedures are often sabotaged at the level of execution. This is usually because lower ranking members have no stake in their success (Sandler & Mintz 1974). This problem can be overcome by a participative management style which would identify informal leaders and involve them actively in all decisions and planning. In PCIP the rank structure was not used to wield authority. The group as a whole was responsible for 'supervising' individuals and their work. All individuals in the group were responsible for the identification of weaknesses, either in the system or with personnel, and all had input into providing advice, direction and correction, and in training or arranging training for those who wanted or needed it. There was no problem with this approach since the team were sensitive to each others feelings. Personal development was a tangible and sought after goal by PCIP staff and staff helped each other to achieve it.

All PCIP staff were encouraged to identify problems and were expected to have input in the process of working out solutions to them. Most police would criticise this concept of

management on the basis that it sounded like the welfare-style of 'case conference' where the result is perceived as talk and procrastination with no productive action. However, Frankston PCIP demonstrated that this style of personnel management works in a police setting and has the effect of motivating staff and encouraging them to use their initiative effectively in the pursuit of force goals.

In answer to a question by the then Chief Commissioner Mr Miller about why the staff at PCIP were so motivated, several staff mentioned the management style as being the cause. One constable stated:

I think that the reason for the high morale during the first six months especially was that we were able to develop as individuals. We weren't abiding to the concept that because a sergeant was a sergeant he had to know more than a constable. The weekly meetings . . . were valuable in the sense that everyone knew that they had recourse to the weekly meeting for a decision and that everyone had only one vote. (Unpublished document. PCIP staff member answering questions asked by the Chief Commissioner 1981).

Accountability

A police organisation whose main orientation is towards solving problems with the community will be more responsive to local community needs and therefore in a position to be more locally accountable. Police forces tend to resist taking responsibility for crime and public disorder. Police can say crime and public disorder are the consequences of long-term social forces which are therefore a 'community' problem. By holding this view police then need only think of their managerial processes and about putting in the right resources. They do not need to think about outputs and outcomes and be held accountable for them (Shapland & Vagg 1988).

'Accountability' is probably a word which is in need of definition. Day and Klein's description is a useful definition of accountability:

Accountability comprises an agreement about what constitutes effective performance by a particular person or body. There must be a common language of justification and explanation, sufficient control to demand the giving of accounts and sufficient control to demand change if the account does not satisfy (Day & Klein 1987).

Police are not currently accountable to the public in any of these elements. Accountability at a local level should not be seen by police as a burden but, 'as the only way in which they will be able, as most of them no doubt wish, to police with the consent of the community' (Gillford 1986).

Policing by consent perhaps implies passivity (or perhaps apathy) on the part of members of the public but it could, and should, mean an active and informed consent. If the community is to accept responsibility for crime prevention, though, why should it accept and be content with the present situation where most of the major decisions about crime and its control are made, often in secret, by the police? Cameron and Young (1986) say police have avoided this difficulty by liaising largely with white, middle-class groups whose views of crime and its treatment are similar to those of the police. With Australia's policy of multiculturalism, it seems certain that the difficulty will soon have to be faced.

If community policing is to be the way of the future, appropriate avenues for local accountability must be actively developed. Local accountability of police in areas where there is an ethnic mix, where there is a high level of homelessness, unemployment and the presence of other marginal groups may have the effect of reversing any tendency for these areas to degenerate further. A problem-orientated police force would necessarily develop

avenues of communication needed to identify and resolve the many small and diverse individual problems.

When PCIP was established in 1981, there were real fears expressed by police at all levels, that such an operation might open the force up and give away police control. That attitude has virtually disappeared now because the fears were never realised.

Reiner points out that, whilst police must be accountable, they must be allowed to be actively responsible for ensuring correct performance themselves, rather than have it imposed on them from some external regulatory board, 'formal accountability' is not the crucial issue, and struggles over nominal policy control which alienate the police may well be counter-productive.' (Reiner p. 180). Accountability to a community is not dependent on particular mechanisms but rather on the spirit activating the system as a whole (Bayley 1983, p. 149).

'Police forces' need to become 'community police'. Community involvement in policing needs to occur consistently at the most local levels in order for police to identify and meet the differing needs of each community. In this way local accountability becomes a natural consequence of everyday policing, not an irksome burden to police—rather a welcome support.

Problems in Implementing Change

How is such a massive organisational and philosophical change to be achieved?

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

The setting up of problem-orientated policing throughout the whole organisation is physically possible. But of course, to make it happen there must be a well thought out plan for implementation based on wide consultation. If Frankston PCIP is any indication, once police become familiar with the new way of working they will not want to give it up. Because wholistic community policing allows police personnel the freedom to develop as individuals and to have the responsibility of solving clients' problems, there will be great improvement in police productivity and morale.

Re-orientation of the Organisation

Personnel reaction to major organisational change can be anticipated, therefore strategies to meet these reactions can be planned for. Rippey (1990) likens the personnel reaction to major change to that of the reaction of a patient to news that they are terminally ill. There is firstly denial, then anger, negotiation, depression and acceptance. Because of these reactions, 'the police chief faces no greater political challenge than when he acts as an implementor of change'.

In implementing a change to problem-orientated policing, it would be essential to conduct a massive educational campaign to get the public 'on side', prior to implementing such fundamental changes within the force. The public has a preconceived idea about what policing is, mainly gained through the media, and they share a belief in the same myths that many police hold dear. The public must be convinced about the real work of police, and that police can be more effective and more sensitive to their requirements if the management and working style of the force were to move away from the traditional stereotype of 'crime fighters'.

Rippy suggests that negative community attitudes to change can be overcome in face-to-face discussions or public meetings and that positive reaction should be turned to maximum advantage. It will be easier for the organisation to change if they are receiving positive messages from the community about the worth of the change. When the public is convinced, the politicians will be convinced. Input from the Police Association would also need to be solicited during the planning stages. Individual police need to be convinced that they have more to gain personally from the new system than from the old. They need to be made to feel dissatisfied with the old ways of doing things. The new desired behaviour needs to be rewarded within the organisation and constantly reinforced by positive feedback.

Perhaps the key to the introduction of wholistic' community policing lies in keeping everything as local as possible—to build changes from the ground up, rather than from the top down. Policies can then reflect what is required in practice. In any case, communities can differ so much from one location to another that an overall force policy becomes meaningless to all but the middle-class white population.

Police leaders need to create a vision of the new way of policing which is inspirational and they need to be truly committed to it themselves, in both words **and** actions. They need the ability to present the vision in such a way that, 'it will make the pain of changing worth the effort' (Corns 1988). The effort of change **is** worth it. After all, what could be worse for police, and the community, than the current paradoxical situation.

Appendix 1: Projects and Appraisals

The following projects and appraisals (all documented) were undertaken by PCIP:

1981

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

It was estimated that by the end of the first twelve months 35,124 people were involved in PCIP projects. (This included operational police). See table.

1982

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

1983

Bike-Ed Evaluation
Non-Project Evaluation
Bike-Id Evaluation
Safety House Evaluation
Target School Project Statement
Target School Seaford Evaluation

Target School Mornington Evaluation
Target School Baxter Evaluation
Target School Ballam Park Evaluation
Target School Aspendale Evaluation
Target School Monterey Evaluation
Target School Dromana Evaluation
Operational Police in secondary Schools Evaluation
Elderly Affairs Assessment
Anti-shop Steal Evaluation
Holiday Program Evaluation
Langwarrin Youth Appraisal
Foreshore Project Evaluation
After-hours Referral Evaluation
Neighbourhood Watch Project
Police Telephone Directory Project
Out of Schools Youth Project Evaluation

1984

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

In addition to contacts which could be categorised into projects, PCIP received numerous requests for services. Services requested were supplied according to whether they met the objectives of PCIP and whether the resources were available. Any unmet requests were classified for future consideration.

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Witness Watch

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With the rediscovery by Australian police forces of the principles of community based policing during the mid to late eighties a number of 'Watch' programs have been progressively introduced, commencing with 'Neighbourhood Watch' as the principal scheme and following on with others such as 'Business Watch', 'Marine Watch', 'Rural Watch' and a number of local 'Watch' schemes.

The success of these schemes of course depends upon the resources an organisation is prepared to expend to support same, both in monetary and personnel terms. The perceived commitment of the organisation's executive is also important to ensure the required standards are met or maintained by those administering the scheme, being generally in-service personnel, as well as those members of the community participating in or affected by the scheme.

The political will is also important in the generating of the organisation's enthusiasm and the allocation of additional resources from government to ensure success.

It follows that the more successful the 'Watch' schemes are, there will be a corresponding increase in the number of court cases, also resulting in an increase in the number of police/civilian witnesses attending court to give evidence in these matters.

Coming upon the tail of the community based policing policies was a groundswell of public opinion dealing with the need for 'victims rights' and a political recognition of this opinion resulting for example in New South Wales with the adoption of a 'Charter of Victims Rights'.

Identification of the Need

Whilst systems had been established to cater for the effective running of the 'Watch' schemes in New South Wales, the next logical progression arising from a scheme would result, where an arrest had been effected, in possible attendance at a court by a victim/witness.

No system had been established to aid the victim/witness through the court procedure and so whilst 'rewards' for participation in the 'Watch' schemes were in existence, it was felt that the victim/witness would gain an impression of 'abandonment' by authority as no similar aid was available to help the witness through the courts.

Such a problem also existed with victims/witnesses who had entered the system through 'ordinary' investigations other than direct participation in 'Watch' schemes.

It was recognised that the majority of victims/witnesses had little or no experience in the state's justice system and consequently through this ignorance a great deal of stress would

be caused to the particular individual. This could result in a diminished quality of evidence that could consequently detract from the proper assessment of the brief of evidence.

The question then arose—could a system of court support be raised to assist the victims/witnesses?

Within New South Wales there existed no specific system to cater to the needs of victims/prosecution witnesses when they attended a court to give evidence.

No training was given to police officers during their initial entry period as to the needs of victims/witnesses. In this regard, the motivated officers through experience recognised the problem and formulated their own ad hoc methods of aiding witnesses. Sometimes these systems were effective, sometimes not. A considerable number of officers did not recognise the problem and the victim/witness was left to fend for themselves at court with little assistance from the informant officer.

In a physical sense, courthouse design does not lend itself generally to providing a 'place of comfort' for victims/witnesses either. Waiting rooms and vestibules are usually ill-equipped in furnishings, privacy and refreshment facilities to assist the victim/witness. The area also forces into close proximity both prosecution and defence witnesses creating an atmosphere of tension and in some instances attempts of actual intimidation.

Solving the Problem

In order to support victims/witnesses it was obvious that a system must be devised to assist them through the court process. Keeping in mind cost factors, it was therefore decided that the system should be kept as simple as possible.

Accordingly the mission was formulated 'to establish a court support system to aid civilian witnesses by removing unwarranted fears thereby enhancing the quality of evidence presentation', with the following support strategies of:

- enhancing the existent bonds between police and community by extending the concept of Neighbourhood Watch to include civilian witness court support;
- removing, insofar as possible, the intimidating atmosphere of the court and its surrounds; and
- preparing our witnesses to attend court by way of ethical, effective education.

The major grounds upon which the mission was formulated are as follows:

- to maintain civilian enthusiasm for the 'Watch' concepts, police support should be established and continue to the end of court proceedings so as to keep the 'partnership' structure of community based policing in high profile;
- to eliminate the instance where our witnesses have been subjected to passive intimidation techniques within courtroom precincts prior to the giving of their evidence by defendants or their agents; and
- to diminish other problems such as unfamiliar surroundings, feelings of neglect, concern about expenses and a myriad of minor matters which may also add to the concerns of our witnesses.

Accordingly the system would include the following to minimise witness and victim witness trauma:

- officer/support contacts
- court familiarisation
- court proceedings
- statement supply
- relaxation area
- companion support service
- expenses recoupment service
- recognition of witness.

Establishment of the Structure

To identify the scheme with the well-publicised and well-known 'Watch' programs, approval was given for the scheme to be known as '**witness watch**', and that the theme would be simple but conveying a reassuring message of 'taking the worry out of court', and also that the structure would be three tiered in its operation as follows.

Tier One

Informant police to notify witness of court attendance requirement by delivering a Court Warning Notice that includes time, date and place of hearing, defendants name, nature of offence and rank or name of officer and contact location and telephone number in case of inquiries or emergencies.

Tier Two

On the court hearing date, the informant officer is to meet the witness and escort them to a dedicated witness area where they are met by civilian court support companions who will assist by providing refreshments, aiding with children and generally maintaining the dedicated area for the comfort of victims/witnesses.

Tier Three

At completion of the court proceedings, the patrol commander is to send a letter of appreciation to the witness for attending at court and, if known, also to inform the witness of the result of case.

The Pilot Scheme

The location selected to establish the validity of the scheme was in the rural city of Goulburn. This centre has a population of about 24,000 persons, is situated on the Hume Highway some 210 kilometres from Sydney and possesses excellent court facilities, including Supreme, District, Local, Children's and Coronial jurisdictions. Because of its location a

large number of witnesses attended from outside the city and thus did not have a local personal support network.

The education of the persons involved in the scheme was considered to be of great importance. The education of police, as to their duties in Tier One, was relatively simple, as was the duty of the patrol commander in Tier Three. The general response of the serviced police was favourable to the scheme.

The major task was the identification, recruitment and training of civilian volunteers to act as court companions under Tier Two of the scheme.

To achieve this a recruitment campaign was launched through the media, service organisations, senior citizen groups and business organisations. A target of twenty volunteers was considered the preferred number to meet the scheme's requirements.

A training package was devised for the volunteers and included:

- an address by the senior prosecutor as to the courts system, its participants and included visiting actual courts;
- an address by the police psychologist regarding stress symptoms and simple methods of combating same;
- an address by the Department's manager on 'victims of crime';
- an address by the Department's equal employment opportunity manager on identifying and assisting persons of different cultures and possible support group techniques;
- emphasis was given in the training that the court companions were not to discuss the evidence to be given, with witnesses nor any aspects of the case. Their function was to support witnesses only and a code of conduct was drafted to include this. The effectiveness of the scheme is dependent on the impartiality of the companions.

A suitable room within the court precincts was equipped with comfortable furnishings, tea and coffee making facilities, radio, children's toys and current magazines and newspapers. Two court companions were rostered on for each court date and after an initial settling in period the volunteers managed their own affairs and rostering and liaised with the patrol commander regarding any requirements.

'Witness Watch' was trialled for a period of three months in the Local, Children's and Coronial Jurisdictions. A total of 153 witnesses/victims were processed through the scheme, the greater majority coming from outside the city.

Exit interviews were conducted with all witnesses, with 151 being favourable and emphasising the scheme had helped them relax before going into the witness box, with any questions or problems having arisen being solved by the companions.

The two negative responses related to not wishing to attend court and the boring period of waiting to give evidence.

The serviced police indicated the court companions had 'taken a load off their shoulders' in helping the witnesses/victims.

The police prosecutor felt there was a general improvement in the attitude and demeanour of our witnesses when giving evidence.

The clerk of the court indicated no complaints were made to him about harassment in the court precincts, especially in relation to domestic violence matters, during the period of the pilot scheme.

The court companions reported 'job satisfaction' as they were able to see the result of their efforts as against the positive, but intangible, results of other 'Watch' programs.

On overview it was assessed that the scheme was viable and had benefits to all concerned and its implementation in major courts throughout the state was recommended.

The Commissioner with the advice of the state executive group has now approved the implementation of 'Witness Watch' throughout the state.

Where to Now?

A police officer has been attached to the Legal Services Branch to assist in implementation and a package designed for use by patrol commanders is in the process of being circulated.

Some ten metropolitan courts, including the State Coroners Court and the major Children's Court Complex, Bidura, have had the scheme implemented by the local patrol commanders.

The North Sydney Rotary Zone has adopted the scheme and is providing assistance, and negotiations are under way with other Zones with a similar result anticipated. Some 'Witness Watch' committees have had some local sponsoring.

Exit interviews are still conducted so each Court Companion Committee can monitor its effectiveness and the effectiveness of the scheme.

It is hoped that the majority of courts will be serviced by the scheme by the end of 1992.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the area of witnesses/victims concerns and welfare has long been neglected through indifference and consequently, the optimum court results that could have been obtained have suffered.

By the implementation of a system such as 'Witness Watch' where witnesses/victims can identify with court companions as being supported by members of the community, the daunting burden of attending a court to give evidence can be lessened and the court itself aided in reaching a fairer determination in matters by receiving a better quality of evidence.

Both the community and the individual must benefit as a result.

A Youth Based Community Initiative—the Juvenile Advocacy Service

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The general theme of today is the role of the community in crime prevention. This paper will cover some community based strategies that have as their aim the prevention of juvenile crime, in particular. Two clarifications initially need to be made. Firstly, I would rather see the community initiatives I have been involved in, not so much as strategies that aim at preventing young people offending, but more as means by which all agencies in the community—police, youth workers, parents, government—can own an area of mutual concern, namely our offending young people themselves, and determine to work constructively together with them to prevent further break down.

Secondly, rather than give a list of strategies that have been practised somewhere in Queensland, I would prefer to share with you the successes and failures of the initiatives that I have been part of over the past three years in my attempt to establish the community based Juvenile Advocacy Service.

The Juvenile Advocacy Service is one program of the large, youth organisation, Youth and Family Service (Logan City) Incorporated. This is a community based organisation servicing disadvantaged young people and their families within the Logan and North Albert geographic regions. This area, with one of the fastest growing populations within Australia, lies between Brisbane and the Gold Coast. Because of the lack of foresight in government housing policy, the area is largely comprised of vast public housing estates that are inadequately administered and serviced. Families, often with only one parent and already struggling to cope, are 'lumped' together with little or no support. This situation, coupled with the very large child and adolescent population, has led to high levels of youth homelessness, unemployment, truancy and crime. According to the records of the Beenleigh Court, which services this area, there has been an alarming increase in the number of charges and appearances of children before this court. For instance in 1988-89, the number of court appearances from the Woodridge catchment area has increased by 17 per cent and those from the Beenleigh catchment area by 96 per cent, while the number of appearances state-wide actually decreased by 2 per cent.

Youth and Family Service

Begun in 1983 as a response to the needs of disadvantaged youth, Youth and Family Service was mentioned in the report 'Our Homeless Children' compiled by Commissioner Brian Burdekin (1989), as a model for other such youth agencies. To quote from this report:

It is now an example of a community based organisation established to respond to the needs of homeless and 'at risk' children and young people in its local area. It is an 'integrated service'. Its programs include the provision of medium and longer term accommodation, sharehousing, employment and training programs, street contact programs, literacy programs, women's groups, parent survival courses, court work, a truancy program and programs for young offenders (p. 214).

From its foundation, Youth and Family Service has had as a central aim the care of young people involved in the juvenile justice system. As there was no funding to support a specific service in this area, such outreach to this type of young person was carried on by workers already involved in accommodation, employment and other programs. Early efforts concentrated on 'street work', attendance at court and police interviews, and visiting custodial institutions. As a result of community lobbying, a branch of the Juvenile Aid Bureau was established in Woodridge and an after-hours solicitor's roster for attendance at police interviews was drawn up. Groups for young offenders, called the Woodridge Adolescent Groups, were run on minimal finances.

Juvenile Advocacy Service

In 1988, however, Youth and Family Service was successful in applying to the Queensland Law Society for a grant to establish a service specifically aimed at supporting young people involved, or 'at risk' of being involved, in the juvenile justice system. This service was called the 'Juvenile Advocacy Service'. The growth of this service and the initiatives it has taken over the past three years are examples of how a community based group can intervene positively in the lives of young people involved in the justice system, as well as work constructively to make the system more just. By mentioning some of these initiatives, it is hoped to encourage both community groups and government agencies to attempt similar strategies.

The service is heavily involved in preventative work that in some way would divert the young person from offending. It works closely with the Youthlink Parent-Adolescent Mediation Program which operates within Youth and Family Service, and also with the Centre Education Program, a sister organisation which caters for chronic truants who have dropped out of normal schooling.

Workers from the Advocacy Service are available to attend police interviews where they take the role of independent persons monitoring the procedures of these interviews.

Workers at present are not solicitors and therefore cannot act as such for a young person. However local solicitors are starting to come forward to offer their free services and these are being organised into a roster. Unfortunately the quality of legal representation in the Children's Court remains poor and workers spend much time in steering young people and parents through the complex Public Defender and Duty Solicitor schemes. Beenleigh Children's Court which is held infrequently can regularly have over 30 young people to be 'processed' in a day. The Juvenile Advocacy workers are admirably assisted by the Court Support Group. This group, which Juvenile Advocacy helped to start, consists of volunteers from the community who attend each day at court to provide support for people appearing. 'Advocacy' for the young people often takes the form of exploring alternatives to custody such as community housing, schooling or employment. Youth Access now attend each Children's Court. Visiting young people in custodial institutions is also part of the Service's work. For the past five years, for example, a bus has taken families each month to

Westbrook Training Centre west of Toowoomba to visit young people held there. Parents often cannot afford the long trip. Good relations with the custodial institutions are worked at and the Advocacy Service is regularly invited to give in-service to staff at Westbrook.

A number of support programs are offered by workers in the Juvenile Advocacy Service. One such program is the Woodridge Adolescent Group which has run several times a year over the past five years. Sometimes the group membership is drawn from a particular age group such as the 10-13, 15-16 year olds. At other times it centres around particular needs such as those of Aboriginal and Islander young people, young women or post-custodial offenders. Officers from the Juvenile Aid Bureau and the Department of Family Services have helped run these groups. However, because of the numbers of young people needing support it was found impossible to 'case work' each one. An initiative called the 'Special Persons Advocacy Network' (SPAN) was started to meet this need for individual support. This network, similar to the Big Brother-Big Sister movement, places an 'at risk' young person in 'one-to-one' contact with a 'special' adult who has volunteered from the community. The scheme was tightly supervised as to selection, training and monitoring. the network at its height had eight one-to-one pairs working. Because of the success of this scheme and because of the Juvenile Advocacy standing within the justice system, the Department of Family Services approached it to run an Honorary Supervision Officer's Scheme which would provide court-ordered supervision by volunteers from the community for young offenders. This scheme is similar to the Honorary Probation Officers Scheme which operates in Victoria, the key difference being, however, that it is administered by a community based organisation. While definite advantages were seen in the approach, it required careful and ongoing negotiation of responsibilities before the scheme could be started.

Parent Support Group

While support was being given to the young people themselves, it was soon recognised that the parents or guardians of these young people were equally in need of assistance. So often a parent is completely bewildered by their child's offending behaviour. The court and police systems are as equally baffling. Out of this need, the Juvenile Advocacy Service Parent Support Group arose. This group is co-ordinated by a family worker and two volunteers. It meets fortnightly and has about a dozen members. Information and education is given, but the group's main strength lies in the mutual support, given in and outside the meeting, by those participating. Such support has empowered a number of these parents to form a group of their own called 'Community Action for Youth'. Angered by the general lack of facilities in the area, these parents formed this incorporated body to lobby for more appropriate recreational and vocational facilities for their youth. Other 'grass-roots' parent action groups have started, such as the 'Petrol Factor Group', addressing substance abuse, and the 'Browns Plains Youth Group'.

Implementing Reform

Besides working in the 'face-to-face' situation with young people and families the Juvenile Advocacy Service saw the need to work for change within the juvenile justice system itself at a local and state level. Consequently staff and volunteers have been involved in initiating and supporting groups working for reform. One such group is the Beenleigh Children's Court Management Group. This body, which meets quarterly, consists of the local magistrates, court prosecutors, Juvenile Aid Bureau administrators, Department of Family Services area managers, and representatives of Legal Aid, Court Support and the Juvenile Advocacy Service. This meeting, which constantly reviews the operation of the Children's Court, also provides a forum for implementing reform. A more frequent meeting of key case workers who are directly involved with the offending young people backs up this group.

Another meeting that depends on inter-agency cooperation is the Case Management Forum. At a set time each month the 'cases' of six young people are discussed. The necessity for such a meeting grew out of the fact that some young people were accessing a number of agencies and at times were experiencing varying case plans. The need for an exchange of information and parallel case planning was seen. These forums are working successfully and involve the Department of Family Services, the Juvenile Aid Bureau, the Centre Education Program and other government and non-government agencies. Research into patterns of offending in the local area are also being sponsored.

Administration of Juvenile Justice

On a state level, staff of the Juvenile Advocacy Service have been actively involved in the recent establishment of the Youth Justice Coalition of Queensland. This coalition's membership consists of non-government youth agencies and individuals involved or concerned with the administration of juvenile justice in Queensland. After a broad consultation with the field, it settled on four strategies: the promotion of formal consultation with the Department of Family Services regarding juvenile justice legislation; the exploration of alternative sentencing options; the funding of more Youth Advocacy-type centres; and the promotion of the Bonnemaison-type strategies for the prevention of juvenile crime. In the 12 months of its existence the coalition has achieved marked success.

The initiatives mentioned so far have all aimed at promoting constructive links between the community at large and the government and non-government agencies working within it. The result hopefully is to provide better justice and support for young people caught up in the juvenile justice system.

Police Relations

Another initiative of particular interest is the recent establishment of youth/community/police liaison meetings in the Logan and North Albert areas.

The concern of a number of parents over the alleged mistreatment of their children by police led to the calling of a public meeting to discuss such grievances. The meeting was attended by young people, parents, youth workers and a number of senior police. The result was the establishment of regular youth/community/police liaison meetings.

These meetings aim at promoting better relations between the police and youth in the area. They also serve to monitor the treatment of young people by police. As well, they act as a means of community education and as a lobby group for better resourcing. A balance of the positive and negative aspects is always attempted.

It was decided that two groups would be formed: one in the Logan geographic area and one in the North Albert area. The distinct needs of each area could thus be addressed. Each group consists of two senior police officers, two young people, up to five parents and two youth workers. Separate meetings of each group are held in the first month. These meetings which are closed to the public deal with particular ideas and/or complaints that come from that area. In the second month a combined meeting that is open to the wider community is held and this meeting deals with broader issues such as the training of independent persons for police interviews; the role of the Criminal Justice Commission; the need for better police resourcing and so on.

The method of handling an alleged complaint is as follows. The purpose and dates of the liaison meetings together with the names of the committee members are publicised in the local community. On being informed of an alleged complaint a member of the committee interviews the complainant and a detailed written statement is taken. The statement is presented for action to the senior policeman at the next meeting. The complainant is urged to be present. The action taken by the police on the complaint is then monitored at subsequent meetings.

Earlier this month a combined liaison meeting was held. There had been some questioning in the community with regard to the method of restructuring of the police service in the post-Fitzgerald era. Also there was confusion as to the meaning and application of such terms as 'regionalisation', 'community policing' and 'multi-skilled training'. Particular concern was expressed as to how such principles would affect the structuring of the Juvenile Aid Bureau within the region. The combined liaison groups prepared a position paper and called a public meeting. The paper addressed such questions as the present state of restructuring within the region; the consultation process the police would use with the community in implementing the principle of 'community policing'; and the concern that the Juvenile Aid Bureau would disappear as a specialist unit concentrating on youth. The Commander of the region, two of his Inspectors, and five other officers attended, together with the head of the Juvenile Aid Bureau, his second in command and two of their local officers. The meeting was highly informative and constructive and further meetings were planned. Both the community and police showed a willingness to work together.

Conclusion

In this brief description of the growth and initiatives of the Juvenile Advocacy Service, I hope I have given a practical example of the way the community, given adequate funding, can be most creative in working with offending youth. It also shows how a community agency can act as a catalyst to promote cooperation among the government and non government agencies in an area for the good of the young people concerned.

References

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Policing Rural Communities—A Northern Territory Police Perspective

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The Northern Territory covers more than 1.3 million square kilometres. Divisible into two major geographical areas—the northern tropical zone (Top End) and the arid centre (The Centre)—it contains great gorges and rugged ranges, large rivers flowing through flood plains up to 80 kilometres across, semi-arid grasslands and dry stony-sandy deserts.

Many of the communities are not served by all-weather roads, many of the roads are mere tracks; in fact some centres are not served by roads at all. Much of the country is difficult to traverse on foot or by bicycle. During the Wet Season, which affects airstrips as well as roads, many areas are cut off for two or three months at a time.

Even today, despite rapidly improving communications and transport, distance and isolation are primary influences upon the pace and direction of development in the Northern Territory with consequent ramifications for policing.

The issue of policing in rural areas is a complex and diverse one. Two major factors, or a combination of them, affect virtually all aspects of police work. These factors are isolation and multiculturalism, particularly Aboriginality.

A police presence is provided at 33 police stations throughout the Territory. The police strength of some 700 members is concentrated in the main centres with many of the more remote areas serviced by two and three man stations.

This creates many difficulties in the area of staff management as some of the more remote stations are not popular postings, particularly with married members. Some areas of impact are cost of living, lifestyle, education access for children and loss of employment opportunity for spouses.

Whilst physical isolation poses serious problems, it merely provides a backdrop for the major issue in policing in outback Australia—the Aborigines and the law.

The past two decades have seen strenuous efforts by Aboriginal groups, the courts, law reform bodies and the police to address the problem of criminal justice administration and its effects on the Aboriginal population. Many difficulties have arisen in attempts to assimilate traditional Aboriginal patterns of behaviour into the conventional concepts and procedures of criminal law. These difficulties are magnified in remote communities.

Problems generally associated in dealings with the Aboriginal culture include:

- communication;
- language;

- kinship;
- cultural conflict;
- tribal law versus Australian law;
- multi-tribal (and inter-clan) conflict;
- restricted areas;
- substance abuse—alcohol, petrol sniffing; and
- cultural resurgence.

Possibly the most important factors in the organisation of Aboriginal society that the rural policeman has to contend with are communication and kinship. A person's relationship towards others is defined by his/her kinship position. A person's obligation to others, manner of address and approach and general behaviour, are almost entirely prescribed by kinship. Most non-Aboriginal people remain outside the kinship system and their undefined relationship leads to awkwardness in many interactions between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals.

Policing Rural Areas

It is against this background of a displaced, often-disoriented culture that policing of rural areas in Northern and Central Australia is cast. Matters which require police attention vary little from area to area—it is the perspective in which they must be placed that varies.

Many rural communities are prescribed as restricted areas under the *Liquor Act 1979* (NT), and alcohol possession and consumption are strictly controlled. Socially disruptive incidents related to alcohol consumption and other substance abuse predominate despite various community restrictions. Alcohol abuse is a primary factor in:

- offences against the person;
- offences against property;
- street offences (disorderly behaviour, etc.);
- road accidents; and
- breaches of restricted area provisions of the *Liquor Act*.

In order to come to terms with the difficulties of rural area policing, the Northern Territory has developed and become involved in a number of initiatives aimed at minimising problems.

Major initiatives have included:

- development of a Police Air Wing;
- development of an Aboriginal Police Aide Scheme;

- extension of school based community policing to rural communities;
- development of local Fight Crime Committees;
- the implementation of a cell visitors scheme; and
- the use of Aboriginal trackers in criminal investigation and searches.

Whilst each of these initiatives complement each other and are all important to the policing of rural communities, it is the Aboriginal Police Aide Scheme that has proven to be extremely successful. Since its inception, this scheme has significantly improved relationships between Aboriginal communities and the police.

Northern Territory Police Aide Scheme

Unauthorised landings brought about the possibility of exotic and infectious diseases, common in countries to our north, being introduced to the Australian mainland. In 1979, with Vietnamese refugees landing on the north coast, the total lack of a coastal surveillance and reporting system became apparent to both the Northern Territory Government and the Northern Territory Police.

It was suggested from some quarters that military or para-military forces be used to counter the perceived threat, but this idea was rejected on the basis that the huge expanse of coastline could not be regularly patrolled by a small land-based organisation.

As Aboriginal communities were scattered along the Northern Territory coastline, it was considered that the population already in these areas could be used as information gatherers, if they were able to be consulted in some way. The Police Aide Scheme resulted.

Recruitment Initially seven Aides were recruited, and on 13 July 1979 they graduated after a seven week training course held in Darwin. The course covered surveillance reporting, use of small boats and motorcycles for patrols and use of radio.

The Aides then returned to their respective communities. Uniforms, motorcycles and small dinghies were provided. Liaison visits were made by a designated member of the police service, to monitor progress of the scheme, particularly in communities where there were no resident police officers.

Initially, communications and administration problems occurred, but these have gradually been overcome to the extent that the Aides are now a very integral part of the service.

Since the original submission to Cabinet citing coastal surveillance as the prime objective of the scheme, the role of the Aides has been extended to the point where they are now utilised for selective community policing and public safety. This development was foreshadowed in the initial discussion and plans.

Twenty-four Aides are now employed at 21 different communities across the Territory. Of these, 11 are established with regular police stations. The other communities do not have regular police stations, but have office facilities to support Aides there.

During August 1990, the Northern Territory Government approved a further increase in the strength of Police Aides by an additional 10 members. Recruitment is now taking place.

As distinct from other members of the police service, the Police Aides are proposed in the first instance by the communities of each area and then considered by our police service in the context of their suitability, role and community need. An exhaustive enquiry into the candidates' acceptance by clan groups and sections within the kinship structure is also made in the local area by the liaison officer.

The great benefit of this system is that the Aboriginal community then has confidence in the Aide and will support him in the work he carries out. As a general rule, Aides are not transferred from one community to another, as this would break the bond between the Aide and the community.

With police Aides at communities where there is no other police presence, there is now a very tangible extension of law and order. Aides help keep those communities under control and can summon police assistance as required. Experience indicates that Aides are unlikely to request police assistance unless it is really necessary.

Aides now have the limited powers of arrest as prescribed in their 'Instruments of Appointment', and these vary according to the person's capabilities, the availability of police officers and the facilities to cater for prisoners.

To maintain their skills and to continue to increase their powers, annual training programs are given to each police Aide. The course covers a wide range of topics to increase the knowledge of the Aides in both administrative and practical matters. Some of the students are newly recruited while others participate as part of a refresher program.

The Aides are now included in the Northern Territory Police Association Tribunal Determination and have their own conditions of service, salaries and rank structure.

The continued success of the scheme appears assured.

Multiculturalism

Although Aboriginals within the Northern Territory form the largest of the multicultural groups, other groups are continuing to grow throughout rural communities.

As the growth continues, police must respond immediately with positive measures and commitment to meet this change. Lessons have been learnt by the commitment to Aboriginal understanding. The past mistakes will again occur in respect to these other multicultural groups if the Northern Territory Police itself does not act to initiate effective communication with them.

It is not suggested that it is police alone who must respond to meet this change. Indeed the Northern Territory Police Commissioner, M. J. Palmer, at the Australian Bicentennial Multicultural Foundation Conference held in Melbourne on 25-31 August 1990 addressed this subject. The subject of the conference was 'Police Services in Multicultural Australia'. To quote directly the remarks of the Commissioner:

Whether the society be multicultural or not, whilst it is unrealistic to expect police to be the catalyst for social change—indeed in my view it would be inappropriate for them to assume such a role—their effectiveness is an essential component of community stability and safety and for non-violent changes in social attitudes.

In this process there can be no question that the first and fundamental concern of police must be effective communication with the community.

At the same conference, the keynote speaker, Mr Stefan Kerkyasharian, Chairman, Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales, stated:

Even without the complication of a multicultural society, any enforcer of law and order is caught between the requirements of established law and the progression of community attitudes and perceptions which are evolutionary by the very nature of human behaviour.

The police in their policing of the law are the first contact that most people of non-English speaking background have with the legal system. It is therefore my contention that the first and fundamental concern of our police should be effective communication with the community.

Commissioner Palmer then examined in some depth what he identified as the key strategies in this communication process, and why change is necessary. His comments included the following points:

- Policing must dramatically widen its recruitment practices to ensure that the composition of the police service more accurately reflects the community which it serves.
- Both formal and informal mechanisms must be put in place to encourage recruits from a much broader cross-section of the Australian community into policing, with particular emphasis on non-English speaking background groups who, although significant in number within Australia, are not adequately represented in the police service.
- Core national selection criteria must be settled which will require the selection process to recognise the need to:
 - avoid an Anglo-Saxon bias in the recruiting process;
 - broaden the recruitment base so as to increase the linguistic and cultural skills available to the service;
 - increase the emphasis on recruiting people with linguistic and cross-cultural skills which will be of assistance to policing; and
 - emphasise the need for a balanced and objective approach in the appointment of members of selection panels themselves.
- Recruit education and in-service programs must continue to be modified and widened to place emphasis upon:
 - wider tertiary based educational development;
 - the integration of cross-cultural awareness education in all aspects of police education;
 - the teaching of conflict resolution, integration and other wider social skills;
 - experiential training with a high utilisation of role plays involving people from diverse cultural backgrounds; and
 - the provision of training in the use of interpreters.
- A range of incentives will be developed to attract those persons within the police service resistant to the change process and specific philosophies adopted to reward satisfactory completion of critical in-service programs for a range of incentives, including:
 - tertiary accreditation;
 - payment of financial allowances; and
 - promotion and transfer opportunities.

Local Police Stations It is recognised that many of the traditional policing systems are no longer effective.

The policing profession also recognises much more needs to be done. The future focus of policing will be upon enlisting the support and assistance of the community; redirecting the energies of police to emphasise the development of local strategies and to create an environment in which wider educational development, delegation and local autonomy can be maximised. Paternalism, centralisation and duplication need to be minimised. Quite simply, in the future, police must be committed towards the development of full professional partnership policing.

The local police station is the link between the police and the community. If a greater understanding of multi-cultural problems is to be achieved, it must be achieved at local levels. Experience has shown that centralised policies in many cases do not resolve the different needs of each community. To further quote Stefan Kerkyasharian, from the Multicultural Foundation Conference:

The local police station is a major point of communication between police and the community, and needs to be responsive to the divergent needs of that community.

This view has been totally accepted by the Northern Territory Police who, on 1st July this year, regionalised policing within the Greater Darwin Area. Such a change has indicated to the community the importance police put on improving relationships with them. The positive benefits of localised and personalised policing initiatives are being realised and positively received.

To further quote directly from Commissioner Palmer's paper:

- Police require much greater and better use, both at the corporate and local level, of interpreters.
- There must be a recognised need for adequate training and familiarisation of police in the use of interpreters;
- Greater attention must be given to the use of multilingual forms and audio and visual taping aids to assist people with language difficulties;
- There is a need for the implementation of procedures sufficient to ensure accuracy in interpreting both in the process of witness and suspect interviews and the use of audiovisual tapes should and will become an automatic part of this procedure; and
- There is a need to better appreciate and use interpreters in the field and to establish both formal and informal networking and support arrangements to maximise the flexibility of interpreters within each small community, as well as throughout jurisdictions.

By this use of interpreters the communication barriers will be considerably reduced, thus opening the way for more effective policing in this multicultural society. The process will not necessarily be easy, but if trust, dignity, understanding, tolerance and respect are maintained, it will open the path for the fundamental need to communicate with each other.

The Short-Term Future of Rural Policing

Rural communities in the Northern Territory have (and to some extent still do) struggled to cope with the problem of change. Policing of these communities in the future must be recognised as a professional, ethical and sensitive service, clearly operating for the public good.

The development of proper partnerships with a multicultural community is absolutely critical to this process. Law and order, personal and property safety and social disorder are not just matters for the police. They are matters for the wider community in which the police are operating.

Police officers are merely members of the public who are asked to give full time attention to the duties of the citizen.

The traditional role of policing has been to focus on the solving of crimes. In the future, it will adopt a broader problem solving and strategic approach.

- Traditional policing essentially has been measured by detection and arrest rates. In the future, if not already, it will be measured by the feelings of safety in the community and by the absence of crime and desire.
- Until recently, the highest priorities in the criminal field had been crimes with high visibility—such as bank hold-ups. Now and in the future they will be whatever problems most concern the community. Police must have the flexibility to adapt to the problems of their community and not be driven blindly by rigid corporate priorities.
- Traditionally police dealt only with incidents and specific complaints. They now deal with citizens' problems and concerns.
- Whereas previously response times traditionally determined effectiveness of policing, now and in the future such effectiveness will be determined by the levels of public co-operations and respect.
- Traditional, as those service assistance calls were viewed by police to be dealt with when no 'police' work was at hand, they will continue to be a vital responsibility, providing maximum opportunity for community interaction and the delivery of quality service.
- Police professionalism, in the future, will not be gauged by the level of effective response to serious crime, but rather by the levels of friendliness and co-operation, or openness and fair play and by police ability and willingness to be a part of the community that they service.
- Traditionally centralised control of police accountability will be replaced by an emphasis on local accountability, autonomy, delegation and discretion. Whilst in the past the role of administrators has been to provide the rules and regulations and corporate policy directions, in future it will be to teach organisational values and broad directional guidelines.

The Long-Term Future of Rural Policing

As the key recruitment strategies are implemented, a broader cultural based police service will exist. At this time, rural communities will be able to gradually reduce the present reliance on traditional Anglo-Saxon police at local level and receive a police member with linguistic and cultural skills suitable to the community being policed.

The introduction of such multicultural local policing will considerably reduce the misunderstanding, violence, racial tension and belief many people have that the action or inaction taken by police is inappropriate.

Summary

The Police Aide Scheme has been only one initiative that has proven successful in breaking down the complicated multicultural barriers. It is nothing more than a positive step in the right direction.

For future policing to be successful, it is essential that effective communication between police and the general Australian population be given the highest priority that it deserves.

Multiculturalism is part of policing. It is incumbent on the police service to put into place joint strategies to overcome the difficulties. Only after this occurs can a police service honestly state that it is achieving the goal

'To serve and protect the Community'.

Reference

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School Based Community Policing—Northern Territory

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The commencement of the School Based Community Policing was as far back as 1984 when a pilot program was introduced at Casuarina High School, one of Darwin's largest schools located in the northern suburbs. The school had a population of about 1,000 students from Year Eight to matriculation. About half of the students came from a lower socioeconomic, multicultural background.

The forerunner to this program was an 'adopted school' scheme where members of the Criminal Investigation Branch were allocated secondary schools in an endeavour to build a rapport within the school community. This system failed for many reasons but the major factor was the growing workload and other commitments that members of the Criminal Investigation Branch were required to carry out. The scheme became disjointed and was limited in meeting its objectives.

Initially the School Based Community Policing program met with resistance from within the police force, the education system (teachers and unions) and some outspoken school councils. Examples of this resistance follow.

- **The Police**
The appointee was seen by many as a 'kiddy cop' and not seen to be doing the job of a 'traditional' police officer.
- **The Education System**
Many within the education system believed that police should leave education to the educators who were trained in their field and that police should be doing what they are trained for, i.e. policing.
- **School Councils**
Amongst school councils there was a perception that the school must be bad to have a police officer stationed at their school.

Once these myths were dispelled by consultation and accurate information about the theory of school based community policing this new concept of policing was about to take a great leap forward.

One of the first duties of management was to write a 'Position Profile' for the position of school based community police officers.

POSITION PROFILE

POSITION AND RANK:

Constable, school based community policing, community relations branch, executive policy command.

SHIFTS WORKED:

Day shift.

SECTION OBJECTIVE:

To reduce the incidence of juvenile crime in the community and improve community confidence in the police.

ACCOUNTABILITY OF INCUMBENT:

Responsible for developing and maintaining good school community police interaction and rapport. Improve or consolidate the attitude of the school community and public towards law and order issues.

ACCOUNTABLE TO:

Superintendent, Community Relations Branch.

JOB DESCRIPTION:

In addition to the functions listed under 'Common Functions' for police, the following apply to the position:-

- Be seen as a member of the school community.
- Liaise with school staff, parents and shopkeepers.
- Take any complaints or particulars of offences.
- Lecture within the schools on selected topics if requested.
- Advise on security.
- Observe the performance of monitors at school crossings.
- Advise on parking restrictions in the vicinity of the school.
- Monitor the activities of any undesirables in the area.
- Liaise with truancy officers and home liaison officers.
- Counsel students as required.
- Pass on information to other instrumentalities or elements of the police force as necessary.
- Liaise with relevant government departments regarding welfare of students, e.g. Health, Community Development.
- Attend appropriate school council meetings.
- Assist in organising approved after school activities.
- Be responsible for the teaching of the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) in feeder primary schools and preschools.
- Perform normal police duties as required.

The selection of personnel to take up these positions is extremely important. In fact if the right type of person is not available, the position is just not filled by anyone. It is better to go without rather than appoint an unsuitable person.

An arrangement exists between the school and the police which allows for a six month trial period. If the school does not suit the police officer or the police officer does not suit the school then the appointment is not confirmed and another applicant is recruited.

All school based community police officers are trained in classroom techniques, methods of instruction course and are comprehensively examined in relevant legislation affecting children such as the *Juvenile Justices Act 1984*, the Criminal Code, and the

Community Welfare Act 1984. They are also trained in DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education). A school based community policing manual has been developed which acts as the constables' 'Bible'. This together with the DARE manual equips each school based community police officer to carry out his/her job in a most professional manner.

There was a need for a consistent level of information to be imparted to any person who asked questions of the constables. In other words if a question was asked of a school based constable no matter where he/she was stationed—Alice Springs, Jabiru, Nhulunbuy, Darwin, Katherine, Yuendumu, or anywhere else for that matter, the answers given would be consistent, dependent upon the circumstance.

Serving a very multicultural, multiracial and intellectually diverse community saw a need to standardise the information given. Although, the individual interpretation, involvement or degree of depth required to formulate the answers may vary, the basic facts remain the same. Standardisation throughout the Territory is important when information is given by any one of the constables.

Whilst it is not in dispute that teachers are the best people to educate children in the three Rs, the police input adds the other two Rs (Rights and Responsibilities) to the school communities. The School Based Community Police are walking, talking library books. They have become a tremendous resource in assisting teachers with their curriculum. In the Northern Territory 'Youth and the Law' is a core subject at Year Ten level. They also assist in other subjects such as legal studies, forensic science, home economics (domestic violence), student driver education, and act as advisers and consultants in protective behaviours education.

All constables are under the direct guidance of a sergeant co-ordinator of the school based community program. The duty statement for the Sergeant is as follows.

DUTY STATEMENT

- To consolidate a complete lesson content and program for all school based constables and co-ordinate the implementation.
- To supply to the school based constables all salient and modern information on matters relevant to children including drug abuse and use, legal and public safety information.
- To facilitate exchange of information regarding offending youths.
- To co-ordinate and arrange the involvement by the school based constables with such programs as the Junior Police Rangers, Blue Light discos, proactive patrols, diversion program, police and citizens youth club, holiday care and other similar programs.
- To assist in promoting constant and substantial interaction by operational police with school based constables.
- To provide the various sections of the Department with relevant information regarding juveniles, e.g. licensing problems, patrol recommendations, training and legal requirements, drug abuse and use trends.
- To identify and arrange training needs for the school based constables.
- To assist in identifying recruit and in-service training needs as it relates to the community's young people.
- To directly assist the Junior Police Ranger program.
- To oversight the DARE program.

The Northern Territory Police have one sergeant co-ordinator and 18 constables servicing all of the 20 high schools and secondary colleges, 58 primary schools and

associated preschools throughout the Territory. Special attention is being paid to Aboriginal schools such as Kormilda College in Darwin and Yirara College in Alice Springs. The majority of children who attend these colleges come from communities far and wide. The school based community police at these colleges have the added responsibility of servicing these communities such as Port Keats, Bathurst and Melville Island, Daly River, Santa Teresa, Yuendumu, Papunya, Oenpelli and many others. These duties are carried out in addition to other policing functions performed at these settlements or towns.

Another benefit of the school based community police is to identify children at risk. Each case has to be handled on its own merit. It may be that just a friendly chat is all that is needed in some cases, while other cases may require intervention of a relevant authority. Some children are placed in a diversion program by the police while others get direction from activities such as Police and Citizens Youth Club, Wongabilla Equestrian Centre (pony club run by police), Aboriginal stock handlers courses, Blue Light Discos, Junior Police Rangers or other outdoor camping programs run by police.

There may be a case for a child and his family to be 'walked' through the juvenile justice system by the school based community police officer. All processes (for example, summons) issued by the Juvenile Courts are served by these members. Some magistrates impose reporting conditions on some young offenders and use a school based constable as a resource for this process to occur.

The commitment of the Northern Territory Police to the School Based Community Program is just less than 3 per cent of our sworn police officers. Whilst that percentage of human resources may seem high, the Education Department also contribute to the maintenance of these officers by supplying an office and telephone within the school.

All school based constables are issued with a specially identifiable vehicle fitted with a removable police radio. These vehicles are 'home garaged' and allows tremendous mobility and flexibility when dealing with the school communities. These highly visible vehicles are seen by the general public at schools, shopping centres, attending various meetings, on underage drinking patrols or at school sporting functions and other activities. The police officers themselves carry out their duties in full uniform unless commonsense dictates otherwise, i.e. police sports uniform at sporting functions or school camps.

During the school holidays the school based community police officers conduct holiday care programs for all comers. They enlist the help of youth (15-16 year olds) to assist with these activities. The holiday care program of activities is dictated by the age groups of those that attend.

Some of the junior police rangers assist with these activities together with some of the equipment belonging to the junior police rangers, e.g. canoes, abseiling ropes, compass and map reading equipment. Police and Citizens Youth Club venues and equipment are also used to assist with the school holiday care programs, e.g. holiday care instructors supervise the use of Wongabilla Equestrian Centre horses, basketball, volleyball and other sporting equipment and direct other instructors.

Let us analyse the contact each of these school based community police would have with their community on a day-to-day basis: high school or secondary college (approximately) 800, feeder primary and preschools (approximately) 1,200 plus school teachers, school councils and parents of the children. It's easy to see that the commitment of the Northern Territory Police to its youth and school communities is enormous; particularly if the contact made by our other activities such as Junior Police Rangers, Police and Citizens Youth Club (1,400 per week) and Blue Light Discos (over 20,000 for the year) are included in the figures.

In short, using ball park figures, 3 per cent of the Northern Territory Police have daily contact with nearly one third of the entire population in a proactive policing mode. Whilst it is important to have a very good reactive police service, proactive policing programs are equally important to serve and protect our community.

It is worth noting that all of the proactive policing programs in place in the Northern Territory did not happen overnight. More importantly the human resources committed to these programs were not taken from the operational areas. Very solid and properly

constructed cabinet submissions were used to elicit government assistance for funding of equipment and human resources over a period of time to allow the Northern Territory police to achieve this high level of commitment to proactive policing.

Like many other proactive police programs, evaluation and research into police effectiveness are sometimes difficult to achieve in black and white statistics. It will only be with longitudinal studies using many and varied performance indicators to know if proactive policing programs in place in the Northern Territory will in fact fulfil the community's desire to be policed in this manner.

Programs being evaluated in the Northern Territory at the moment are:

- School Based Community Policing; and
- Neighbourhood Watch.

Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) has been evaluated professionally by the Northern Territory University and the results were indeed positive. DARE has been accepted by the Department of Education and Health to be taught in all Northern Territory schools as a curriculum subject by trained uniformed police officers (school based community policing). The level of co-operation between police, education and health all working together in the Northern Territory under the 'Link' document is a partnership not enjoyed by any other state or territory.

The phrase 'The community are the police and the police are the community' has been attributed to Sir Robert Peel. The School Based Community Policing program can be seen as a cornerstone to build strong foundations for the police and the community to work together in the 1990s for a better partnership for the future.

Crime Prevention and Socio-Legal Reform on Aboriginal Communities in Queensland

Barbara Miller
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Queensland

The Aboriginal Co-ordinating Council (ACC) is an Aboriginal community organisation which has statutory authority to advise the Queensland Government on Aboriginal affairs. The ACC consists of the chairman and a councillor from all local government deed of grant in trust Communities in Queensland—Cherbourg, Woorabinda, Palm Island, Yarrabah, Hopevale, Wujal Wujal, Lockhart River, Injinoo, New Mapoon, Umagico, Doomadgee, Weipa, Kowanyama, Pormpuraaw and Old Mapoon plus Aurukun and Mornington Island. The secretariat is based in Cairns.

The Problem

There is a law and order crisis on Aboriginal Communities in Queensland. Table 1 compares Magistrate's Court appearances for Aboriginal adults (18+) from the North Queensland Aboriginal Communities of Kowanyama, Gununa (Mornington Island), Aurukun, Lockhart River, Pormpuraaw, Yarrabah and Palm Island with Queensland adult appearances for 1988-89. Aborigines are seven times more likely to appear on homicide charges, fifty times more likely to appear on major assault charges, thirty-seven times more likely to be charged with rape, fifty-nine times more likely to be charged with other violations of persons, thirty-eight times more likely to be charged with burglary, thirty-one more times on break and enter and twenty-two times more likely to appear on *Liquor Act 1912* offences.

Forty per cent of Aboriginal appearances were for drunkenness, followed by 20.3 per cent for assault, and 15.2 per cent for theft, whereas the overall Queensland pattern was quite different—61.9 per cent being driving offences, 13 per cent being drunkenness, 5.4 per cent being theft and 3 per cent being assault.

A comparison was done by ACC of appearances in Children's Court in 1988-89 of Aboriginal children from Communities and all Queensland children. The results, shown in Table 2, are very disturbing. Assaults, both major and minor are seven times more likely to be committed by children from Aboriginal Communities than in Queensland as a whole, the

overall assault rate being 5.21 per 1,000 compared to 0.78 per 1,000. No Aboriginal children appeared in court for rape (although it did occur). Community Aboriginal children were eleven times more likely to appear on other sexual offences, 0.65 per 1,000 compared to 0.06 per 1000 for Queensland children. Community Aboriginal children were twenty-six times more likely to appear on charges of robbery and extortion, eleven times more likely to appear for theft, nineteen times more likely to appear for other break and enter charges, nine times more likely to appear for weapons offences and seventeen times more likely to appear for *Liquor Act* offences than Queensland children as a whole. They were less likely to appear on charges of fraud, driving offences, drugs and trespassing.

As the over-representation of Aborigines in custody accounts for the high rates of Aboriginal deaths in custody considering their population, the fact that Aboriginal youth are so over-represented in Children's Court appearances is alarming.

Of great concern is that a comparison of Department of Family Services figures with ABS figures shows that as at 30th June 1989, approximately per cent of all children under 15 years of age were Aboriginal and they constituted about 47 per cent of all children under *Children's Services Act 1965* orders for offences. Thus an Aboriginal child under 15 years of age is 21 times more likely to be the subject of an order for an offence than a non-Aboriginal in that age group. As the number of Aboriginal children in Queensland is increasing at a rate higher than in the general population, unless wide sweeping reforms are made soon, then the over-representation of Aborigines in custody is liable to increase rather than be reduced. The high rates of child abuse and neglect and child sexual abuse of male and female children by youth is a matter of grave concern.

The Causes

White Settler Violence

The level of violence and death by violence in Aboriginal Communities, which in turn contributes to the high rate of imprisonment of Aboriginal people and consequent deaths in custody can be understood against the backdrop of the structural violence white Australia has perpetrated on the original owners of the land. Declaring Australia *Terra Nullius*, uninhabited, and killing off any Aboriginal resistance to land seizure with superior weaponry, diseases, poisoned water-holes and flour laced with arsenic, the British settlers set up institutions and governments which have perpetrated their violent domination.

Accounts of the massacres can be found in Rowley (1972); Roberts, Parsons and Russell (1975b); Evans, Saunders and Cronin (1975); Reynolds (1981) and Loos (1982). This frontier violence, institutionalised violence and racism throughout the years has left a psychological scar on contemporary Aboriginal Australia. This is hardly surprising when events like this are recorded:

One hears of the Sunday afternoon manhunts, of sexual mutilation, of burying a live Aboriginal baby up to its neck in sand and kicking its head off, after tying the severed neck of the husband around the raped spouse (Harris 1979).

Mapoon Aborigines recorded the massacre of their people:

Up at Cowal Creek, at the other end of Seven River territory, they remember how Jardine used to kill black children by knocking their heads against trees, and how he and Kennedy together exterminated hundreds of Aborigines (Roberts et al. 1975a, p. 6).

The pain and bitterness of these memories passed on from generation to generation still chills the blood of Aboriginal people, leaves an aching, crying feeling

Table 1

Appearances in Magistrate's or Higher Courts—Adults 1988-89

	Qld			Aboriginal Communities			Differ- ence
	Appear- ance	%	Rate	Appear- ance	%	Rate	
Homicide	219	(0.1%)	0.11	3	(0.3%)	0.77	7
Assault	5 856	(3.0%)	2.99	330	(20.3%)	84.99	28.42
Major Assault	1 860	(0.9%)	0.95	187	(11.5%)	48.16	50.69
Minor Assault	3 050	(1.5%)	1.56	94	(5.8%)	24.21	15.52
Rape	169	(0.1%)	0.09	13	(0.8%)	3.35	37.22
Other Sexual	513	(0.3%)	0.26	6	(0.4%)	1.54	5.92
Other violation of person	264	(0.1%)	0.1	30	(1.8%)	7.73	59.46
Robbery & Extortion	247	(0.1%)	0.13	2	(0.1%)	0.52	4.00
Fraud	2 538	(1.3%)	1.3	7	(0.4%)	1.80	1.38
Theft etc	10 683	(5.4%)	5.45	247	(15.2%)	63.61	11.67
Unlawful use of M.V.	1 190	(0.6%)	0.61	25	(1.5%)	6.44	10.88
Other stealing	6 515	(3.3%)	3.33	34	(2.1%)	8.76	2.63
Receiving	852	(0.43%)	0.43	41	(2.5%)	10.56	24.56
Burglary	1 070	(0.54%)	0.55	81	(5.0%)	20.86	37.93
Other Break & Enter	1 056	(0.53%)	0.54	66	(4.0%)	17.00	31.48
Property Damage	2 304	(1.2%)	1.18	87	(5.3%)	22.41	18.99
Driving Offences	12 457	(61.9%)	61.48	71	(4.4%)	18.28	3.36
Other Offences	55 339	(28.00%)	28.24	883	(54.2%)	227.40	8.05
Drugs	5 411	(2.74%)	2.76	3	(0.2%)	0.77	3.58
Drunkenness	25 162	(12.96%)	13.07	654	(40.1%)	168.43	12.89
Offensive Behaviour	5 517	(2.79%)	2.82	79	(4.8%)	20.35	7.22
Trespassing	709	(0.35%)	0.36	5	(0.3%)	1.29	3.58
Weapons Offences	660	(0.33%)	0.34	35	(2.1%)	9.07	26.68
Liquor Act Offences	827	(0.42%)	0.42	36	(2.2%)	9.27	22.07
Other	16 602	(8.4%)	8.47	71	(4.4%)	18.28	2.16
Total	197 643		100.87	1 630	100.2%	419.78	

Rate = No. of people per 1000

Source: Colahan, K. 1990, ACC Data Base Project using Justice Department and ABS Data.

Table 2

Appearances in Children's Courts 1988-89

	Qld			Aboriginal Communities			Differ- ence
	Appear- ance	%	Rate	Appear- ance	%	Rate	
Homicide	2	(0.0%)	0.00	0	(0.0%)	0.00	
Assault	290	(6.6%)	0.78	8	(5.5%)	5.21	6.67
Major Assault	97	(2.2%)	0.26	3	(2.1%)	1.96	7.54
Minor Assault	152	(3.5%)	0.41	4	(2.7%)	2.61	6.36
Rape	5	(0.1%)	0.01	0	(0.0%)	0.0%	
Other Sexual	23	(0.5%)	0.06	1	(0.7%)	0.65	10.83
Other violation of person	13	(0.3%)	0.04	0	(0.0%)	0.0%	
Robbery & Extortion	20	(0.5%)	0.05	2	(1.4%)	1.30	26.00
Fraud	53	(1.2%)	0.14	0	(0.0%)	0.00	
Theft etc.	2 485	(56.9%)	6.73	112	(76.7%)	73.01	10.84
Unlawful use of M.V.	527		1.43	13	(8.9%)	8.47	
Other Stealing	702		1.90	11	(7.5%)	7.17	
Receiving	146		0.40	6	(4.1%)	3.91	
Burglary dwg etc.	414		1.12	27	(18.5%)	17.60	
Other Break & Enter	696		1.88	55	(37.7%)	35.85	19.06
Property Damage	257	(5.9%)	0.70	10	(6.8%)	6.52	9.31
Driving Offences	595	(13.6%)	1.61	1	(0.7%)	0.65	
Other Offences	662	(15.2%)	1.79	13	(8.9%)	8.47	
Drugs	108		0.29	0	(0.0%)	0.00	
Drunkenness	178		0.48	1	(0.7%)	0.65	
Offensive Behaviour	226		0.61	2	(1.4%)	1.30	
Trespassing	15		0.04	0	(0.0%)	0.0	
Weapons Offences	28		0.08	5	(3.4%)	3.26	40.75
Liquor Act Offences	69		0.19	5	(3.4%)	3.26	17.16
Other	30		0.08	0	(4.0%)	0.0	
Total	4 364		11.81	146		95.18	8.06

Rate per 1000 was calculated with population figures including Yarrabah, Pormpuraaw, and Lockhart even though these communities had no childrens court cases that year.

Rate = No. of people per 1000 appearing in court in 1988-89.

Population of Queensland (between the ages of 10 and 17 inclusive) at 30 June 1988 = 369 426.

Communities included in figures: Population (18 and over only, from 1986 census).

Kowanyama	154
Palm Island	355
Gununa	154
Aurkun	183
NPA	243

Total **11 089**

Including Lockhart, Pormpuraaw, and Yarrabah = 1 534

The population figures above include only those individuals between the ages of 10 and 17 years inclusive.

Source: Colahan, K. 1990, ACC Data Base Project using Justice Department and ABS Data.

in their hearts and causes a choking of the voice, a wiping of tears from eyes—tears of hate, anger, frustration, shame, grief, depression, powerlessness and alienation.

Rage Turned Inward To Family Violence

It is this pain and the knowledge that Aboriginal people constitute too small a group to regain control of Australia by forceful or peaceful means that leads Aboriginal people to turn their violence against other Aborigines rather than against white Australia.

In Taylor's evidence to the Alwyn Peter case he explained the high level of suicide and self-mutilation on North Queensland Aboriginal Communities by saying that Aborigines diverted rage and anger inward on themselves: 'If they were to attack the real objects of their anger, they would claim retribution from the Australian Legal System' (Wilson 1982, p. 29). Taylor had seen many cases of latent hostility caused by oppression.

Black crime in Australia is not directed against whites as it is in the USA but against other blacks. In fact it is generally directed against an Aboriginal's own family—his wife, girlfriend or de facto are the most likely victims.

More than 70 per cent of assaults on one Queensland Community in 1988 were committed by husbands, boyfriends or de factos drunk at the time (Brady 1989, pp. 7-8). Violence is not confined to the nuclear family. Men are fighting their brothers, fathers and uncles and bashing their mothers. 'Women are running away from sons-in-law and grandmothers are being raped by grandsons' (Atkinson 1990, p. 10). At times, Aboriginal women will try to end their suffering by stabbing and sometimes killing their men.

Rage Turned Inward—Self-mutilation and Suicide

There is an important link between violence and self-inflicted injury. Because Aboriginal people are not as individualistic as Europeans, the boundary between self and family is not as clearly defined and family violence (a preferred term to domestic violence) may be perceived as similar to violence against self. This is not to suggest that perpetrators should not be brought to account for their actions, but that the violence whether to self or family may have a similar meaning to the perpetrator.

Wilson (1982, pp. 23-4) touches on this issue when he writes 'the thin line between channelling anger and hostility towards oneself and turning on loved ones is dramatically illustrated in the death of Dierdre. Alwyn recalled the night of Dierdre's death when "things went wrong": according to Alwyn he had wanted to hurt himself, not Dierdre. Alwyn admitted he was drunk and jealous about Dierdre, that he had a knife; that they argued violently. But he said he wanted to cut himself and would have done so if Dierdre had not tried to intervene . . . In the ensuing struggle, she was killed'.

When Alwyn Peter and others like him are frustrated or angry, they use self-mutilation or violence towards others or both depending on situational factors such as who was present and how they responded. Because of their limited knowledge of choices as to how to resolve conflict, someone is usually hurt, sometimes killed. Traditional dispute resolution mechanisms are often not operating because of the imposition of European law and order. Alwyn's sister, Amy Peter has scarred hands from smashing louveres. She said 'When I am angry I reach a point where I can't get rid of anger any other way besides smashing things or getting stuck into somebody' (Wilson 1982, p. 26) illustrating the fine line between violence and self-inflicted injury.

As Wilson (1982, p. 97) so eloquently states:

Most Australians, would not acknowledge the responsibility that they bear in the acts of murder and self-mutilation that occur on Aboriginal reserves (now trust areas). But by taking traditional black homelands, by refusing to allow Aboriginal self-determination and by actively enforcing on Aborigines an assimilationist framework, we have subjected them to a fatal psychic trauma that manifests itself in alcoholism, self-effacement and self-destruction.

Land Rights and Self-determination

In 1984 a form of land tenure was granted to ACC Communities by the 'Deeds of Grant In Trust Legislation' whereby Aboriginal Councils are trustees for the ex-reserve land now owned communally and called trust areas. Also a form of self-management was granted to these Aboriginal Communities with Aboriginal Councils receiving local government status through the *Community Services (Aborigines) Act 1984*. For a thorough discussion of the inadequacy of these two pieces of legislation in achieving land rights and self-determination for Queensland Aboriginal Communities, see Miller (1986) and the ACC's 1989 submission to the Queensland Government requesting changes to the *Community Services Act*. Violence rates and death rates for the five years preceding and five years following the introduction of the above legislation could be compared but it is not likely that the damage done by 200 years of oppression could be recovered from in a few years. Even if Aborigines receive full rights to land and self-determination it will probably take generations for real improvements to be seen. However, it is essential that this occur or no progress will be made.

Overcrowding

The forced movement of tribes into settled areas called reserves meant that some tribes are living on another tribe's area and this of course causes conflict. Support for the outstation movement where clan groups move back to their own lands and establish bases (like Aurukun) will relieve the pressure back in the main settlement. Added to this is the pressure of overcrowding where two or three families often live in the one household with sometimes up to twenty people to a three bedroom house. Taylor et al. (1989, p. 10) found that 'twenty-five per cent of houses (at Yarrabah) contain more than eight persons'. The ACC has almost completed a housing survey of all Communities which shows even higher rates of overcrowding.

One of the traditional social control mechanisms used by Aboriginal people was avoidance, e.g. certain kin like mothers-in-law could not be looked at or spoken to. Family groups could easily shift camp when they live in more temporary dwellings. These factors, combined with alcohol have lead to a situation which would be hard for other Australians to understand. For urban dwelling Australians, it is worth considering for themselves the reality of living with a small community containing all one's relatives, all one's relationships, both past and present, and all one's enemies—constant reminders of one's mistakes and failures (Anderson & Coates 1989, p. 35). More houses with culturally appropriate designs need to be built and more land needs to be made available especially for land-locked Communities like Wujal Wujal.

Disintegration of Traditional Dispute Resolution

The Aboriginal Co-ordinating Council submission to the Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force maintained that while some men defend their right to be violent towards women

as being based on tradition, the controlled violence used in traditional dispute resolution was quite different. Dispute resolution was controlled by a strict set of rules, occurred in public, blockers were used to prevent serious harm and alcohol was not involved. The introduction of European law and order and alcohol has almost destroyed this process.

The traditional role of men in Aboriginal society has been eroded and there are few opportunities for men to develop a sense of achievement and self-worth. Men then tend to use violence on their women to reassert their authority. Homicide, assault, rape and suicide occur as a result of Aboriginal men's fear of loss of a valued relationship and jealousy over his wife or de facto. Such a feared loss takes on greater proportions when it is experienced in the context of few alternatives (such as meaningful employment) to achieve identity and happiness.

Alcohol

Alcohol is used by Aborigines as an anxiety reducing agent to cope with the stresses attendant upon colonisation and racism. However, a vicious circle develops because alcohol releases behaviour not approved of in traditional society which engenders guilt, and consequently more anxiety and drinking. Alcohol abuse has also become a means of passive resistance against white authority. Drinking together provides a way for Aborigines to experience group solidarity and identity.

The first time a young man becomes drunk appears to assume the importance initiation would have had and to fill the vacuum left by the lack of a marker between boyhood and manhood. The first time a young man goes to gaol seems to have a similar value in establishing his manhood. Girls still have the milestone of having a baby to establish their womanhood. But when there are no jobs to look forward to except working for the dole, and no houses available so that young couples have to share with their parents, there is little to mark the transition. For men who have lost their role as provider and leader, alcohol has provided a means of bolstering their confidence to be assertive towards other Aboriginal men and assertive with their women. This can lead to aggression.

The constant refrain of police on Communities is that 90-95 per cent of crime is alcohol related and the constant complaint of nursing staff is that 90-95 per cent of health problems are alcohol related.

Although alcohol does not cause violence, it is correlated with violence, lowering inhibitions so that people express thoughts and feelings which may provoke violent outbursts. An 'alcohol culture' has developed on some Communities where it is almost considered deviant not to drink, and socialisation of the young works to encourage modelling of heavy drinking and fighting behaviour. Coupled with a constellation of social and economic conditions such as poverty, high truancy rates, mortality rates three times the Queensland average, high store prices and inadequate nutrition, poor housing, overcrowding and little employment except for the work for the dole schemes, conditions are created that Wilson termed 'violence provoking' (Wilson 1982).

History Of Aboriginal-Police Relations

It is hardly surprising that a Black Defence Committee was set up to push for an inquiry into deaths in custody. Many Aborigines suspected police had bashed Aborigines in custody leading to their deaths.

History can explain this. Since colonisation Aborigines have distrusted police because they were used as a paramilitary force to move Aboriginal people off their land and to protect white squatters. The native police were used by colonists to wipe out or decimate Aboriginal tribes who fought for their land or who took cattle or sheep when their hunting areas had been stolen. When it appeared Aborigines as a race were dying out, children of

mixed parentage were stolen by police from their Aboriginal mothers and taken to settlements for half-castes designed as training grounds to assimilate them into white society. Many were never to see their parents or brothers or sisters again. Some were hired out as cheap labour for station owners as housemaids or stockboys.

Until recent years in Queensland, the government managed the bank accounts of Aborigines into which their wages were paid. Their bank books were held at the local Police Station by the local police 'protector'. As literacy and numeracy levels were low, Aboriginal people suspected but could not prove that they were not receiving the amount of money they signed for when they received a handful of change, and that much was pocketed. One police station in North Queensland was burned down when there was talk of an inspection of its records.

There are many instances of Aborigines in all states being discriminated against by police—being harassed at pubs like the 'Empress' in Redfern, being beaten up at demonstrations for Aboriginal rights, and being bashed in police cells. Rape of Aboriginal women by police has not been uncommon. There is distrust, even hatred of police and fear of going to gaol. One young Aboriginal male hung himself in Melbourne on 10th January 1977, rather than be returned to Yarrabah for non-payment of fines and breach of community service for traffic offences because he had previously been beaten up by police there. A chairman of Yarrabah, Percy Neal, was gaoled for three months on a charge of spitting at a store manager who had challenged his authority. Subsequent police harassment had led him to leave the Community for about twelve months till things had settled down. Some members of the Land Rights Committee at Yarrabah were intimidated over a period of years by police spotlighting their homes on night patrols. (Three of the Queensland deaths occurred in Yarrabah Watchhouse).

This is not to say that there are no individual police who have assisted Aborigines, worked hard, been sympathetic and won the respect of Aboriginal people, but the historical background to Aboriginal-police relations in particular and Aboriginal-white relations in general is one which has led to a situation where Aborigines are forty times more likely to be placed in police custody than non-Aborigines and are very likely to experience such custody as frightening, alienating and unjustified. In fact, many Aborigines feel that they are 'political prisoners'—gaoled by the discriminatory laws of a racist society. A society whose very foundation is illegal, immoral and based on a lie—that Australia was 'terra nullius' or uninhabited. Traditional Aboriginal lore has largely been replaced by white law; Aboriginal custom and religion much interfered with by white society's rules; priorities and lifestyle; traditional economics have been destroyed by the theft of Aboriginal land and Aboriginal sovereignty; and self-determination has been denied. Such marginalisation has been in the name of progress. How can a nation retain its soul with such a history much less good relations between Aborigines and police? And how can Aboriginal people see a future of hope so that they stop dying through suicide, alcohol abuse, introduced diseases and murder by the hand of loved ones?

Solutions—Towards Crime Prevention

We have a law and order crisis and a social crisis on Queensland Aboriginal Communities of major proportions. It is time governments responded in such a way as to empower Aboriginal people to find their own solutions at a local community based level.

Aboriginal Land Rights and Self-Determination

Aboriginal land and resource rights and compensation should be given to Aboriginal Communities after full consultation. The outstation movement where Aboriginal clans move out of artificially created Communities where conflicts arise, and move back to their traditional lands which are usually alcohol-free, should be supported. It is important that Aboriginal Communities be self-determining because many of today's problems stem from having that control over their own lives taken away by governments and administrators via, for example, the previous Queensland *Aborigines Act 1971*. The present *Community Services (Aborigines) Act 1984* needs to be changed for Communities to achieve self-determination.

Law Reform and Customary Law

One reason that the present system of law and order on Communities is not working is that although there are Aboriginal police and community courts presided over by Aboriginal JPs dispensing law based on Aboriginal Local Government Council by-laws, which include behavioural offences, it is basically the European system of law and order that is operating. These vehicles on Queensland Aboriginal Communities offer opportunities for the recommendations of the Aboriginal Law Reform Commission's Report on the Recognition of Aboriginal Customary Laws to be implemented, but this has not been attempted. Until Aboriginal Communities re-examine their present social control mechanisms in the light of what customary laws could be adapted to today's needs and are empowered to do so by governments, the present scandalous situation will continue.

Prior to 1984, the Queensland *Aborigines Act* was in operation on Aboriginal Communities and it contained a large number of infringements of human rights. For a detailed discussion on this, see Miller (1986). The by-laws that pertained to this legislation were also discriminatory and the Human Rights Commission outlined these human rights infringements in detail in a previous report.

When replacement legislation, the *Community Services (Aborigines) Act 1984*, came into being with the intent of giving local government to Aboriginal Communities, the Queensland Government made no attempt to ask community councils what they wanted to see in the new Council by-laws that would operate under the head of power of this legislation. Nor was there any effort by government to assist the councils to develop culturally appropriate by-laws or to put into place the recommendations of the Law Reform Commission on the Recognition of Aboriginal Customary Laws.

Instead the Aboriginal Councils were advised to adopt the Mt Perry by-laws, which were devised for a non-Aboriginal Council. Yarrabah was the first to do so and a number of other councils have followed suit because no alternatives were given. These by-laws are framed in inappropriate legalese, many provisions are irrelevant and some important matters are not covered, e.g. land management matters and Aboriginal ranger by-laws. Injinoo and Kowanyama Council, however, have separately sought legal advice and drawn up more appropriate by-laws. Some Communities still do not have new by-laws. They are operating under the outdated by-laws that pertained to legislation that no longer exists, namely the discriminatory Queensland *Aborigines Act*. This is a disgrace!

The ACC puts such a high priority on its By-Laws Project (for which it is seeking funding) for the following reasons:

- By-laws are perceived to be the main avenue for law reform in Communities. As the current Queensland legislation covering Aboriginal Communities is under review anyway, intensive consultations with Communities as to what they would like to see in their by-laws need not be limited by what is possible under the current legislation. Recommendations from this project can feed back to the review of the *Community Services (Aborigines) Act* and other legislation.
- By-laws are the basis of law and order on Communities with community police arresting for by-law infringements (Yarrabah once called them by-law officers when there was a dispute between Council and state police over their supervision) and Community courts having the ability to hear only by-law infringements.
- By-laws provide the best vehicle for the Communities to recognise and/or reintroduce customary law recommendations of the Law Reform Commission or the Recognition of Aboriginal Customary Laws.
- By-laws are an avenue for Communities to be more self-determining. A much wider range of powers can be created under Aboriginal Council by-laws than under non-Aboriginal Council by-laws. For example, Aboriginal Councils can make determinations as to who is a resident, who is eligible to vote and stand for elections, what classes of persons can enter their Communities and make determinations about the use of alcohol, land and resource management, social control issues etc. In this sense Aboriginal Communities are 'domestic nations' like North American Indian tribes.
- Traditional dispute resolution mechanisms could be incorporated into Community by-laws to reduce the amount of homicide, domestic violence, child abuse and juvenile offending on Communities. We need reform of community policing and Community courts so they are more in tune with traditional dispute resolution methods.
- The present by-laws are either outdated and discriminatory or are designed for white councils, culturally inappropriate, framed in legalese, have left out important matters and contain many irrelevant provisions.

Under the previous Queensland Government, the Crown Law Department continually rejected sections from Council's by-laws because they would not allow for cultural differences on the Communities. It is hoped that this will not happen under the present ALP government. For example, Aboriginal Councils and police on a number of Communities have told me that they want curfews to keep their children off the streets in the early hours of the morning to protect them. They also want it to be an offence for a person to 'cart tales' that a person is sleeping around because it causes fights.

Additionally they want it to be an offence to say the name of a dead person because this is against Aboriginal culture and usually happens when a person is drunk. It offends the relatives and will cause fights. In the past, the Queensland government has overruled such by-law proposals.

Mediation or Dispute Resolution Training

The Queensland Justice Department has put out a Green Paper on Mediation and is in the process of setting up four Community Justice Centres in Queensland. The Aboriginal Communities I have visited are keen to have Community Mediation Centres on their own Communities with two or more local Aboriginal people trained as mediators, paid initially by CDEP (the Community Development Employment Program). Aboriginal JPs, community police and women's groups have also expressed interest in mediation training to improve their personal and work skills.

Mediation is particularly useful in resolving family disputes and should reduce crime and incarceration levels. It should also reduce recidivism as the underlying problem would be sorted out, reducing the number of crimes that would be re-committed.

The concept of mediation is that it is non-coercive, non-punitive and the mediator is not an arbitrator, but facilitates the process of getting disputants to talk to and hear each other so that a solution can be reached that they agree on. This may take a number of sessions in difficult cases before a written contract is made. Once Aboriginal mediators are trained, they can work out an alternative to written contracts which would not be suitable in most cases.

Mediation is more suited to Aboriginal Communities than the Western adversarial justice system. Jacob Wolmby, an Aurukun Councillor said 'Mediation is what we do anyway'. He said the Council would like to have a building next to the Council Chambers to use as a Community Mediation Centre. Rather than two disputants as we would see in a city, in an Aboriginal Community, mediators would need to involve a number of kin for the mediation process to be effective.

Mediation or dispute resolution as well as being a preventative measure could also be used as a sentencing option of the Community Court or Magistrate's Court depending on the severity of the offence. Restitution might be agreed upon between parties with the help of a good mediator. Each disputant is more likely to carry out his/her side of the contract because they helped in devising it.

State Police

There should be a screening process to weed out racist police who cannot be retrained so that they do not work in areas of high Aboriginal population. A recent move by the Queensland Police Department to involve Aboriginal Councillors on the interview panel to select state police applying to work on Communities is welcomed. It is necessary that state police be trained at the Police Academy and with in-service courses in Aboriginal culture and history, and inter-cultural communication by Aboriginal people. Courses should be designed and taught where possible by Aboriginal people.

State police need to make more use of proactive policing, getting preventative programs going, such as blue light discos and other recreational activities, building up a rapport with young people. Police need also to use their discretionary powers more e.g. to ignore some matters or deal with them informally by advice on conciliation, or formally by caution or summons instead of arrest.

Community or Aboriginal Police

All Communities I have visited have requested community police training. Kayleen Hazlehurst of the Australian Institute of Criminology, was asked by the ACC to prepare a community police training manual and video in conjunction with the Queensland State Police. This was quite innovative, but there have been a number of problems. It is a very large area for one policeman to cover to do community police training along with his other responsibilities. Also, by the time he gets around to a community to do another module, some police have been replaced so that he has to start over again. Community police have a high drop-out rate because it is difficult to arrest relatives and there are anti-police feelings on Communities. Cultural prescriptions regulating interaction with close kin sometimes hamper police duties. It is also difficult for community police to arrest Councillors or their families when they are employed by Councils.

The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody found that on Wujal Wujal where a death had occurred, the Senior Aboriginal Police Officer was an untrained teenager. At Doomadgee each Aboriginal Police Officer had only a few months experience on the job.

Very few community police are likely to go to the Police Academy in Brisbane to be trained as state police in the near future because of not wanting to leave home for study and because of the need for a bridging course to cope with the study requirements.

Also once they do the course they can be posted anywhere in the state which they do not want. This makes it important to provide adequate, regular on-the-ground training. Because of lack of training, community police do not often get respect from the community who see them as second rate 'Mickey Mouse' police. This makes it difficult for them to respect themselves and to carry out their jobs. A career structure needs to be created for community police and those that have alcohol problems, or who have raped or bashed community women, should be eased out. It is not appropriate for community police to have criminal records themselves and a better selection process is required.

The Northern Territory Police Aide scheme could be adapted to the Queensland Aboriginal Community situation. It appears to work for four reasons:

- Selection of police aides by the community, so that they have tribal authority and the endorsement of all clans;
- Suitably trained police supervisors;
- Responsive two-way communication from state police through Aboriginal police to Aboriginal Council and Community; and
- Tribal mechanisms for dispute resolution and social control are allowed to take place as much as possible.

An ACC Working Party on the *Community Services Act* recently recommended that community police training occur at a residential training centre on a North Queensland Aboriginal Community, supplemented by on-the-job training. This would be preferable to going to the Police Academy in Brisbane, although it could be a stepping stone to the Academy for those who wish to go. This recommendation followed a discussion on the Northern Territory course at Batchelor College and it was decided that it would be worthwhile getting a copy of the curriculum which would have to be adapted because of different laws. It was also decided that experienced Northern Territory police should be used initially to teach at such a residential community course.

Aboriginal people are most suited to solve their own problems. Aboriginal-police liaison committees could be set up on each community so that there can be greater Aboriginal input into the policing of the Communities.

Police powers should not be limited as in the Northern Territory, but certain basic powers such as powers of arrest should exist even if a Queensland Police member is not present. Queensland Aboriginal Communities feel strongly that community police should have powers of arrest, and that the *Community Services (Aborigines) Act 1984* should be amended so that community police and Aboriginal Councils as their employers are not liable to be sued. This would make it even more important that sound training of police occur.

A major stumbling block to introducing into Queensland a scheme similar to the Northern Territory Police Aide Program would be the employment of Aboriginal police by the state police force. Presently the Aboriginal community police in Queensland are employed by Aboriginal Councils, and most Councils would prefer it this way. Some Councils, for example, Hopevale, do not feel it is necessary to have any state police in their community, while other Councils e.g. Wujal Wujal have requested in vain to have state police stationed there. (Wujal Wujal presently has no community police, no state police, no Justices of the Peace to hold Community Court and no watchhouse to put offenders in anyway).

Further recommendations are:

- To move away from the Aboriginal concept of police as 'Bullimen', training modules need to be developed to teach proactive crime prevention, and crisis intervention skills, as well as peace-making and mediating skills.

- More female community police are needed, in particular for search procedures with arrested women.
- Community police should be selected by the community so that where appropriate, they have tribal authority and the endorsement of all clans.
- Police should be trained to support the use of traditional mechanisms for dispute resolution and social control.
- Funding should be made available through DEET or another source for Queensland Community Police to visit the Northern Territory and see how the Police Aide scheme works.
- A career structure, decent pay, new uniforms and boots rather than secondhand ones, and decent resources such as police vehicles, walkie talkies etc., should be provided to community police to increase morale.

Community Courts

The present system consists of a community court which is presided over by two Aboriginal Justices of the Peace, often elders in the Community or three Aboriginal Councillors. They hear matters related to by-laws offences which apart from the usual local government by-laws, include social order offences such as drunk, drunk and disorderly, offensive language etc. The following problems arise however:

- complete lack of training of JPs and Councillors;
- infrequent court hearings;
- a white system of justice is administered by Aboriginal people;
- they have difficulty in remaining aloof from community conflicts or dealing with relatives;
- they have no support staff or facilities; and
- there is no clear definition of their role.

This leads to lack of faith in Community courts by some Aboriginal people who call them 'kangaroo courts'.

One reason for the infrequency of court hearings on other Communities is that JPs are often old and too sick to attend court, or they are tied up with other jobs on the Community which take precedence because JPs are unpaid. More JPs need to be appointed, proper training needs to occur and remuneration needs to be considered. Cairns TAFE was approached late in 1989 to develop an Aboriginal JP training course in consultation with ACC but nothing has eventuated.

A review into the appropriateness of the Community court system needs to occur before a decision is made whether to retain it or not. With reform, however, it is a possible vehicle whereby customary law can be recognised in Communities. At present there is no legal representation of Aborigines in Community court and the penalty for a by-laws breach is a fine of up to \$500, fines being the only option the court uses.

Community courts could in fact have increased jurisdiction and the following factors should be taken into account:

- Aboriginal people should deal with most juvenile offenders;
- where this has not already occurred, a community group should be established to advise the court on juvenile offenders (and child abuse and neglect);
- drunkenness should be decriminalised;
- mediation or dispute resolution mechanisms need to be incorporated; and
- the procedures and informality of the small debts and small claims courts and tribunals in Queensland should have application within the Community court system.

Magistrate's Courts

The two-tiered system of justice on Communities means that offences that result in charge under state laws are dealt with by visiting magistrates. These magistrates visit Communities on a regular basis every 2 or 3 months and deal with cases over a two to three-day period. Mostly matters are dealt with summarily, with police evidence, pleas of guilty, evidence from the accused by means of a signed statement, followed by a conviction and judgment.

Aboriginal advisers from particular interest groups in the Community should sit with magistrates. Different groups could be recognised as capable of advising the court in their specific area of concern, for example domestic violence, children etc. Aboriginal customary law should be recognised and there should be vested in the courts some statutory discretion to have regard to customary law and punishment. Governments which have not already done so should legislate to enforce the principle that imprisonment should be utilised only as a sanction of last resort.

Recommendations

For the sake of brevity, a number of additional recommendations will only be outlined:

Domestic Violence

1. Most Communities want and need women's shelters so that women have a safe place to go when they experience violence. Funding should be made available for this and for training of local Aboriginal women to staff such shelters.
2. Such 'train the trainer' programs could involve assertiveness, self-esteem, conflict resolution, stress management, and counselling skills courses, taught in culturally appropriate ways, preferably by Aboriginal people. These courses should draw on traditional dispute resolution methods.
3. That the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs provide Aboriginal Councils with funds to employ Family Support Workers who would co-ordinate welfare services on Communities, and provide counselling and training courses. These Family Support Workers or Community Development Workers would be expected to train local Aboriginal people to take over their position. The ACC is prepared to assist on the selection panel for these staff. These positions are already budgeted for but the positions are presently DAIA staff positions which have yet to be advertised.
4. That the ACC receive ongoing funding to employ a domestic violence worker to make regular visits to Communities to provide support to local women's groups and male perpetrator groups. The present one-year one off funding from the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs is not sufficient.
5. That an awareness program be mounted on Communities to address the issues of domestic violence and child sexual abuse and neglect. Aboriginal people need to understand the seriousness of what is happening to them, to educate people about the law and about their misrepresentation of traditional practices. The ACC recently assisted the TAG group in Weipa with their program. More funds are required.

6. That perpetrator programs be set up for males to enable them to form a support group and work through their problems with a trained counsellor and learn alternate strategies to cope with anger and conflict.

7. The ACC held a successful Domestic Violence Workshop in Cairns earlier this year but another workshop needs to be held this time with a greater number of men attending so that strategies can be worked out to deal with the marginalisation of young men. An alternative to initiation from boyhood to manhood so that this vacuum is not filled by the first experience of getting drunk or the first experience of going to gaol being celebrated as an entry to manhood.

Alcohol

1. Governments should legislate to abolish the offence of public drunkenness and police should take intoxicated persons home or to sobering up centres which need to be established on all Queensland Aboriginal Communities.

2. Other ways of achieving group solidarity and identity besides drinking alcohol together need to be found. Alcohol-free sporting events and cultural events should be organised on Communities and encouragement given to traditional and other arts and crafts activities.

3. The Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs should fund each Aboriginal Council with wages and equipment for a Recreation Officer. This person would train local people to take over their jobs.

4. The Recreation Officer should promote alcohol-free family activities like camping, fishing, hunting and a wide range of activities for men and women, young and old.

5. Edmunds (1990) has noted that Aboriginal people successfully use Christianity as a form of social control in relation to alcohol and see the overall impact of this development as positive. To the extent that this perception is supported in individual Communities, outside organisations should respond to Community requests to support local Aboriginal Christians in their Community work.

6. Sly grogging should be dealt with severely by confiscation of vehicles and boats and laws need to be changed to assist Aboriginal Communities to deal with the sly grog problem as Councils and police often feel powerless to do anything about it.

7. Aboriginal Communities need the power to decide whether a whole Community will be alcohol-free and if they decide to have a canteen, Communities need the power to be able to impose restrictions on the sale and use of alcohol.

8. Aboriginal people need to have the power to request their Council for their home to be considered a dry area so that if a visitor arrives drunk or wants to bring alcohol into their home, that Aboriginal household has some protection, from police if necessary in evicting them. The knowledge that their home is a dry area however will inhibit drunks from going there. (Pearson has recommended to Hopevale Council the inclusion of this provision in their by-laws).

9. The alcohol co-dependency or 'Tough Love' Program jointly run by the Aboriginal and Islander Catholic Council and the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs is an excellent program and needs further funds and staff.

10. The outstation movement should be supported so that clan groups can move back to their own land and establish alcohol-free bases away from the conflict caused by having a number of clan groups in close proximity in an artificial settlement.

11. For those who attempt suicide, crisis counselling should be available in the evenings at a sobering up centre or crisis accommodation centre. During the day, family support workers could provide counselling and self-help programs. Many of the recommendations regarding alcohol, including the need for a recreation officer would assist here.

Child Abuse and Neglect and Juvenile Offending

1. The Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs should fund children's shelters or extended family homes for children who are abused or neglected.

2. Short courses in child development, counselling skills, communication skills etc. should be run on Communities for the staff of these shelters and members of committees dealing with child abuse and neglect.

3. Counselling and other support should be provided to both parents and children to try to reunite families.

4. The Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs should change its provisions, and if necessary legislation should be changed, so that care of Aboriginal children placed in children's shelters or extended family homes can be funded by the Department, whether those children are officially in 'care and control' or not, otherwise these shelters suffer a funding deficit.

5. The government should fund an awareness program of posters, videos, pamphlets and books which could be run by ACC in conjunction with Councils and SCAN (Stop Child Abuse Now) or Concerned Parents Groups.

6. Recommendations have already been made regarding the need for Family Support workers and Recreation Officers to be placed on Communities to train local people. The local Aboriginal people they train could assist with child abuse and domestic violence education programs.

7. When the Juvenile Aid Bureau travels to Communities, they should contact the ACC so that an Aboriginal child care worker can travel with them.

8. Amendments need to be made to Queensland legislation so that community SCAN or Concerned Parents Committees have the power to make decisions within the Community on the future welfare of their children.

9. The Cairns TAFE should run a Welfare/Community Development Workers Course aimed at the needs and resources of trust area Communities.

10. Council by-laws should control the kind of videos allowed into Communities. Greater emphasis should be placed on cultural videos instead of European sex and violence videos.

11. The Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs should make available to the ACC records of removals, births, deaths and marriages so that assistance may be given to families who want to learn of their origins and track down family members e.g. brothers and sisters they were forcibly removed from by government policy as a young child.

12. Parenting skills should be taught in Community schools in culturally appropriate courses delivered, where possible by Aboriginal people.

13. The Queensland Government should allow the Aboriginal Councils who request it, to put a curfew in their by-laws as to when children should be off the street at night. They could then be returned home and if no-one was there, taken to a safe house for the night.

14. To cut down on truancy, Community elders need to be brought into the schools (where this is not already happening) to teach their culture, arts, crafts and dance, so that the children learn to respect themselves and their culture and see more integration between the school and the Community. It is possible to use CDEP to resource this step.

15. Funding for vacation care programs should be available to local children's committees on Communities as a preventative measure.

16. As juvenile offenders often offend to get a 'holiday' out of the Community, the ACC has begun a program to bring 'at risk' children to Cairns on excursions in the belief that this will reduce juvenile offending. ACC needs funding to assist in this program.

17. Juveniles who do offend should be kept in the Community either at outstations or half-way houses in the Community which Queensland Corrective Services Commission should fund. This will mean that the reward of a trip out of the Community will not be given for offending behaviour, but rather for non-offending behaviour.

18. Juvenile offenders can do community service preferably directly compensating individuals or organisations who have been offended against.

19. Community Councils should be supported by government to put provisions into their by-laws that allow more Community and police discretion to deal with juvenile offenders. Aboriginal police liaison committees could advise in this process.

20. Human Relationships Training which occurs in most schools in Queensland should be extended to Aboriginal Community schools to encourage healthy mental, emotional and sexual relationships. Aboriginal people need to be trained to deliver these courses in a culturally appropriate manner.

21. Nurses and police should refer abused children and their abusers to family support workers for confidential counselling for themselves and their families. Recreation officers should provide opportunities for youths to occupy their time more meaningfully.

Conditions and Procedures at Police Watchhouses

1. Most Aboriginal community watchhouses are a disgrace and need to be pulled down and rebuilt with Community consultation regarding the design and location.
2. Watchhouse keepers should be appointed to each Aboriginal Community. It is not sufficient to have an off-duty police officer look in occasionally or leave a person unattended all night.

Non-Custodial Corrections

1. Non-custodial corrections e.g. probation and community service should be made greater use of with fewer Aboriginal people going to gaol and earlier release of those who go on home detention or parole.
2. ACC supports the setting up of half-way houses on Communities by the Queensland Corrective Services Commission to assist in the transition of prisoners back into the Community.
3. Educational and counselling programs to deal with poor literacy and numeracy skills and alcohol problems are needed for prisoners as well as recreational and employment-related training programs to assist in rehabilitation and re-entry to the Community.
4. On some Communities, more adequate supervision of community service is required.
5. Parole Boards and conditions need to be more flexible for Aborigines, because of the difficulty for Aborigines of having jobs and fixed addresses to return to.
6. Aboriginal Community organisations like the ACC need to be funded to assist Aboriginal prisoners to meet parole conditions.

Conclusion

The Queensland Government should review the whole justice system relating to Aborigines and Islanders by setting up an inter-departmental committee and inviting representatives from Aboriginal Community groups such as the ACC.

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Police Shootings and Community Relations

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Of all police discretions the discretion to use firearms is the gravest. When a police officer pulls the trigger, and the result is fatal, the officer is acting as judge, jury and executioner in a society which accepts no capital punishment. If the power to use deadly force is abused, or believed to be abused, and those responsible are not seen to be accountable for any wrong doing, then public confidence in the police force will be damaged irreparably.

Overseas, fatal shootings by police have sparked riots. In New South Wales the fatal police shootings of Angelo Tsakos and David Gundy and the serious wounding of Darren Brennan, during a raid on his home, have created great controversy.

Victoria

Shootings lead to calls for inquiry

In Victoria there were eleven fatal shootings by police in the two year period up to April 1989. This compares to only ten fatal shootings by police in the previous thirteen years. The number of fatal shootings by police had increased from only two in 1985 and one in 1986 to five in 1987 and five in 1988. The fatal shooting of Gary Abdallah in April 1989 led to growing demands for a judicial inquiry into the shootings. Those calling for such an inquiry included families of some of the deceased, the Federation of Community Legal Centres, the Victorian Council of Civil Liberties, Member of Parliament Mr Neil Cole, Pentridge prison chaplain, Father Peter Norden, and the Bar Association. These demands were based on the growing number of shootings, the circumstances surrounding some of the shootings and the belief that the usual investigation by the Homicide Squad overseen by the police Internal Investigation Department and an inquiry by the coroner would not be sufficient to uncover any wrongdoing by police involved. The shootings became the subject of growing media attention and a public meeting was organised by the families of the deceased and the Flemington Legal Service. Hundreds of people attended the public meeting and passed a motion calling on the government to set up a judicial inquiry into the shootings and police accountability.

Increasing pressure on the government to take action and the publication of figures which showed that the rate of police shootings in Victoria was out of proportion to other states led to the setting up of a special series of coronial inquiries.

Inquiry announced

The state coroner, Hal Hallenstein, announced that he would investigate the seven fatal shootings, which had previously not been the subject of coronial inquiry, and look at a number of previous coronial findings on fatal police shootings. The inquiry opened in July 1989 and is currently hearing evidence in the seventh and last inquiry in the series of inquests.

Each shooting has been subject to a far closer scrutiny than has been the practice in the past. At the coroner's court, in this series of inquests, the Attorney General and the Victorian Council of Civil Liberties have counsel representing the public interest, the coroner has two counsel assisting him, the Police Association has two counsel representing police officers, the Chief Commissioner has two counsel and the families have usually had two counsel representing them. In addition witnesses have sometimes had counsel representing them. In the past a typical inquest into a fatal police shooting would have had one counsel representing the coroner, one counsel representing the family and one counsel representing the police officer/s and the coroner may have taken only three days to hear evidence. In this series of inquests a similar incident will have taken months to hear.

Flemington

Between March 1987 and April 1989 four men who lived in or had close ties with the Flemington area were shot dead by police. Flemington is an inner suburb of Melbourne with a high proportion of public housing which can be broadly characterised as working class. The Flemington community legal service has worked closely with the families of all of the deceased to ensure a proper inquiry into the deaths.

In order to explain the impact on the community of these shootings it is necessary to describe the shootings and the events surrounding them in some detail.

Description Of Fatal Shootings

Shooting of Mark Militano

25-3-87 Twenty-two year-old Mark Militano was fatally shot by members of the armed robbery squad as they attempted to arrest him. He was shot at six times by three members of the armed robbery squad. He was struck by a bullet to the back of the head as he was running away from police and died of his injuries. The coroner found that at the time he was so shot he was pointing a gun over his shoulder at police. Police wanted to question Militano over a number of armed robberies at the time he was shot and killed.

Shooting of Graeme Jensen

11-10-88 Thirty-three year-old Graeme Jensen was shot dead by police, as they attempted to arrest him in a country shopping centre. Police claim that when they approached Graeme Jensen and identified themselves, he pointed a firearm at them and attempted to run them over with his car. Two members of the armed robbery squad fired seven shots at him as he drove away from them. He was hit by a shot gun pellet in the back

of the head and died before his car crashed into an SEC pole. Graeme Jensen's wife said publicly shortly after his death that the gun the police allege they found in his car was planted. Police representatives at the inquest into Jensen's death claim that he was threatening police with a firearm at the time he was shot and he was shot in self-defence. Counsel for the family, on the other hand, have argued that at the time he was shot Graeme Jensen was trying to escape from police but posing no threat to their safety.

Police claim that at the time of his attempted arrest Graeme Jensen was wanted for questioning over an armed robbery several months previously in which an Armaguard guard was shot dead. The police claim that at the time of his attempted arrest Graeme Jensen was believed to have shot the guard. However, forensic tests done after his death, proved that Graeme Jensen was not the man who pulled the trigger in the robbery and police at the inquest have admitted that there is now no evidence to link him to the robbery.

The two armed robbery squad members who shot Graeme Jensen have refused to give evidence at the coroner's court on the grounds that it might incriminate them.

Fatal shooting of two police officers—'Walsh Street'

12-10-88 Thirteen hours after Graeme Jensen's killing two police officers were ambushed and killed in Walsh Street, South Yarra. The police theory on these killings is that the officers were killed by friends of Graeme Jensen as a pay back for his killing by police.

Aftermath of 'Walsh Street'

In the wake of the killing of the two police officers there were a large number of raids carried out in the Flemington area by police involved in the investigation of what became known as 'Walsh Street'. People subject to the raids claim that the police used excessive force assaulting people and threatening them with firearms as well as causing damage to property. Some of these claims are currently the subject of investigation by the Deputy Ombudsman in charge of police complaints. Fay Spear, sister of Graeme Jensen and resident of Flemington, told the public meeting about the shootings that '. . . many of my friends and neighbours, women and children and men have had this army of men smash into their homes, usually at five o'clock in the morning when you're sound asleep. In my case, the first raid was the day after my brother's funeral. My sister and I woke to find the bed surrounded by men, one at the end of the bed with a gun pointed straight at my head . . .' A local Justice of the Peace told the coroner that the tension following the 'Walsh Street' killings was unbelievable. Fay Spear told the coroner 'Not that I have ever been in a war zone, but that is what it felt like'.

It is apparent that the police too felt embattled during this period. A police officer stationed at City West CIB told the coroner that at the time of the shootings . . . 'the entire Flemington, Kensington, community seemed to be on a campaign of propoganda and would stop at no lengths to conspire to put the police in a bad light'.

Shooting of Jedd Houghton

17-11-88 Jedd Houghton, twenty-three year-old, friend of Graeme Jensen, and 'Walsh Street' suspect, was shot dead by two members of the Special Operations Group at a Bendigo caravan park, where he was staying in a cabin with his girlfriend. Police wanted to arrest him for questioning over 'Walsh Street'. A forced entry raid was conducted on his cabin and he was shot three times and died almost immediately of his injuries. All three shots were fired at close range, an injury to his chest being caused by a shotgun blast at a range of within 100 mm. Police claim they fired in self-defence after Houghton threatened them with a gun and claim to have found a number of loaded firearms in the cabin. His girlfriend, who was in the cabin at the time of the shooting, claims that Jedd Houghton was

asleep when the police burst into the cabin and would not have had a chance to threaten them.

The two members of the Special Operations Group who shot Jedd Houghton refused to give evidence at the coroner's court on the grounds that it might incriminate them.

Shooting of Gary Abdallah

9-4-89 Gary Abdallah, twenty-four year-old associate of Graeme Jensen and Jedd Houghton was shot by a detective from City West CIB at his Carlton flat. He survived for forty days in a coma before dying from complications arising from a bullet wound to the back of the head. Two detectives from City West arrested Gary Abdallah in his car and took him back to his flat. Police claim he was being arrested for the attempted murder of a policeman's son several weeks before. It is claimed that once back at his flat Abdallah threatened the detectives with an imitation pistol. One detective then fired six bullets from his own gun at Abdallah when he allegedly failed to drop the imitation gun, after being called on to do so. The detective then fired the seventh and fatal shot from his partner's gun.

The police involved in this shooting refused to speak to the Deputy Ombudsman who investigated the shooting. The coroner is currently examining this shooting. It is expected that the two police who were present at the shooting will refuse to give evidence on the grounds that it may incriminate them.

Criticism Of Police

While police maintain that each of the shootings described above was justified on grounds of self-defence their actions have been subject to criticism on two grounds.

Police tactics

The first is that police tactics have unnecessarily led to confrontations. The Chairman of the Victorian Bar Council, said the Council believed some of the fatal shootings 'may have been avoided had other measures been taken. A frontal assault upon a dangerous criminal is likely to produce a violent reaction. Further thought and planning may have avoided violent confrontation' (*The Age*, 28 April 1989).

The coroner has previously criticised police tactics when making findings about a fatal police shooting. In that case an unarmed man had been shot five times, including a number of times in the back, by police who had staked out a petrol station. The man killed was attempting to rob the petrol station at the time he was shot. The coroner commented in his findings that the two police involved had placed themselves in an impossible position, in that they had no cover and had not indicated it was a two on one situation and that they were armed. He commented, 'A reasonably competent policeman . . . with the experience required to apprehend an apparently armed offender would not or should not place himself in a position where, without any planning or method of approach, his only option is to shoot whether or not the offender is armed and whether or not the offender is attacking or about to attack.' The coroner recommended that the issues raised in the inquest be considered by Police Command (Record of investigation into death of Arthur Ganas, Hallenstein, State Coroner, 28 July 1988).

Revenge as motive for police shootings

The second level of criticism suggests that in the wake of the killing of the two police officers revenge overcame reason in the police force. A lawyer representing a man charged in

relation to the 'Walsh Street' killings said in court, while objecting to his client being held in custody, 'he is probably safer in Pentridge than on the streets where he could be subjected to a bullet in the back of his head' (*The Sun*, 13 September 1990).

The coroner has been told that 'After the two young policemen were killed, it was if the police had some kind of vendetta' (*The Age*, 13 September 1990). Mrs Carew, a local resident, told the coroner that a local Justice of the Peace, who she had known for many years, came to her house and asked her to get her sons to tell Abdallah, who at the time police wanted to question about 'Walsh Street' to come to his home and he would make sure that Abdallah 'got to the police station all right'. She said the Justice of the Peace told her: 'If they get to him first, the bastards will kill him'.

Police View

The Chief Commissioner, Mr Kel Glare has offered three explanations for the increase in police shooting, those being: an increase in community violence, an increase in violence against police, and lack of police investigative powers (*The Age*, 1 May 1989, p. 15).

In this paper it is argued that none of these factors adequately explains the increase in police shootings in Victoria.

Community Violence

There is no need to enter into a debate about whether or not there has been a significant increase in community violence because the research indicates that community violence is not a major predictor of fatal police shootings.

Violence Against Police

There is no independent evidence that violence against police has increased. In Victoria the rise of reported assaults on police coincides with Work Care legislation. Also, since 1979 there has been a large increase in the number of police in the force which would influence the assault police figures. Independent work done on the topic of violence against police has found that the police fears that their work environment was becoming increasingly dangerous were not true (Swanton 1987). Victoria needs some up-to-date independent work done on this topic but currently remains one of the only two states, along with Tasmania, which does not have an independent bureau of crime statistics.

Of course, it cannot be denied that the assassination of the two police constables at Walsh Street was an act of the most extreme violence comparable only to the bombing of the Russell Street police station. However those killings occurred at a time when the number of shootings by police had already escalated sharply and could be seen in the context of escalating violence, which can at least partly be attributed to a liberal police firearms policy.

Police investigative powers

It has been suggested that criminals see Victoria as a fairly soft option as far as investigative authorities and police powers are concerned. It should be noted that in none of the four police shootings described above was the victim attempting to flee from a crime scene. In any case research shows that the clear up rates for crimes in Victoria compare favourably with the clear up rates in other states (Mukherjee 1990). Therefore it would seem unlikely that criminals believed Victoria to be a soft option.

Alternative Explanation Of Shootings

Research indicates that factors such as the philosophies, policies, and practices of individual police chiefs and supervisors have a marked effect on the rate of homicide by police (Fyfe 1988).

It can be argued that the increase in police shootings observed in Victoria up until the first half of 1989 can be explained by the emergence of a liberal police firearms policy supported by senior police, condoned by some sections of the media and unchecked by mechanisms such as the coronial inquiry.

After the shooting of the unarmed man at the service station, described above, Kel Glare, the then incoming Chief Commissioner was reported to have said, 'Robbery is a very risky occupation. People who go around committing robberies cannot be expected to be greeted with open arms'. In addition he was reported to have said of the deceased 'it is not as if he was in the habit of attending Sunday school' (*The Age*, 7 October 1987, p. 5). Such unqualified support of the police responsible for the shooting may have had the effect of signalling to police in the force that resort to firearms in the course of their duties will as a matter of course be supported by the hierarchy. The comment that the deceased did not attend Sunday school could certainly be read as suggesting that the death of a suspect or offender is to be regarded as of little consequence and moves the focus of any inquiry away from the action of the officers involved and onto the character of the victim.

The Chief Commissioner has not been alone amongst senior police in making comments that may have been interpreted by those in the force as encouraging the liberal use of firearms. When the coroner criticised the shooting at the service station a senior police officer Chief Superintendent Brian Fennessy, publicly rejected the criticisms (*The Herald*, 25 July 1988).

Senior police have supported the use of firearms by police even where it appears there has been a breach of Standing Orders. For example, Police Standing Orders state that police are only to resort to firearms where the lives of innocent people are not endangered (Standing Order 3.2). There was an incident where an officer fired six shots, in a busy suburban street, at a suspect who was attempting to escape arrest. One of the bullets passed through the window of a nearby flat and landed between two teenagers who were sitting watching television. Four of the bullets hit the suspect's car in which he was attempting to drive off. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, John Frame, was reported to have said, shortly after the shooting, 'We are looking very closely at the circumstances surrounding the use of the firearm in this case, and I am sure everything was done properly' (*Sunday Observer*, 5 March 1989).

In the case of the fatal shooting of Gary Abdallah, the Assistant Commissioner for Operations, Mr John Frame, was prepared, within hours of the shooting, to state publicly that he, 'was satisfied that the . . . detectives had acted appropriately in the circumstances' (*The Age*, 19 April 1989, p. 3). The Deputy Ombudsman subsequently spent eight months and two thousand hours investigating the shootings and recommended a total of eight disciplinary and criminal charges against the two officers involved and that the Director of Public Prosecutions advise whether other criminal charges were warranted on the evidence (*The Herald*, 22 December 1990).

It is possible that the statements noted above and similar statements by senior police created the expectation within the force that the use of deadly force by police would be supported even when alternative tactics could avoid the loss of life. The early media treatment of some of the shootings, which tended to concentrate on the character of the victim, may have added to the feeling, at least within some sections of the police force that fatal police shootings would go virtually unchallenged (*The Sun*, 12 October 1988). This perception would have been reinforced by the relative brevity of the inquests into the shootings in the coroner's court and the findings the coroner made in the Militano inquest. In that case that coroner found that 'The deceased was a devious, dangerous, vicious and

violent man who, by the gun, repeatedly flouted and broke the basic rules of civilized society' (Record of Investigation into death No. 1269/87).

At the same time that these comments were being made there was a concerted campaign being run by the senior police and the Police Association to gain increased police investigative powers. During the campaign the size of the crime problem was often exaggerated with the public being constantly told that crime was out of control and the police were powerless to do anything about it. (For example: July 1987, Crown Prosecutor, Mr Jim Bowen made a speech based on the police Major Crime Index in which he claimed that one in four of Victorians will become a victim of a major crime in the next decade).

No doubt many police themselves became victim to this propaganda and believed that they were fighting a war against crime without any of the necessary tools to protect themselves or the community. This may have led to a feeling in some sections of the force that there was a moral justification in operating outside the law.

Since April 1989

Whilst in 1987 and 1988 there was a marked increase in the number of fatal shootings by Victorian police, after the shooting of Gary Abdallah in the first half of 1989 there has been only one other fatal shooting by Victorian police. That shooting occurred in a siege situation where the deceased had already shot someone.

When asked in an interview about the change in the shooting pattern the Chief Commissioner answered 'People understand police [are] not there as targets . . . police now not being subjected to extreme violence were being subjected to [it] prior to these events' (*The 7.30 Report*, 11 April 1990).

The answer suggests that the use of lethal force by police has decreased the number of shootings of police and civilians. There are some problems with this explanation. If the police theory on 'Walsh Street' is correct and the police officers were killed as a pay back for the police shooting of Graeme Jensen, then the use of firearms by police, in that case, was part of a chain of events which led eventually to the fatal shootings of the two police officers and two suspects. The explanation is also at odds with research which suggests that a restrictive, rather than liberal firearms policy decreases the number of shootings by police of civilians. This research also shows that a restrictive firearms policy does not lead to decreased officers safety or an increase in crime (Geller 1982).

There may be an alternative explanation for the lack of controversial fatal shootings since the shooting of Gary Abdallah.

When Gary Abdallah was shot and eventually died there was a large amount of media attention paid to the circumstances of his shooting. The Abdallah family and their solicitor were vocal in questioning the police version of events and demanding an independent public inquiry. Other influential groups and individuals also publicly questioned the shootings. The fact that Gary Abdallah was shot at seven times and has a bullet wound in the back of his head were not matters that could be readily explained. It was announced that there would be a special series of coronial inquiries into the shootings. The inquest has examined the circumstances of the shootings in a way that has never been done previously. The Deputy Ombudsman began an inquiry into the circumstances of the shooting of Gary Abdallah and after an eight-month investigation suggested that the two detectives at the fatal shooting appeared to have agreed to corroborate each other's false accounts (*The Herald*, 22 December 1989).

It seems that these factors combined to create a feeling amongst police that the shooting of suspects would not be automatically condoned and that in all cases of fatal shootings there would be a need to justify the action taken. This in the author's view has led to the adoption of a restrictive firearms policy which has had the effect of reducing the number of fatal shootings by police.

Conclusion

No other single issue has the potential to destroy the relationship between the police and the community like the use by police of deadly force. If it is believed that the police are abusing this power then the police will become not only feared but hated.

There can be no community policing in a climate where people believe that police are getting away with murder, only war.

The relationship between the police and the community in Flemington was not without problems before the shootings. There were many allegations of police violence and misconduct and the belief that official complaints procedures were incapable of producing a result favourable to the complainant in any circumstances.

The shootings, however, led to a new level of fear and distrust between the police and the community—the repercussions of which are still being felt.

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Problems in the Implementation of Community Policing Strategies

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As Australian police forces move towards a more pronounced commitment to community policing, it is worth critically examining some of the impediments which prevent the realisation of such a project.

The issues raised in the following paper derive primarily from research which was conducted in association with the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's National Inquiry into Racist Violence. (The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Inquiry or Commission.) As such the primary focus of the paper is on the relationship between policing profiles in Aboriginal communities and the notion of community policing. However the implications of the research impact on the problems of implementing community policing strategies more generally.

Defining the Community

It is worth beginning with a point which has been raised often enough in general discussions about the 'community' and that is the definitional problems associated with the concept (for instance, Stenning 1984). Such problems are not purely of academic interest because the way in which particular geographical or social groups are designated as forming so-called communities has a direct impact on the implementation of policy. Several years ago Bryson and Mowbray (1981) wrote an article entitled 'Community: The Spray-on Solution'. The title itself is suggestive of the way notions of the 'community' are uncritically posed as solutions to various problems. More importantly community itself is based on a notion of social harmony, a view of the world which is seen as conflict free. 'Gross inequalities, rigid status groups . . . persecution, intolerance . . . are carefully forgotten, so that the real 'community' is seen only in terms of cooperation and harmony' (Bryson & Mowbray 1981, p. 256). Under the rubric of the community, contradictory social relations such as those of class, race and gender disappear. Relations between groups of people which may involve the exercise of power and exploitation are deemed non-existent if the definition imposed posits a single community.

Thus the application of the term community may have a powerful political effect of deeming conflict between groups as in some way extraordinary and therefore illegitimate. These issues have a particularly important role in looking at community policing in relation to Aboriginal people. It is said often enough by respectable whites in areas where there are

significant Aboriginal groupings that 'we're all part of the one community'. Such a statement is usually used for the purpose of criticising Aboriginal dissent, as if the expression of dissent is undermining an assumed consensus. The point here is that those who talk of 'the community' are those who by virtue of their social and economic power have the resources to enforce particular notions of moral or social behaviour. It is in their interest to define themselves as the 'community' or its representatives. For those who do not conform, their behaviour is defined as being against or outside community standards.

Over-policing and Community Policing

It is worth remembering that in New South Wales rural areas much of the 'law and order' push which defined Aboriginal people as law-breakers was done under the name of people who would define themselves as community leaders (Cunneen 1989). The impact of such a political program is still being felt in towns like Bourke, Brewarrina, Walgett, Wilcannia and Dubbo. One expression of the practical impact of such a political campaign is the allocation of police resources. The issue of an apparent disproportionate number of police stationed in Aboriginal areas has been raised on previous occasions (Anti-Discrimination Board 1982, and Cunneen & Robb 1987). One might seriously question then the relationship between community policing, political calls for more law and order, and the over-policing of Aboriginal Australians.

Table 1 below shows the number of police in several New South Wales towns with large Aboriginal populations.

Table 1

NSW Police—Authorised Strength				
Town	May 1986	March 1990	Approx Town Population	1990 Ratio Police/Pop.
Bourke	26	30	3,400	1:113
Brewarrina	7	11	1,600	1:145
Walgett	17	26	2,500	1:96
Wilcannia	6	11	800	1:73
NSW	10,743	12,427	5,701,500	1:459

Sources: NSW Police Department, ABS, Local Councils.

The empirical evidence strongly suggests that there are disproportionate numbers of police in the so-called 'Aboriginal' towns in New South Wales. All the towns shown in Table 1 have significantly greater numbers of police per head of population than the state average.

How would we explain such over-policing within the model of community policing? Community policing, we are told, is 'police work as a community endeavour' with a focus on preventive policing. It is a proactive approach to policing. Meanwhile the official explanation for the allocation of police numbers, at least in New South Wales, relies on a system of measuring workload and allocating resources accordingly. The Staff Deployment and Analysis Unit of the NSW Police Department has established a methodology to

measure police workload and to provide assistance in the allocation of resources. Workload analysis covers a number of different factors and includes the measurement of such workload categories as charges, intoxicated persons, telephone messages, occurrence pad entries, crime reports, motor vehicle accidents, stolen vehicles, coroners deaths and missing persons. While some of these categories may be taken to, at least partially, reflect the occurrence of crime, others such as charges, reported offences, intoxicated persons and occurrence pad entries will be influenced by the social dynamics of policing practices.

Despite what might appear to be objective criteria in allocating resources, the discretionary nature of policing will itself directly affect any model for workload measurement. It has long been established that particular policing strategies such as targeting of particular offence categories or groups will have amplificatory effects. Certainly, as Grabosky (1989, p. 165) and others have noted, proactive policing will generate much of its own workload. In towns with large Aboriginal populations, proactive policing, given the nature of Aboriginal/police interaction, is likely to amplify conflict between the groups and thus justify further police intervention. Such intervention may in itself lead to the conclusion that more authoritarian reactive styles of policing (such as the use of tactical response police) are the most appropriate.

The Fitzgerald Report advocates the use of the Eric St Johnston ratio for determining the ratio of police to population (Fitzgerald 1989, p. 225). The Eric St Johnston ratio is shown below in Table 2.

Table 2

**Eric St Johnston Ratio
Police to Population**

Population Size	Ratio Police/Population
Population under 5,000	1 : 1000
From 5,000 to 20,000	1 : 530
Over 20,000	1 : 350

Source: Fitzgerald 1989, p. 225

According to the use of this formula Fitzgerald estimated that one police district, Charleville, had 225 per cent of the required police numbers (Fitzgerald 1989, p. 226). If the Eric St Johnston formula were applied to Wilcannia we would expect a police presence of 1 officer rather than 11, in Brewarrina we could expect 1-2 officers instead of 11, in Walgett 2-3 officers instead of 26 and in Bourke 3-4 officers instead of 30.

It should also be noted that where a police station operates on a 24 hour basis there will be requirements for additional staffing levels. However the decision to operate a 24 hour service is not necessarily based on workload considerations. For example the introduction of a 24 hour police station in Bourke, and the increase in police numbers which that entailed, was the result of political lobbying by the Local Shire and Chamber of Commerce. The lobbying itself was based on claims of a breakdown in law and order which was attributed to Aboriginal people (Cunneen & Robb 1987, p. 210, and Cunneen 1989). Indeed the continual political lobbying around law and order issues between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s meant that the number of police in Bourke doubled from 13 to

26 between 1976 and 1986 while the town's population remained stable at a little of 3,000 persons (Cunneen & Robb 1987, p. 211). In 1990 the town's population is still a little over 3,000 and there are now 30 police officers.

The number of police stationed in towns with significant Aboriginal populations directly affects the way in which Aboriginal people perceive their relations with police. In interviews conducted with Aboriginal community leaders in Wilcannia, Bourke and Walgett the issue of police numbers was raised with the researcher. Those interviewed saw the large scale police presence as part of the mechanism of control over Aboriginal people. In other words, the question of police numbers was not simply an abstract question of the ratio of police per head of population, but one which was embedded in the wider political relations between Aborigines and white society. Far from a feeling of participating in the establishment and control of the policing priorities, the local Aboriginal communities felt that they were the subjects of control.

Community Policing and Local Politics

A key area of implementation of community policing strategies has been the use of community crime committees or consultative committees to give effect to the principles of community involvement (Fitzgerald 1989, pp. 230-3). The composition and maintenance of such groups clearly poses problems in areas where there is social polarisation. In addition they may simply provide a forum for co-opting sections of minority groups to an apparent consensus. In some townships in north west New South Wales the community consultative committees are made-up of equal numbers of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members. Such a composition appears on the surface as an adequate recognition to the reality of two communities. Yet the relevant positions of power mean that Aboriginal participants are often bludgeoned into positions they later, on reflection, regret. The non-Aboriginal members represent the interests of Local Council and the Chamber of Commerce and the meetings are held in Council Chambers—that is the 'traditional' opponents of Aboriginal people on the opponents' territory. Such committees become a forum, not for 'democratic' decision-making, but rather the exercise of political power by one group over another. The forum in reality may mask the implementation of policy which serves sectional interests and instead present such a policy as 'community' policy.

NSW Police Instructions at Section 38. 26 (dealing with Aborigines) call on the Patrol Commander to keep open lines of communication to Aboriginal people for the purpose of preventing misunderstandings. Yet one can only wonder at the efficacy of this proposal when decisions are made daily about how to police Aboriginal people which exclude their presence but include other powerful and interested parties. Examples of this type of policing profile can be found in north-west New South Wales, in the use of local government ordinances for the purpose of prohibiting public drinking. These ordinances are used almost exclusively against Aboriginal people (Cunneen 1990, pp. 42). There are other 'voluntary' decisions between publicans and police in relation to serving alcohol in glass containers. Again this agreement is apparently applied selectively to Aboriginal people (Cunneen 1990a, pp. 42-4).

Such 'informal' mechanisms of control in the name of community policing may operate with open disregard to the formal separation of powers within state institutions. Another example, although not dealt with in this paper, is the use made of the Community Aid Panels where police in effect become part of the sentencing mechanism. For example a meeting was held in Bourke between members of the Shire Council, the police (including the police inspector and the police prosecutor) and the visiting magistrate. The meeting was called by

the Shire to discuss 'community conduct' (19 September 1989). Given that 87 per cent of persons arrested for public order offences in Bourke are Aboriginal (Cunneen & Robb 1987, p. 91), then what is coyly referred to as 'community conduct' clearly means Aboriginal conduct. It is clear in such circumstances that notions of the 'community' are being used as a way enforcing criminal sanctions against Aboriginal people. What is important is not so much what was discussed at the meeting, but that a meeting should have occurred at all between those who were present. In any formal sense of the *system* of justice such a meeting between the Shire, the police and the judiciary was totally inappropriate. The independence of the respective arms of the state, and indeed the supposed sanctity of the rule of law, was shown to be a mockery.

Tactical Response Policing and Community Policing

Public disquiet in relation to the policing methods and operational tasks of the New South Wales Tactical Response Group (TRG) has been raised during the last twelve months because of a number of incidents including the raid on Redfern in February 1990 and the shooting of Darren Brennan in Glebe in June 1990. In this paper the author is concerned specifically with the use of the TRG in relation to Aboriginal communities in New South Wales. Complaints about TRG-style policing have also emerged in relation to Aboriginal communities in other states including Queensland, the Northern Territory and Western Australia.

In New South Wales, TRG personnel have been used on many occasions in the policing of rural and urban Aboriginal communities, including Bourke, Brewarrina, Walgett, Dubbo, Wilcannia, Cobar and Redfern. In Bourke the TRG was flown into the town to police a demonstration by Aboriginal people. The demonstration was concerned with perceived discrimination by the criminal justice system against Aboriginal people (Cunneen & Robb 1987). In Brewarrina the TRG was flown in to conduct street patrols after an Aboriginal man, Lloyd Boney, was found hanged in the police cells. The TRG has visited other country towns (such as Dubbo) as a result of complaints about the breakdown in law and order.

The use of the TRG in the policing of Aboriginal communities has, from the outset, been the subject of controversy. Shortly after the TRG was established, the NSW Police Association requested that the Police Department form TRG units in Moree and other north-western towns. Moree was itself the site of intense conflict between Aborigines and police during the early 1980s. In rejecting the Association's request, Assistant Commissioner Graham, on behalf of the Police Department, stated:

The attendance of Tactical Response Group personnel at Moree or other country centres where racial problems exist could lead to feelings of provocation on the part of some people and lead to unnecessary confrontations (*NSW Police News*, vol. 64, no. 4, October 1983).

By the mid-eighties police thinking had changed to the extent that it became acceptable to fly in TRG police specifically to control Aboriginal people in rural areas. We have also witnessed their increasing use in Redfern during the late 1980s. The change indicated an important reversal in policing policy which now legitimised the reliance on pro-active, paramilitary police squads to maintain order—even in the face of overseas evidence that such policing methods could polarise resistance to state intervention (Scarman 1981). More importantly the change occurred at the very time of an officially endorsed and promoted

emphasis on community policing strategies. One can question how the increased use of the TRG fits with the following statement:

The fundamental strategy [of the NSW Police] for the future will be built around the professional community-based police officer working with the particular community of his/her beat to solve . . . local problems (Nixon 1990, p. 232).

It is worth noting then that the TRG is structurally removed from the process of community policing. The TRG is divided into four regional groups. However when involved in patrol functions, TRG operatives are not under the normal patrol command. They are responsible to the next most senior TRG officer, through to the regional chief inspector.

Their structural position appears as follows:

Line of Command	
	Normal Regional Command
	Asst. Commissioner
	-
Regional TRG (responsible to)	Region (Chief Inspector Operations)
	-
1 Senior Sergeant	District
	-
6 Sergeants	Division
	-
18 Constables	Patrol

(see Cunneen & Findlay 1990).

While the restructuring emphasised line management (and the accountability that entailed) down to the patrol level, the TRG was essentially outside this structure being responsible to the Chief Inspector of Operations at Regional level. Again the TRG was outside the structure provided for to initiate community policing which was centred at the patrol level.

Perhaps the most important implication with the establishment and use of the TRG, is the admission that 'relations between the normal civil policing agencies and certain sections of the public have deteriorated to such an extent so as to necessitate a paramilitary response' (Cunneen, Findlay, Lynch & Tupper 1989, p. 121). It has been noted that the very nature of the TRG means that:

It is not required to construct localised relationships or networks but to be ready to respond to situations judged in advance to be problematic and as likely to warrant special tactics and usually force . . . Such squads are also equipped with the weaponry and technology which permits, and perhaps even encourages, them to [resort to force] (Hogg 1984, p. 50).

Of fundamental importance to the questions of Aboriginal/police relations and notions of community policing is the fact that the TRG is the very antithesis to any notion of a relationship between police and community. There is a predetermined absence of any relationship to a local community in all aspects of tactical response policing (for example

training, command structure, location, equipment and operational duties). One consequence of tactical response policing is that there is no requirement to consider the long term effects of particular methods of control. In addition, because of the nature and duties of the squad, the style of intervention is likely to revolve around the routine use of force. The consequence of such policing methods is the further antagonism, alienation and resistance from those groups the subject of control. Indeed the result is the further removal of such groups from any possibility of community policing.

The TRG was formed along similar lines to the Special Patrol Group (SPG) in London. Lord Scarman (1981) in his report on the Brixton disorders paid particular attention to the use of the SPG and was critical of the use of pro-active specialist squads into local communities. Scarman argued that such tactics challenged the authority and effectiveness of local police, and jeopardised accountability, consultation and community policing strategies. This type of intervention was particularly dangerous where there were local racial tensions. However in the decade since Scarman wrote his report, the trend has been to institutionalise the role of tactical response police. As other research on the TRG has concluded:

The style of tactical response policing moves from reactive or 'fire-brigade' policing to pro-active, pre-emptive policing. Tactical response policing has developed as the principal police response to social 'menaces' so diverse as vandalism, industrial disputation, racial unrest and so on (Cunneen, Findlay, Lynch & Tupper 1989, p. 123).

The use of the TRG in Aboriginal communities has had the effect of galvanising Aboriginal opposition to particular forms of policing and of increasing feelings of harassment. Goodall (1990) has outlined the effects of the use of the TRG in Brewarrina. The effect in Bourke has also been to reinforce a perception of excessive policing (Cunneen & Robb 1987, p. 186). Perhaps the most telling example of the way such police methods can be absorbed into a consciousness of police harassment was the case of the 67 year old Aboriginal woman who was a victim of the Redfern 'raid'. She was unaware of the correct title of the TRG, she knew enough however to be able to refer to the police officers as the 'tactical group of police'. In the same statement she states that she challenged the police while they were searching her house, and after they had broken in her front door with a sledgehammer, as behaving like 'German Gestapos' (Cunneen 1990b, p. 30).

It is not possible in this paper to analyse fully the Redfern raid by TRG personnel and other police on the Redfern Aboriginal community around Everleigh St on 8 February 1990. A more comprehensive report has been produced elsewhere (Cunneen 1990b). However two points in particular are of some importance in relation to community policing strategies. Firstly there are the official justifications of raid by police staff and their Minister, and secondly the recommendation which came from the Report commissioned by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.

The most detailed justification for the raid came from the NSW Minister for Police and Emergency Services, Mr Ted Pickering and was based on a report of the raid from Chief Inspector Allan Peek, the Patrol Commander of Redfern, to Executive Chief Superintendent Alf Peate. The Minister quoted Peek as stating that:

The main reason for the operation was the despairing cry for help from the Aboriginal community. The Aboriginal community expressed a grave concern with the upsurge of criminal activity, which they feel is directly attributable to the increase in the usage of hard drugs.

The Minister went on to state that the operation 'was mounted to protect the law-abiding citizens of that area who are, of course, the vast majority.' The implication of this statement was that those who criticised the raid were somehow not part of the 'law-abiding' majority in the Aboriginal community. Indeed this point was specifically raised later in the

Minister's speech where he juxtaposed the views of those who complained about the police raid to:

the perspective of those who could no longer tolerate what was happening in their neighbourhood and who demanded that police take immediate action. These people will not be complaining about the police raids as damaging to relations between the Aboriginal community and police.

Such a simple polarisation of views of course deflects criticism of the nature of the police **operation**. It is possible that members of the Aboriginal community were both concerned about the use of drugs in the community **and** were critical of police operations. Indeed a perusal of the transcript from the community hearing in Redfern held by the Royal Commission Into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody on the 6th February 1990 shows that many people were critical of police tactics and the use of drugs in the community. The notion of 'community' was used to justify the raid despite the fact that many Aboriginal people attended a protest meeting complaining about the raid on the morning which it occurred.

The Report on the Redfern Raid to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission forwarded a number of recommendations which are important in relation to community policing (Cunneen 1990b, pp. 33-36). Recommendation 1 stated that:

It is open to conclude that over-policing of the Redfern Aboriginal community occurs.

Recommendation 3 stated that:

In the context of the National Inquiry into Racist Violence, it would be appropriate to seek a Departmental Review of the role of the Tactical Response Group in Aboriginal Communities, in particular their apparent reliance on excessive force.

There have been several complaints in the late 1980s which relate specifically to the use of the TRG. There has also been an increased use of the TRG in policing operations in Redfern during the late 1980s. The apparently routine use of the TRG in Redfern needs to be seriously questioned. Such a use of the group undermines any commitment to community policing. The nature of the TRG, as a fast response tactical police unit without ties to any locality, is the antithesis of community policing. In addition the nature of the group (both in training and operational duties) predisposes it towards an excessive reliance on force. There is evidence from Redfern and elsewhere in NSW, that the use of the TRG in policing Aboriginal communities has functioned to increase polarisation between Aboriginal people and the police.

Recommendation 6 stated that:

It is open to the National Inquiry into Racist Violence to find that the Redfern raid constituted an act of racist violence within its terms of reference. Justification for the raid was based on the perceived racial characteristics of Aboriginal people. Sydney District Commander Peate was reported as referring to the Redfern Aboriginal community as 'one breed' where normal surveillance and policing activities do not operate. Thus a notion of 'race' was used as a prediction of particular social characteristics. Those social characteristics implied a social abnormality. The community itself was defined in a particular manner rather than any alleged criminals within the community.

At an operational level, particular policing practices were legitimised on the basis of 'race' . . . the policing operation was, from its inception, designed as an operation in relation to a particular community rather than a series of individuals. It is appropriate therefore to consider these policing practices as constituting institutional racism

where the perceived difference of the Aboriginal community was used to legitimise an exceptional use of State force.

Aboriginal Police Liaison Schemes

The report on the Redfern Raid also contained a recommendation in relation to Aboriginal/Police Liaison Officers. The recommendation called for a Departmental review of the role, status and authority of Aboriginal-Police Liaison Officers. The report stated that:

There is evidence . . . that Aboriginal Police Liaison officers in Redfern had their advice ignored (in the Alexandria Park incident) and were not informed of major policing operations involving the Redfern Aboriginal community (as in the raid of 8th February 1990). Clearly the role of the liaison officers needs careful evaluation. It would appear that particular police operations and practices constantly undermine the positive functions which such positions could fulfil. Rather than serving to facilitate any improvement in Aboriginal/police relations, the undermining of the functions of the liaison officers serves to discredit the authority of such officers and to create the impression that these officers have little influence over policing policies in Aboriginal communities (Cunneen 1990b, p. 33-4).

More generally it can be argued that the development of a system of Aboriginal/police liaison officers, during the last decade, has had important consequences. During research which was conducted for the National Inquiry into Racist Violence many Aboriginal communities in New South Wales have complained about specific deficiencies with the system, including the recruitment methods by police, the lack of training, the location of the officers within police stations, the lack of clear (or in some cases any) statement of duties, and the lack of accountability to the Aboriginal communities with which the officers are expected to liaise. In addition the employment conditions of Aboriginal-police Liaison officers as temporary Ministerial appointments outside normal public service conditions is clearly unacceptable. The epithet often applied to the officers is that of 'police pimp'. **This should not be seen as necessarily a comment on the individuals which fulfil these functions but on the contradictory positions in which they are inevitably placed.**

Some of the criticisms of the New South Wales scheme in relation to training, employment conditions, authority and status could also be applied to other schemes such as Queensland Aboriginal community police. It could be concluded that they are placed in a structural position which virtually guarantees their high turnover rate and limited success.

More generally however, it is possible to locate the development of the scheme within the trend towards the 'indigenization of social control' (Havemann 1988). Havemann argues that the recruitment of indigenous people to enforce the laws of the colonial state masks the coercive nature of the state, relies essentially on a model of integration into colonial legal relations, and is likely to impede the processes of self-determination (Havemann 1988, pp. 71-100). In addition one can see an emphasis on such liaison schemes as complimenting, rather than contradicting, the more 'iron fisted' approach of increased police numbers in Aboriginal communities and the use of specialist riot police. Indeed the use of both paramilitary-style policing **and** a focus on community relations operate hand-in-hand, with the latter providing an important legitimating function for the hard edge of state intervention.

Police Violence and Community Policing

The issue of police violence is one area which has received increasing attention, and is an issue more than others which raises the question of commitment to community policing in a

stark form. The National Inquiry into Racist Violence has commissioned a report on the issue of police violence and Aboriginal juveniles as a result of widespread concern about the issue amongst Aboriginal people from a number of states. That research has been completed and will be released shortly (provisionally entitled Cunneen C. (1990) *A Study of Aboriginal Juveniles and Police Violence*, A Report to National Inquiry into Racist Violence, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission).

While it is not possible to substantially relate the findings of the research at present, some general comments can be made. The research found that allegations of police violence against juveniles were widespread and serious in the three states which were surveyed. There were allegations which related violence occurring in public places and at police stations and lockups. In addition to allegations of violence there were many complaints concerning the use by police of racist language. In the majority of cases there was no formal complaint made to a recognised body.

The results of the research are also confirmed in issues which were raised in public hearings that have been conducted by both the National Inquiry into Racist Violence and the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody in a number of states.

The research confirms a number of Australian studies which have raised the issue as one deserving serious attention. Other studies which have raised the question of the extent of police violence in relation to Aboriginal people include the Western Australian Equal Opportunity Commission (1990), Burger (1988) and White, Underwood and Omelczuk (1990). Other studies which have looked at police violence in relation to juveniles generally include Bacon and Irwin (1990), Youth Justice Project (1990), Alder (1989), O'Connor and Sweetapple (1988), and Rayner (1988).

While it is not possible in the context of this paper to review this literature, it is important to note that these studies generally (which cover NSW, Victoria, Queensland, and WA separately, and Burger (1988) nationally) refer to the inability of formal complaints mechanisms to deal with the problem of police violence adequately. Indeed as one example, in the research conducted for the National Inquiry into Racist Violence, it was found that in one state, of the 50 complaints put forward by the Aboriginal Legal Service only one was found to be sustained. It is little wonder that a profound sense of cynicism pervades those whose responsibility it would be to mount such complaints.

Conclusion

At the local level 'community' policing strategies may disguise nothing more than a commitment to the enforcement of particular policing strategies which derive from, and serve the interests of, sectional interests. This outcome is not necessarily a criticism of police motivations in relation to community policing per se, but rather a realistic assessment that policing is itself part of the political processes which involve the exercise of decision-making in the interests of the powerful.

Over-policing of Aboriginal people still occurs despite commitments to community policing. The litmus test for community policing would be to see a substantial reduction of police numbers in such areas.

The evidence strongly suggests an over-reliance on para-military police with their associated use of more extreme force levels in Aboriginal areas. Such a use blatantly contradicts the model of community policing.

There is also an apparent need to take seriously the role of Aboriginal-police liaison schemes if they are to fulfil a key function in community policing strategies. A prerequisite should be some form of Aboriginal control over such schemes and an adequate allocation of the necessary resources.

Finally the question of police violence needs to be openly confronted. Community policing strategies will continue to be viewed as little more than public relations rhetoric if

violence on the part of state officials continues to go unchecked and, for all intents and purposes, unreviewed and unaccountable.

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Community Response and Fear of Crime Implications for Community Policing

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The question this paper will address is '**Should police departments use public opinion surveys in police management?**'

In attempting to answer this question, the results of ongoing research studies that Frank Small & Associates are conducting for the New South Wales Police Service across New South Wales and the Australian Federal Police in Canberra will be discussed. Similar research is also being conducted by the company in South East Asia for police departments.

These studies essentially examine the levels of, and changes in, community fear of crime, attitudes towards police service and satisfaction with police contact.

The conclusion of this paper intends to answer the above question in the affirmative. That is, the author believes, as do many international experts in the field of community policing, that police commanders, police service corporate executives and even policemen themselves can use community opinion to help implement and fine tune community policing strategies.

In other words, community policing can benefit from a reliable and continual feedback from the community.

Research Methodology

Before proceeding further the research method used in our Australian studies will be briefly described.

Firstly, our contract with the New South Wales Police Service commenced in June 1988 and will continue until June 1992. The research method involves between 2,600 and 5,200 random telephone interviews each year across the state of New South Wales. Each of the 26 New South Wales police districts are represented in the sample.

For the Australian Federal Police a very similar methodology is employed. The total sample size of 1,200 per annum represents the Australian Federal Police community policing region, the Australian Capital Territory, where three police districts exist. These community surveys will be operating from 1990 to 1992.

The telephone method was chosen for cost-effectiveness and the advantage of an uncluttered sample design. The latter is particularly important as it minimises the possibility

of very localised neighbourhood crime, fears and perceptions of disorder from having a significant influence on the total result.

Telephone ownership levels in Australia is now in the 90 per cent range (in rural areas) and almost 100 per cent in the major cities. This also is another reason to adopt telephone interview methods.

Another feature of the telephone design (which is commonly used in most USA studies investigating community policing issues) is that it allows for a small amount of fieldwork to be conducted continually throughout the year. This is also an important design feature as it minimises the effect of community concern and fears rising sharply when a serious crime (such as murder) is publicised widely by the media.

In order to minimise the disruption caused by such short-term events our reports to police executives and police commanders therefore, are only presented each six months using a six-month average of the findings.

Other design features which are necessary include:

- randomisation of the household respondent rather than just interviewing the person who answered the telephone;
- a stratification of the telephone sample across each of the police districts to ensure sufficient sample size to provide reports to each district commander.

The Concept of Community Policing

Within recent years, the New South Wales Police and the Australian Federal Police have introduced community policing concepts into police management of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory.

Essentially the objectives of community policing are:

- to increase positive contact with the community;
- to encourage greater community support and cooperation in the fight against crime; and
- to increase public confidence in the integrity, accountability and professionalism of police.

As a strategy, community policing also:

- assumes police commitment to broadly focussed, problem-oriented policing;
- relies upon organisational decentralisation and reorientation of patrol tactics to open informal, two-way channels of communication between police and citizens;
- relies upon police being responsive to citizen demands when police set their priorities; and
- implies a commitment from police to help neighbourhoods help themselves, by serving as a catalyst for local organising and education efforts.

An issue police have to address is that crime and fear of crime are not distributed homogeneously across the population. Therefore, crime prevention needs to be promoted and implemented differently in various areas.

Fear and Concerns About Crime

Overseas studies and our Australian studies clearly show that concern about crime is complex, and that paradoxes exist in the relationships between crime events and fear of crime.

Police region and district commanders do need to keep these paradoxes in mind when implementing their strategies to overcome citizens' fears and concerns. Regular large-scale

community surveys within police districts can help police officers understand the magnitude of fears and concerns amongst the citizens that they are serving, and not just rely on hearsay or complaints.

Fear of crime is often highest in low crime areas and from low victimisation groups such as the elderly. Further, even though some groups have greater fears than others, those with such fears often do not do anything about it (for example, implementing household anti-theft strategies or participating in Neighbourhood Watch). Regular community surveys can help police commanders monitor this situation and develop appropriate public communication responses.

Citizens are also more fearful when they hear about crimes. They quickly hear about fear provoking incidents occurring in their own neighbourhood. Regardless of where they live, people are also exposed to crime in the media. The media also leads citizens to think there is more crime than actually exists and that most of these incidents are violent and serious. Police have to develop an appropriate response to reduce these fears.

A high fear of crime can lead to negative consequences—people preferring to stay indoors rather than participate in neighbourhood activities. This weakens the ability of the community to deal with social disorder problems such as vandalism and rowdy youths. Therefore, neighbourhoods degenerate as those people who can leave do so, and live elsewhere.

Police ability to maintain law and order becomes more difficult, and if distrust and suspicion exists and the public feel that police are not able to overcome neighbourhood problems effectively, this will eventually lead to a lack of positive contact between the public and police.

Community surveys if conducted continually over long periods of time can help police understand these complexities and develop successfully targeted responses cost-effectively.

Attitudes Towards the Police

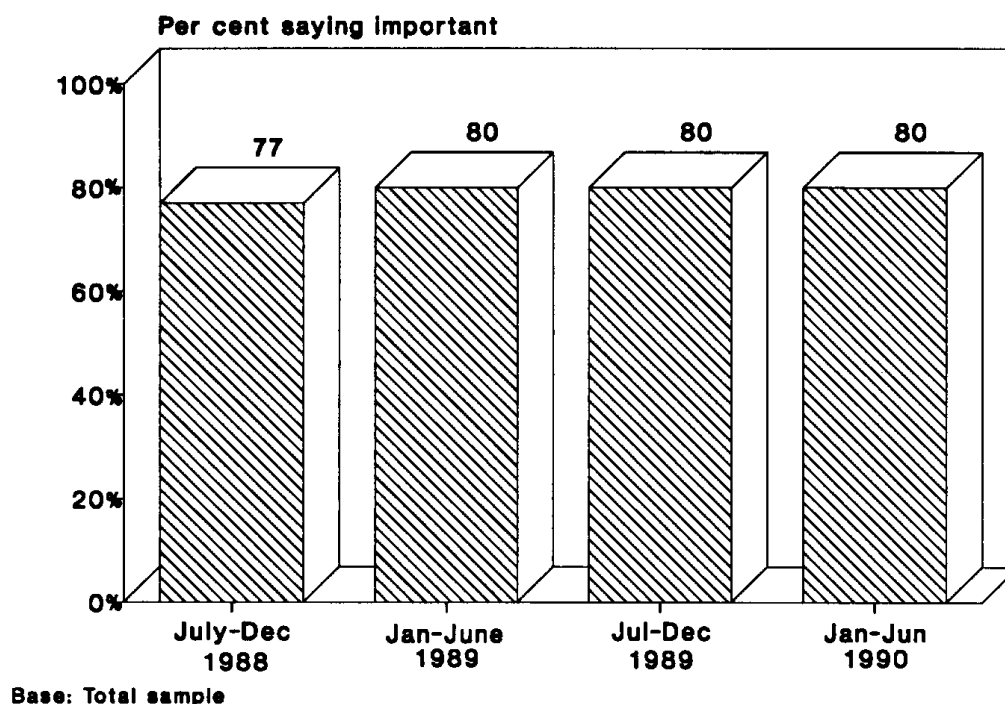
Our research has continually shown New South Wales Police and the Australian Federal Police to be rated highly on many community policing issues. Citizens also strongly endorse the community policing policies of both these police forces.

Favourable opinions towards police and police service delivery in both jurisdictions is also very high.

Most citizens also feel it is important to meet with their local police. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate these findings and show 80 per cent of New South Wales citizens feel it is important to meet local police, and 78 per cent of Canberra residents also feel this way (for the Australian Federal Police).

Figure 1

NSW Police—Opinion on Meeting Local Police



Source (all figures): Frank Small & Associates

Many Canberra citizens also feel that their police are responsive to community concerns (with 83 per cent of Canberra citizens feeling this way). Further, police in Canberra are highly rated on politeness and helpfulness. Figure 3 illustrates the Canberra community's perceptions of ACT police.

While it is widely muted that police are not liked, the facts as you can see are otherwise. It is also important for police officers to know that most people like them, because usually police, themselves, do not feel that this is the case.

Citizens' Fears of Crime

Despite these very strong ratings towards the police, the research continues to find however, that citizens' fears of crime are high in most police districts for both police forces.

Almost half of the New South Wales and Canberra citizens interviewed are fearful of walking alone outside in their neighbourhood at night.

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate these findings.

Figure 2
Citizen Contact Opportunities

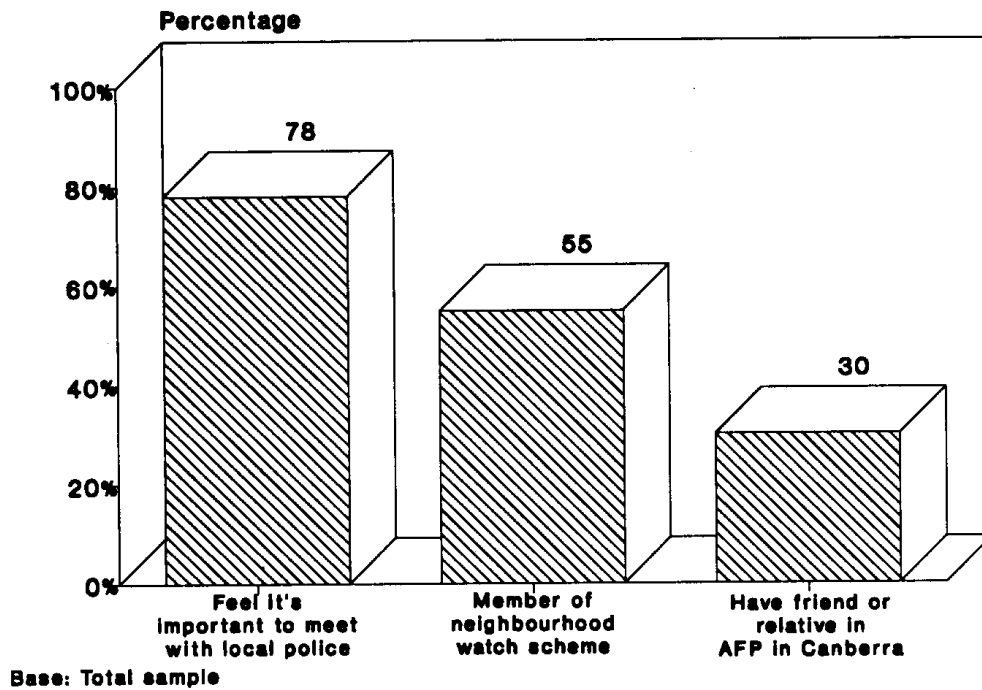


Figure 3
Canberra Police—Community Perceptions

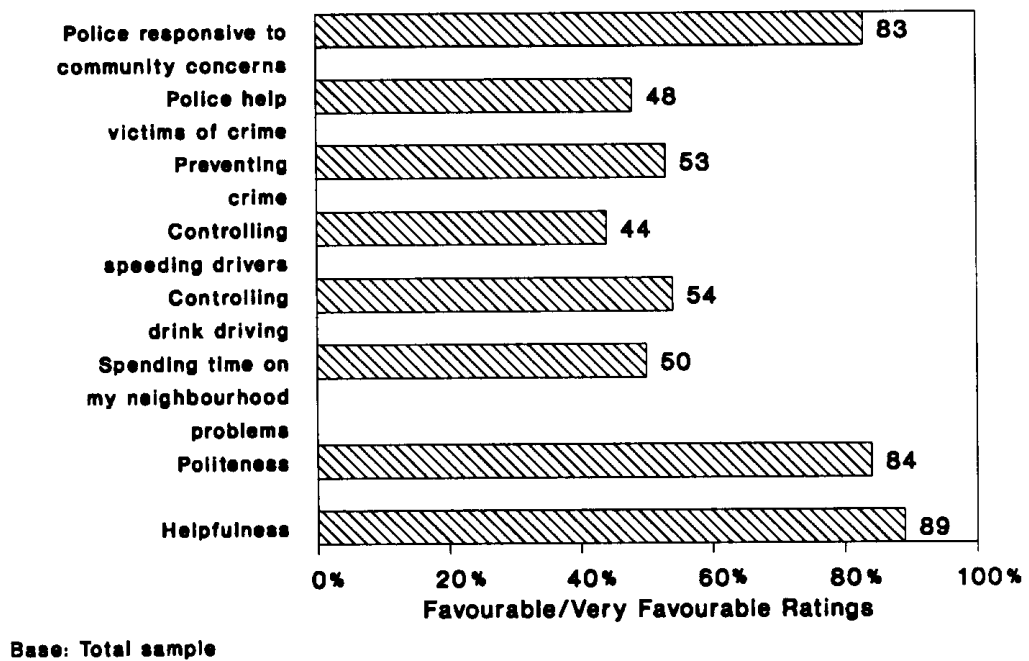


Figure 4
NSW Police—Fear of Crime Indicators

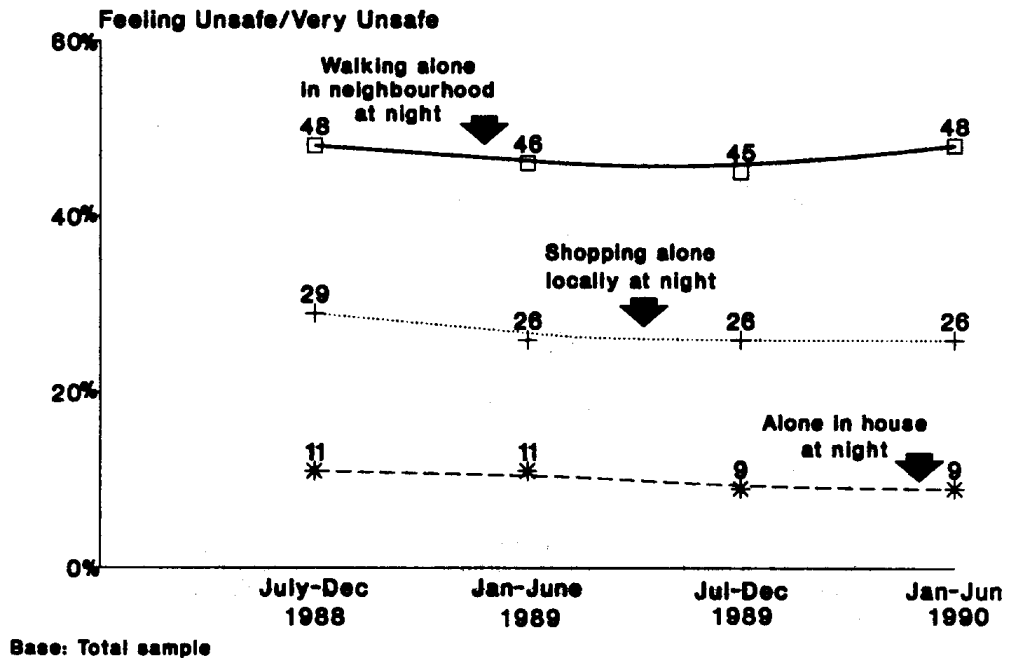
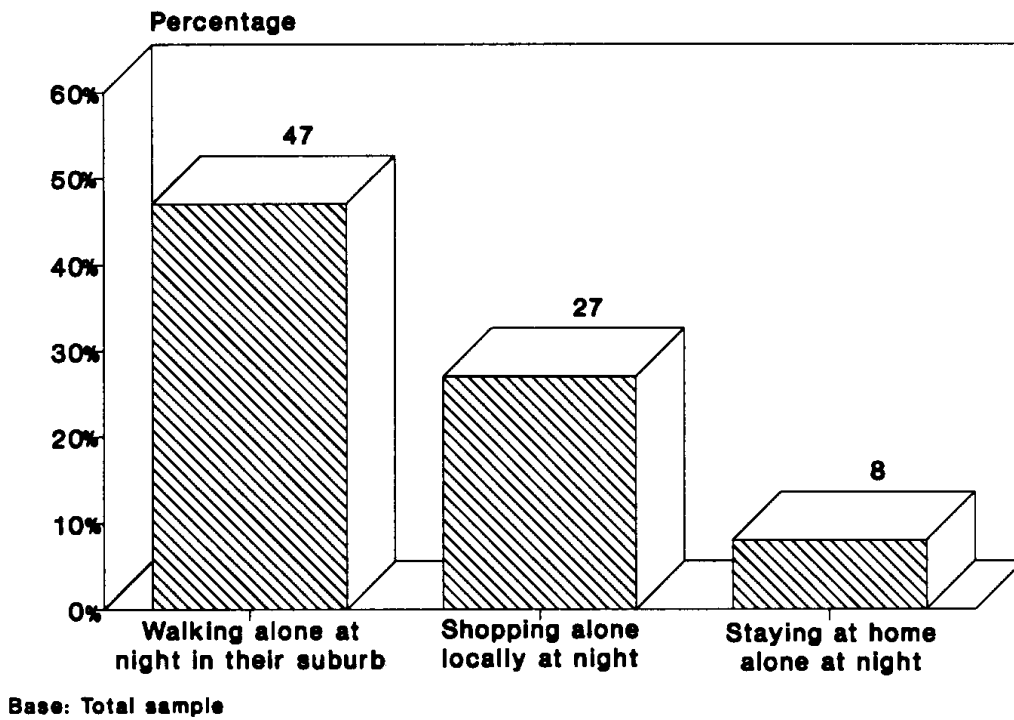


Figure 5
Canberra Police—Fear of Crime Indicators



However, fear of crime and concern about neighbourhood crime does vary significantly between police districts.

Our research has shown that some police districts have been very successful in reducing their citizens' fear perceptions. In these districts police management, strategy and tactics appear to have worked with particular effectiveness, dramatically reducing citizens' fears. We suggest that the strategies and tactics which are successful should be communicated to other districts for trialling. This will require further research effort in specific police districts.

Overall, the research has found that most police districts in New South Wales are showing successes in reducing citizens' fears or increasing satisfaction with police service. Many commanders (after an initial hesitation) are now using the community survey results in their district as an additional management information tool.

The success of the New South Wales Police introduction of community policing can be clearly seen in Figures 6, 7 and 8. Since 1988 there has been a significant downward trend in citizen concern that all types of neighbourhood crime are increasing.

Figure 6

NSW Police—Concerns about Neighbourhood Crime Increasing (A)

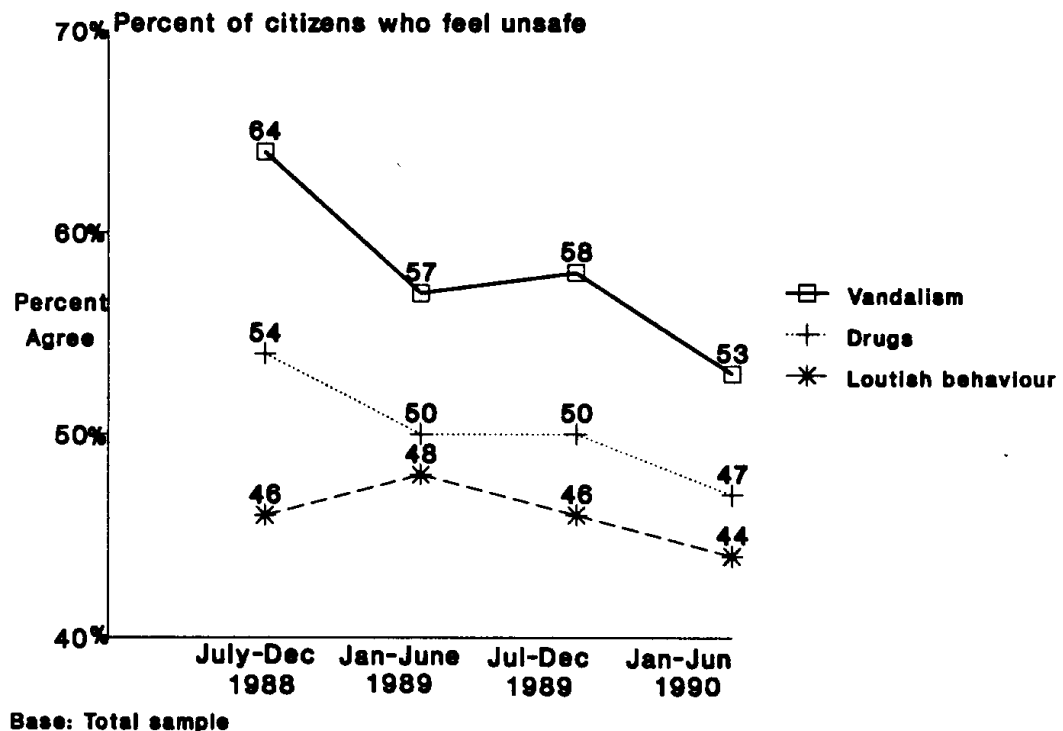


Figure 7

NSW Police—Concerns about Neighbourhood Crime Increasing (B)

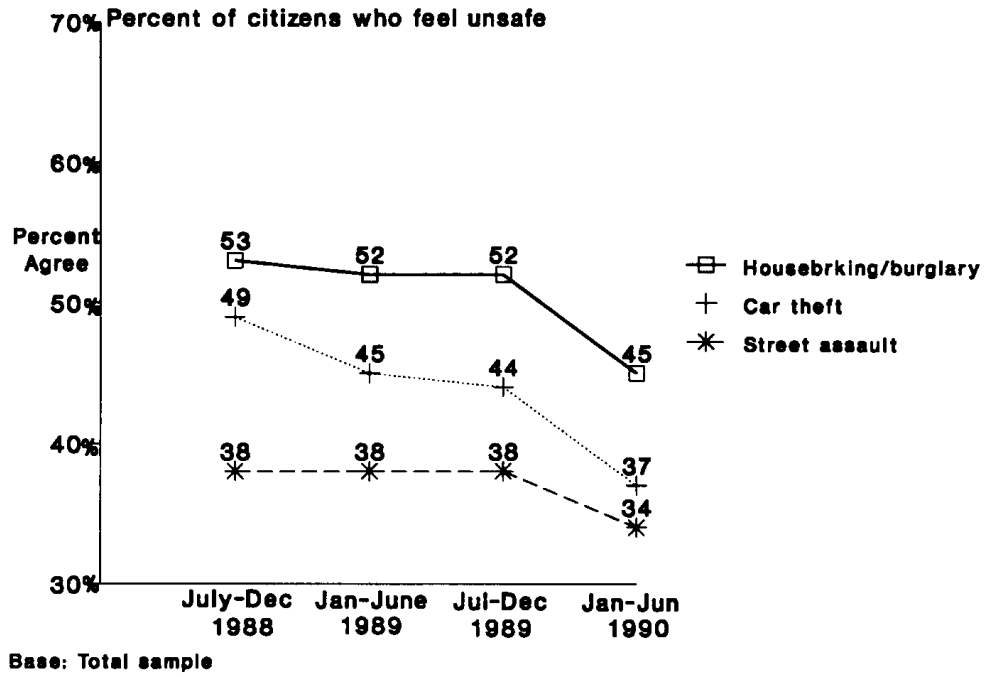
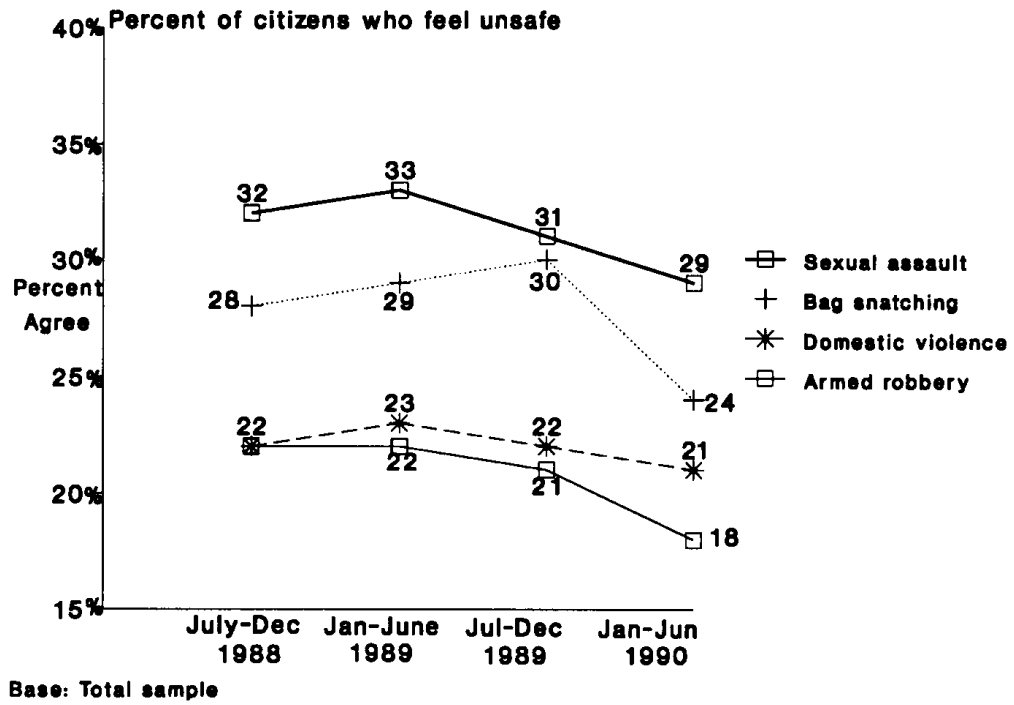


Figure 8

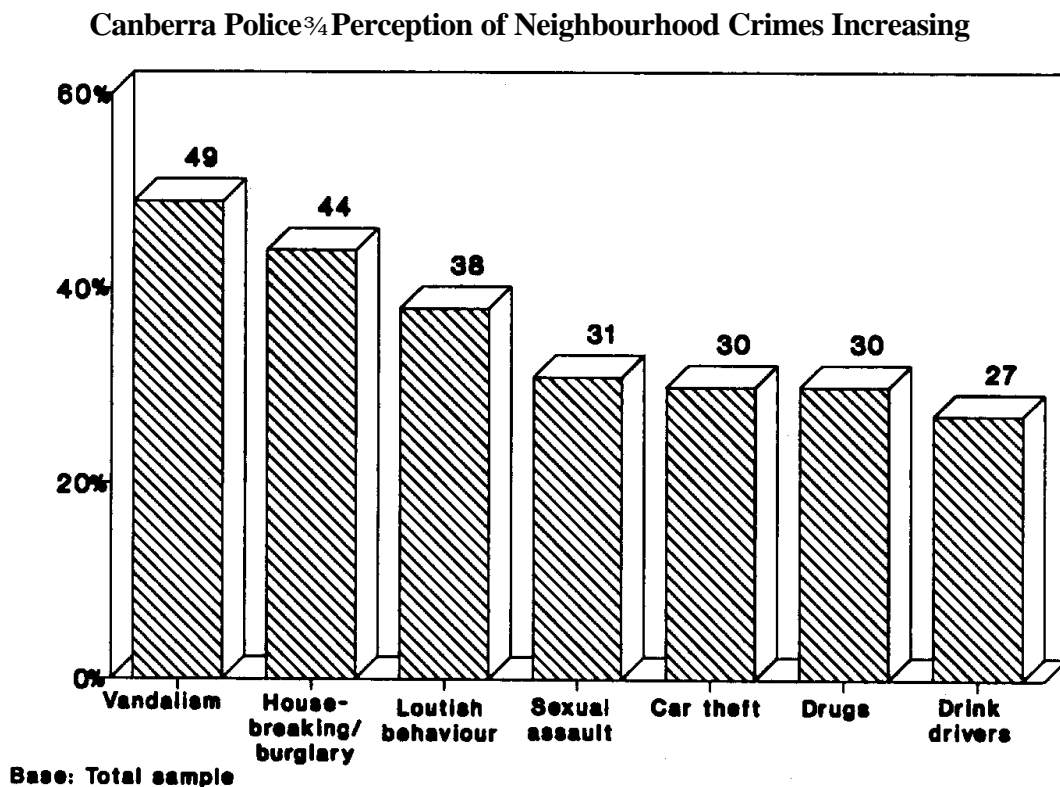
NSW Police—Concerns about Neighbourhood Crime Increasing (C)



Nevertheless, despite this overall success in reducing perception of neighbourhood crime events, this trend does not show the same pattern in specific police districts. This situation illustrates that police commanders will have to develop a response relevant to their own police district environment.

Community perception in Canberra of neighbourhood crime increasing (as shown in Figure 9) is similar to that for New South Wales.

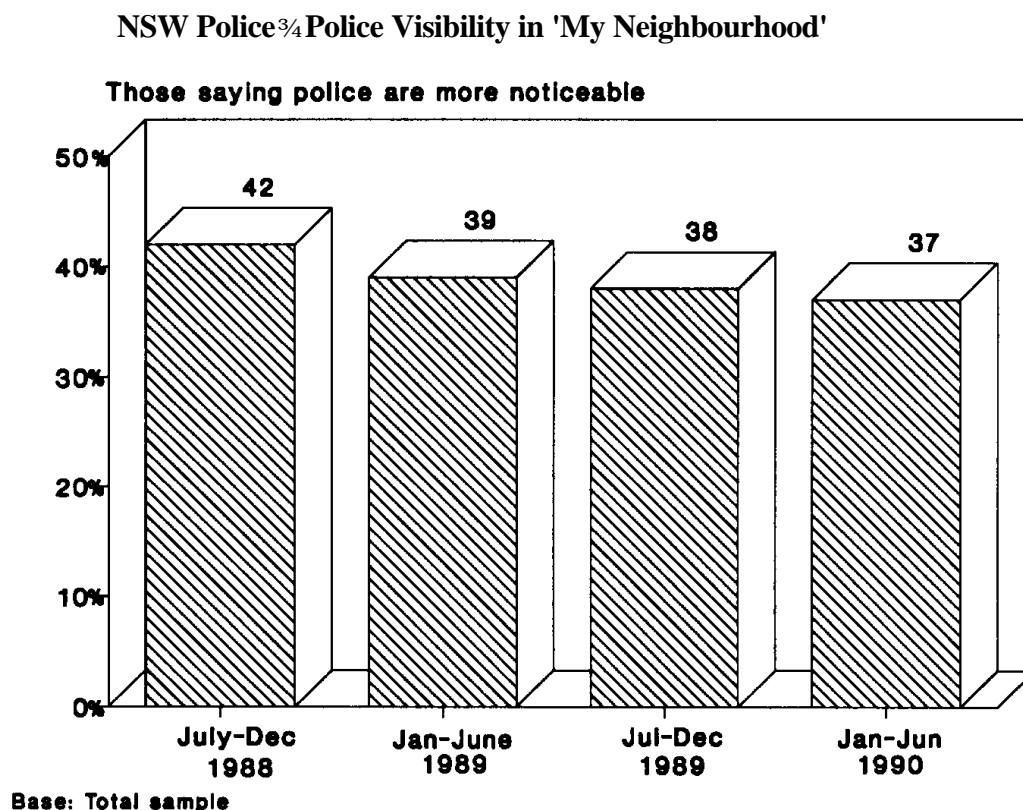
Figure 9



Police Visibility

Another issue to be addressed by police management is visibility. In New South Wales when compared to the 1988 results, police visibility in local neighbourhoods has decreased. As Figure 10 shows, the 1988 peak level of 42 per cent of citizens claiming 'police are more noticeable' in their neighbourhood fell to 39 per cent in the first six months of 1989, and to 38 per cent in the last six months. In 1990 police visibility continued its downward trend to 37 per cent.

Figure 10



The research suggests reversal of this trend is particularly necessary because declining police visibility tends to be linked to an increase in fear of crime.

Although police visibility is higher in Canberra there are weaknesses in poor patrol visibility in the Australian Federal Police jurisdiction (*see* Figure 11). This is particularly important in the context of using foot patrols as a tactical approach in community policing to reduce citizens' fears.

In both New South Wales and Canberra approximately one-third (33 per cent) of citizens have had contact with police officers within a six-month period. For both police forces satisfaction with contact is high, with around 80 per cent of citizens satisfied with the quality of their contact with police. Figures 12 and 13 illustrate these findings.

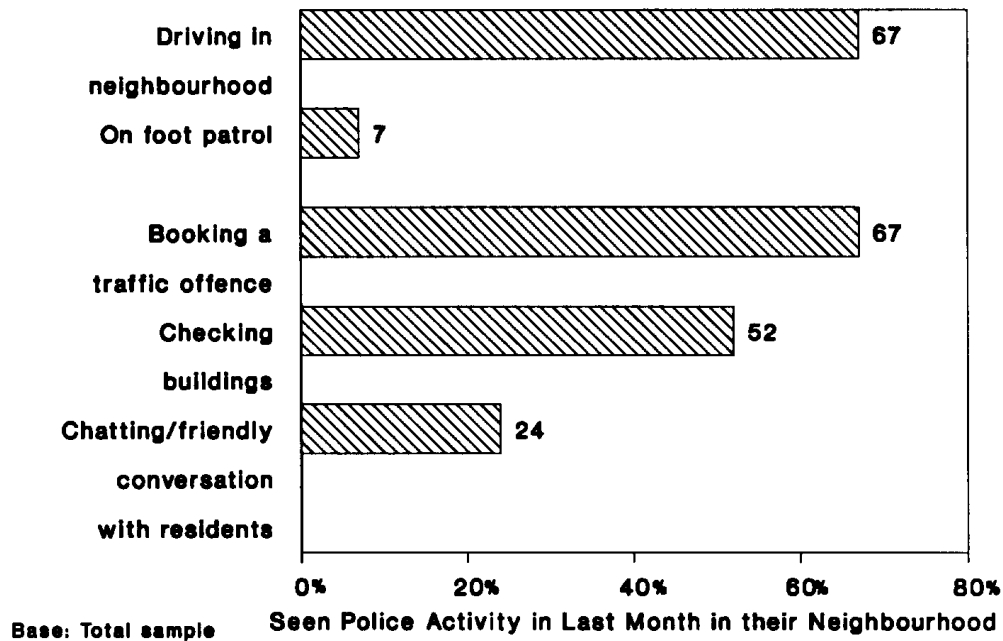
In New South Wales however, only 7 per cent of all police-citizen contact involved Neighbourhood Watch meetings, Community Consultative Committees or Safety House Schemes. It was 5 per cent in Canberra. This is despite the fact that most citizens in both jurisdictions support ideas such as police initiated Neighbourhood Watch and Safety House programs.

Most contact with NSW Police and the Australian Federal Police continues to be in the form of:

- reporting a crime (approximately four in ten of all contacts for NSW police and three in ten for Canberra police);

Figure 11

Canberra Police—Visibility in Canberra



- general assistance or inquiry (approximately one in five of all contacts for both police forces); and
- random breath testing (approximately one in six of all contacts) for both police forces.

In the context of community policing, this indicates that non-stressful areas of citizen contact should be developed further.

Overseas research indicates significant increases in such community policing contact in non-stressful areas can give local police greater access to local criminal intelligence to help solve crimes.

For those people dissatisfied with their contact with police in both police forces, the main complaint was that the police were 'not interested'. The elements of police-citizen contact which are causing dissatisfaction will need continued attention in police service delivery management.

How Police can Reduce Fears

When compared to police statistics on crime, most people have a very insignificant chance of being a crime victim but they do not realise it. The level of fear of being a victim in any crime category is grossly over-inflated in the minds of citizens.

Figure 12

NSW Police—Satisfaction with Contact over last Six Months

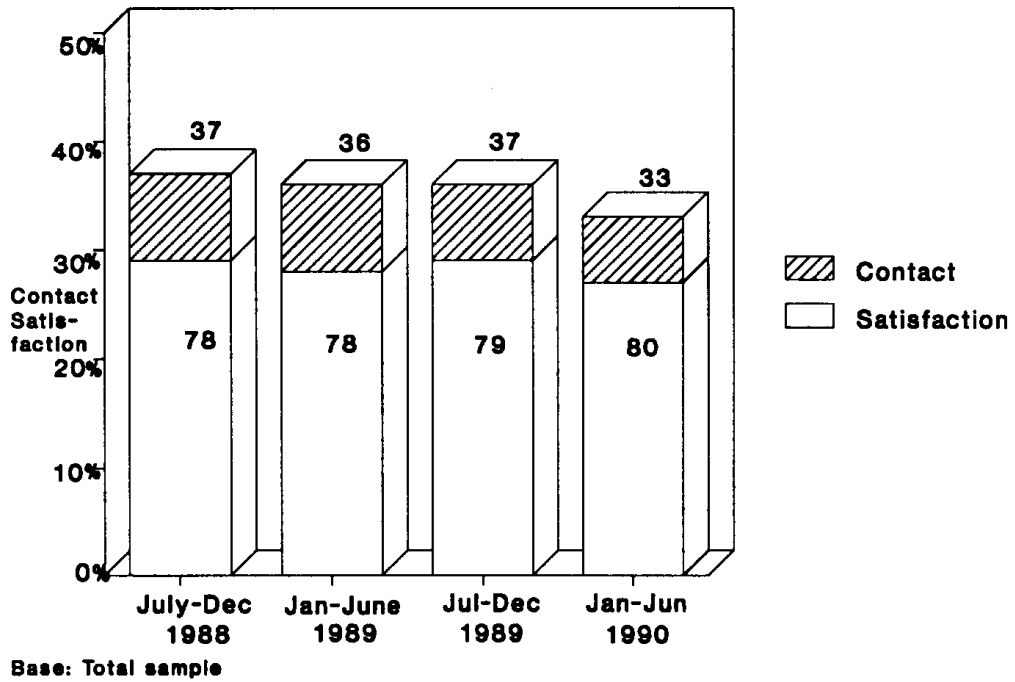
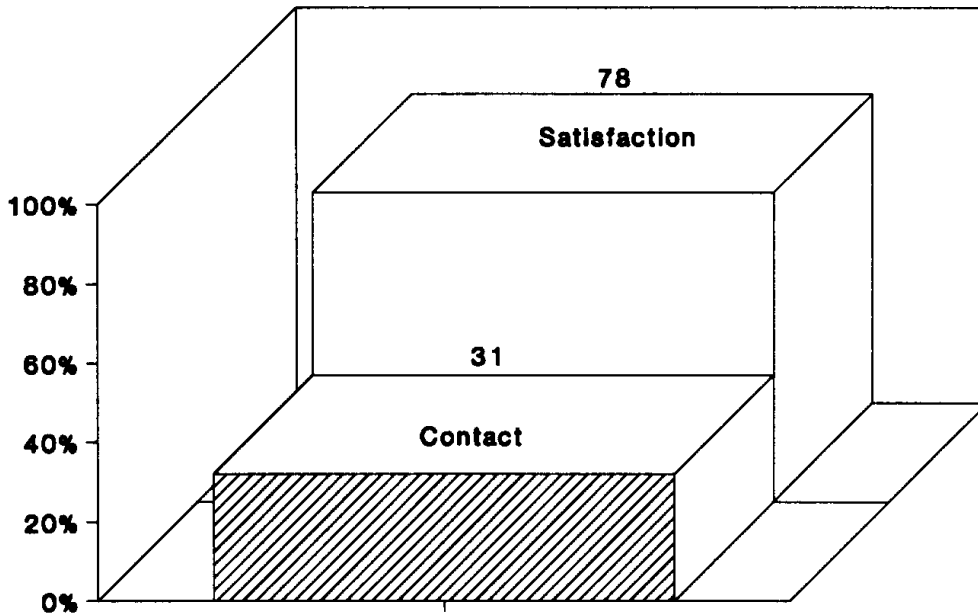


Figure 13

Canberra Police^{3/4} Contact with Police and Satisfaction with Contact



This makes the job for police in fighting and preventing crime much harder if citizens leave their neighbourhood empty at night, and thereby increase opportunities for crime. Also, police do not hear of local crime if citizens do not report it because they feel their local police cannot do anything about it.

The New South Wales surveys have shown for example that every six months 12 per cent of citizens have thought about contacting police to report a crime but then decided not to, most reasoning that they felt police could not help. District commanders can overcome this problem by being more proactive in encouraging police to initiate more dialogue with the community about such matters.

The power of the media in creating citizens' fears also means local police have to be careful in their use of local media, particularly in public relations efforts to persuade citizens their fears are unfounded, or that police-citizen cooperation is the answer. This is because such media activity may work to increase fears even further.

The research described above can be used by local police commanders and officers to develop specifically targeted:

- **Directive patrolling** . . . whereby a police patrol is sent to predesignated areas, where they walk the streets, knock on doors and introduce themselves to residents.
A conversation usually follows where police explain they are meeting people in the local community and would like to hear about crime concerns and fears. Often a personal business card is left for the citizen to keep handy for any later contact.
Much local intelligence may also be obtained which police can use to solve local crimes.
- **Public transport patrolling** . . . similar directive patrolling can be used to decrease citizens' fears about using public transport, for example, a police patrol catches a bus or train for a short distance and talks to passengers.
- **Meetings and discussions with specific groups of people** who have very high fears and concerns. This can often help police through gaining their trust and support, for example, women fearful of sexual assault, older people, a particular ethnic group, parents of teenagers (about drugs).
- **Neighbourhood Watch schemes, Community Consultative committees, and so on** . . . initially police may feel this is taking their time away from more pressing police work, but in the long term police time and effort can be maximised elsewhere since communities become able to help themselves in monitoring crime and vandalism.
- **Undertaking foot patrols in particular neighbourhoods to show citizens police are concerned** . . . this should include some element of talking to citizens.
- **Developing 'customer service' approaches when dealing with the public** . . . this includes common courtesy and listening to issues raised in any complaints about police service. Where possible, 'after sales service' such as call-backs to enquire about any further information coming to hand after burglary offences, could be included.

At a **corporate level**, ongoing community opinion surveys can help police services to:

- develop and institute corporate advertising and public relation approaches which effectively help reduce citizens' fear of crime;
- develop training packages to help district and patrol commanders to undertake public communications in their area which complement the corporate strategy; and
- to implement specific evaluation studies (using control groups) to clearly identify 'what works best' in district specific community policing strategies and police citizen contact and service delivery.

In conclusion, ongoing community surveys as have been described, are essential in helping police develop a **proactive** community policing strategy. In other words, police can undertake a positive outreach program (relevant to their district or patrol environment) designed to create interest, meetings and inquiries which helps citizens reduce their fear of crime and improves satisfaction with police service.

Such proactive community policing will be successful because police are receiving statistically reliable feedback from the community that they serve.

Overseas Models of Community Policing

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The focus of this paper is on the models of community policing and crime prevention found in France and The Netherlands because many of them have been evaluated and positive results achieved. Some have been included in the recently released South Australian Government's Strategy on crime prevention, *Confronting Crime* (Sutton & Fisher 1990).

France

France has two levels of government, one national, and the other local. Their local government has many of the functions that state governments do in Australia. Mayors of local government are very influential within the community and they and the town councils have a lot of direction over the French police, a national force. Some mayors are also members of the French National Assembly.

National Committee on Crime Prevention

There is a French National Committee on Crime Prevention chaired by the Prime Minister. It has 80 members including representatives from Ministries, Mayors of major cities and towns and also representatives from trade unions, employer and other groups. There are now over 500 Crime Prevention Councils at local level and the number is increasing.

Crime prevention is generally planned and implemented by each town or city council. The police, who are represented on local crime prevention councils, are guided to a certain extent by community requirements. This, arguably, is the model for community policing.

Funding for crime prevention programs is provided by the national government to a large extent, but supported by local government and the private sector.

There is a national agency known as the National Committee for Districts of Social Development which examines local crime prevention programs, assesses them, ensures they do not overlap adjacent areas and sees that no council area gets more advantage than another.

Ultimately a written contract is drawn up between the national and local government where each undertakes to achieve the objectives of the crime prevention program proposed. Funding is then provided to do this.

Crime prevention programs are directed towards social justice strategies including:

- education of young people;
- re-training of those who failed to cope in the education system;
- better housing;
- employment;
- adequate health service;
- aid to victims of crime;
- better conditions for immigrants and ethnic minority groups;
- drug abuse treatment;
- after school activities for the young;
- provision of youth, cultural, training and recreation centres in each council area.

Epinay Sur Seine

Epinay was one of two French towns visited. The Mayor of Epinay, Monsieur Gilbert Bonnemaïson, MP, was one of the foremost proponents of a national crime prevention policy and was responsible for the introduction of the so-called 'Bonnemaïson' strategy in the early 1980s. That strategy has been implemented across France.

Epinay is run by a town council under the chairmanship of the mayor. There are many flats in this particular township and some light industry. Most of the population have to leave town to go to work. The town has a young population in which there are 10,000 school children of primary, secondary and university age.

Crime Prevention Bureau and Victims of Crime

The Epinay Council has an office for the victims of crime which is part of the Bureau for Crime Prevention. At the Crime Prevention Bureau, the staff provide counselling and victim assistance, such as providing a court helper, advising people what to do in court, introducing them to the police and other similar functions. In addition, thousands of disputes are settled in the Crime Prevention Bureau—it has a type of mediation service available. The Bureau also assists victims by providing resources. They have two small trucks, so if someone's house or shop is broken into, a worker with a truck goes out and refits the door, boards up the windows and secures the premises. This is seen as a primary, 'first aid' response for the victim—rapid intervention by the Bureau.

Local Centre to Assist the Youth

There is a local centre for youth assistance in this community area. 'Youth' means persons up to the age of twenty five years. In the Centre, the workers examine crime data provided by the police, identify offenders, counsel them and refer them to training programs at the Training Centre. In this way, they are provided with new skills and knowledge to obtain employment and participate in other activities. There are private companies in Epinay to which the Centre refers the trained and re-trained people. The Centre acts as a coordinator between the corporations, businesses and the youth. When these programs first commenced it was found that many of the employers and youth had stereotypical views. This situation no longer exists due to the publicity given to it in the community in newsletters and magazines produced by the City Council.

Medical Service

Located within the Local Centre To Assist Youth is a medical service. Doctors treat the young people for illnesses and also, drug abuse. The doctors also provide advice and lectures on medically related topics because it was found that healthier lifestyles contributed towards crime reduction.

Cultural Centre

The Cultural Centre was built in Epinay when there were 4,000 flats erected. The Cultural Centre is in the middle of the town and is surrounded by a large number of high rise buildings where many immigrants live.

The role of the Cultural Centre is to educate young people about the French culture and improve their oral and literacy skills. The Centre contains an extensive library, a small museum, drama facilities, arts and crafts. The training at the Cultural Centre takes 50 per cent of the young person's time, the other 50 per cent is taken up by on the job training. One problem in France is that many of the people who graduate from schools are not fluent in French. The cultural centre helps meet these educational needs.

Training Centre

The training centre is located in the Epinay Council area. The people who go there are generally those who cannot cope with the mainstream education system. It is the role of the training centre to assist them with attitude modification and how to become better orientated with their community. The students write out a learning contract between them and the training centre. The students do an early test to identify knowledge deficiencies and these become part of their learning contract. The contract is renewable after two months. At the centre, French, maths, accountancy, English and other subjects are taught. The students are shown how to study and make their learning meaningful.

On the Job Training

Many companies have systems that allow people from the training centre to work in their areas. For each trainee, a company gets about \$400 per month subsidy from the Government. They also get a subsidy from the National Crime Prevention Council. The companies who participate in these job training schemes also receive positive publicity in the community publications.

Epinay Police

There are approximately 130 members in the Epinay Police Department. The Commissioner, M. Jean-Claude Muscat said that M. Bonnemaïson, the mayor, considered that the police had to hand over more of the responsibility for crime prevention to the council of Epinay. The mayor and the council wanted the police to keep a high profile in the community rather than have too many police doing 'non-police work'.

The police in Epinay keep computer records on all crime in their own district. Anything at all, for example vandalism, theft, burglary, assault, or drug dealing that comes to police notice is entered into the computer and also given to the Crime Prevention Bureau. Between 1982 and 1988 there was a decrease in all crime by 20 per cent. The police believed by having better crime prevention measures, improved statistical collation, proximity to the community, improved identification of gangs, drug offenders and local criminals, that it enabled them to achieve their objectives. According to their statistics, for every 100 offences recorded, 25 per cent of them were cleared up by arrest, whereas the national average in France was 18 per cent.

The Commissioner believed that the attitude of police towards community policing had improved because they had local knowledge of the area and involvement with the people. He found that better training of police in crime prevention was extremely worthwhile but it took about one year to change officious attitudes of police into participative ones. The police hierarchy had to convince the officers that the citizens were not aliens—they were in fact, part of the community.

In summary the Police Commissioner was supported by the CIB chief and the deputy mayor that, with a properly planned community policing strategy with built in evaluation, they were able to measure their success or otherwise.

The Community Policing 'Model'

In summary, the Epinay community policing model followed the 'Bonnemaïson' strategy and in fact, was replicated in many cities and towns across France. Provided there was:

- a national crime prevention strategy
- commitment by Government
- an organisation established to coordinate local strategies and policies
- funding,

and at local level, there was a crime prevention council chaired by the mayor with representatives from the:

- crime prevention bureau
- victims of crime unit
- community youth centre
- cultural centre (education)
- training centre (training, education and development)
- private industry

- medical unit
- police,

then community policing would work and, reduce crime.

Coordination

The Crime Prevention Council, (CPC) with the representatives referred to above, met regularly to review developments and plan future initiatives as part of the community policing process. The Crime Prevention Council produced very detailed records on the outcomes of the various programs and, their budget costs. It appeared that their successes in Epinay were due to strong leadership by the Mayor and his deputy with a willingness by everyone to participate in the problem solving by open communication at frequent meetings. In other words, they had discarded some of the traditional rivalries between professions.

The Netherlands

The Dutch have a centralised bureaucracy which formulates policy for the government on crime prevention. Most of the crime prevention policy of the Netherlands can be found in the government's policy paper *Society and Crime* 1985. There are three principles around which the policy paper revolves. These are:

- crime must be dealt with not just by prosecution of offenders, but by society as a whole.
- distinctions must be made between serious offences and common crimes.
- there must be close coordination between the police, prosecutors and local government.

The Community Policing Model

The community policing 'model' could be extracted from the above mentioned principles in that crime must be dealt with by society as a whole through coordination of the police, prosecutors and the people through their representatives on local government. Initiatives and funding are provided by the government through public service departments to the people. The 'community policing' occurs when the various committees are set up at local level and implement their own programs to prevent crime (Sutton & Fisher, *Confronting Crime*, pp. 35 and 36).

The Prime Minister chairs a Committee whose members are the heads of the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Interior. They have a budget of A\$5 million per year for subsidising seventy different municipalities with 250 crime prevention projects. The universities are also given a large budget to conduct independent research into crime prevention methods.

The government in Holland believes that more police and more resources put into the police forces and courts are not satisfactory ways of tackling crime prevention; they believe there needs to be a Minister, preferably one with a high profile, specifically responsible for crime prevention. The feature about Holland is that, unlike Australia, much of the programming and determination of enforcement procedures is carried out by local

government under the direction of the local mayor. In Holland, local mayors are appointed by the government; this is in contrast to France where they are elected.

Ministry of Justice

Dr Jan Van Dijk, the Director of the Research and Documentation Centre in the Ministry of Justice at The Hague provided a detailed overview of the government's policy on crime and crime prevention. One of the most important ingredients in the Dutch policy is that of evaluation. The Dutch believe it is the best way to identify the problems and provide solutions to get value for money. Specific objectives have to be defined first; the schemes which are implemented have to be measured against the objectives. The people who devise, implement and conduct the schemes also have to submit meaningful progress reports to the Ministry of Justice; annual reports are not considered enough. This has a positive effect in keeping people merely procuring funds for dubious reasons out of the 'system'.

The Hague

The mayor of The Hague Council and his staff provided an overview on the approach to petty crime in the Hague.

The Council is responsible for running the police force, and had a number of programs aimed at crime prevention. They outlined a number of schemes involving education, victims of crime, research, police re-organisation, vandalism, and community group coordination, which in many respects seemed very similar to Epinay, France.

Crime Prevention in The Hague

Crime control in The Hague is determined by the city council. Crime in The Hague costs the city A\$3.5 million annually. The Council knows exactly what crime costs them and they can assess whether or not their crime prevention programs are successful or not. To give an example of how an evaluation was carried out, the Council devised a new scheme to lessen the incidence of graffiti. The council already had records of how many hundreds of litres of paint it had bought to clean up the city. The anti-graffiti program was put into place. Twelve months later, the program was considered to be successful because the Council found that it was no longer needing to buy paint in such large quantities as before.

Policy on Minority Groups in The Hague

The minority groups, including immigrants from Surinam and Turkey are generally people who do not have their own culture and many of them are unemployed. The council wanted to create employment projects for them because of its known potential to reduce crime.

In one project, the Council engaged three professionals to work with the minority groups and get them involved in education, health, employment and schooling programs. Ultimately, they formed better relationships with the police. Initially there were problems between police and the workers running these programs but now they have written agreements between each other for mutual co-operation. The City Council believes that you have to improve the lot of the young people before anything else and that once you do this, all the good things flow upwards.

Local Programs

Some of the programs implemented in The Hague include the following:

- alternative sentences for young people guilty of vandalism;
- minimisation of football hooliganism;
- vandalism reduction;
- information campaigns aimed at preventing crimes against the elderly;
- regulation of meeting places used by homosexuals;
- improvement of street lighting in some areas; lights to be switched on sooner;
- training of caretakers (caretakers of buildings are encouraged to observe what people are doing in certain areas and report crime where necessary).

Other Crime Prevention Initiatives in The Netherlands

Education

It is part of the education curriculum in Holland that many issues in relation to crime and crime prevention are taught in subjects within the schools at all levels.

Public Transport Problems

One very successful crime prevention program was that relating to public transport. It was found that automation of ticketing procedures caused problems with fare evasion and vandalism on the carriages. An evaluation was done to find out how much damage was being done on the transport system and how much in terms of fares was being evaded. They found that millions of guilders were being lost. The government found that by employing 1,350 surveillance personnel both on trains, buses trams and also the railway stations, fare dodging decreased from 24 per cent to 7 per cent. Vandalism was almost eliminated. Whilst a figure of 1,350 persons being employed sounds a lot, it was found that by taking them all off unemployment benefits, it lessened the number of people getting unemployment benefits, and gave them some goal in life. In any event the cost of their salaries was far less than the vandalism and fare dodging.

Shop Stealing

A campaign was run as a trial in two selected shopping centres for crime reduction in respect to shopstealing. Firstly surveys were carried out to find out what amount of shop stealing was occurring. Signs were put up in the shopping centres explaining that shopstealing measures were going to be stringently enforced. The owners of shops and their staff were given lectures on how to identify potential shop stealers and were given special training to detect shopstealing. Five persons were then employed as security officers. A

subsequent evaluation led the Dutch to believe that the information campaign was not useful but that the use of the five people was successful. The five security officers, who work shiftwork, were paid by the shopkeepers in the centres. Initially when the program started, the shopkeepers resisted the concept of paying the security officers—they wanted the government to do it. In the end, the shopkeepers were more than glad to pay because shopstealing was significantly reduced.

Truancy

A pilot scheme was introduced in Utrecht to minimise truancy in schools. It had been found that many of the truants from the schools were out committing crimes instead of being at school. Part of the project involved having a computer in the school with a software program devised to register truancy. Not once but twice a day, parents would be checked by telephone to see if they knew where their children were. Finally, the project showed there was a regular type of person who was a truant and that instead of punishing them, they formed a special problem class for the regular offenders. They found that one of the main reasons for truancy was very severe child sexual abuse at home. Secondly, that many of them were of ethnic background (Moroccan, Turkish) and they did not like being at school because they were given a hard time by the others. In addition to having them placed in special problem classes, other social agencies became involved in their training. It was intended that this program would be evaluated four years after implementation.

Drugs

Contrary to popular belief, trafficking and use of drugs in Holland is unlawful. The use of narcotics, particularly in the Amsterdam district is brought out into the open. (Engelsman, E.L. 1988, *Responding to drug problems: Dutch policy and practice*). Research projects indicated that abuse of narcotics was lessening amongst the young people. The average age of narcotics users is now between 35 to 40 years; younger people were not getting involved in using narcotics as they were previously.

Needle Exchange

In Amsterdam a syringe exchange program exists; 1,000,000 needles are collected every year. Some ex-users get a small fee for collecting used needles. The government believes that by having a needle collection service, the spread of AIDS and other diseases is lessened.

Canada

Developments in Canada related to a concentrated effort on crime prevention strategies at the federal level. A project was underway to write a strategic crime prevention document for the Federal Government (Waller 1988). The Canadians have fully researched the European and English crime prevention strategies. They believe that the French model of localised community responsibility for crime prevention was good, but that it probably needed some of the Dutch evaluation programs built into it. They felt that in Canada, the local councils had to do more for crime prevention.

United States

The population of the United States, the number of States, the huge number of law enforcement agencies and a massive crime rate resulted in a plethora of crime prevention programs being in operation and run by a multitude of agencies. However, the Federal Justice Department and the National Crime Prevention Council (NCPC) provided a good overview of what was happening nationally in respect to crime prevention strategies. For example, there is a 'Crime Prevention Coalition' comprising over 140 representative agencies, that is organised by the NCPC. The NCPC also run a 'spokesdog' called 'McGruff', who is the focal point for public and school crime prevention programs. McGruff is used in a similar way as 'Smokey the Bear' is here for fire prevention. His logo appears on many crime prevention strategy documents.

The Justice Department organises many projects to be completed internally and funds external projects on crime prevention. Some of their views or findings on police crime prevention programs were that:

- timely statistics must be available for police to plan effectively. The public need to be given accurate and timely crime data, so as to receive positive feedback, rather than no information resulting in fear of the unknown;
- the local divisional commander must assess the specific requirements for his or her area in conjunction with the patrol officers;
- research must be undertaken to evaluate the programs;
- the police alone will never prevent crime. There has to be total community involvement and funding schemes developed so that the private sector contributes to crime prevention.

Probably, one of the best assessments of how 'community policing' could work at local level was that if the American public wanted to live in safe and secure neighbourhoods then **they** were the ones who could bring it about. It was more likely to be successful when they worked in close cooperation with public sector agencies (Lavrakas 1985, p. 105).

The South Australian Model

As mentioned earlier, many of the overseas schemes and policies that were examined by the members of the study group were ultimately put into the South Australian Government's Crime Prevention Strategy. Many of the topics I have referred to in this paper are in *Confronting Crime*.

The underlying theme was spelt out by Commissioner David Hunt in the Preface to *Confronting Crime* when he wrote:

'. . . the community at large has an integral and indeed a substantial role to play, if efforts aimed at addressing the problem of crime are to meet with success . . .'

The South Australian model on crime prevention from which community policing flows, now has a Coalition Against Crime, chaired by the Premier, in much the same way the Dutch have. The Deputy Chairperson is Mr Chris Sumner, MLC, Attorney General and Minister for Crime Prevention. Members of the Coalition include the Police Commissioner, Mr Hunt, chief executive officers of other government departments and community leaders (*Newsletter* no. 2, May 1990, South Australian Government Crime Prevention Policy Unit).

The Coalition is serviced by an executive secretariat and has already implemented a number of schemes including:

- funding of \$450,000 over the next three years in a program to enhance senior citizens' sense of security and involvement;
- formation of an Inner City Cooperative Action Group with representatives of the police, Victims of Crime Service, Crime Prevention Policy Unit; the Adelaide City Council and various welfare agencies;
- a grant of \$10,000 for 'street kids' to be taken on camps;
- a pilot scheme for 'problem orientated policing' to occur in an operational division;
- formation and funding of the Police Deputies Club;
- a \$45,000 grant to the Police Department for a crime mapping project.

Conclusion

In the past, jurisdictions in Australia have perhaps replicated in total, overseas models of various schemes without consideration of differing social, economic, cultural, geographical and political situations. This has probably resulted in failures and wastage of resources. In South Australia it seems we have got it right this time because we have not just picked up the overseas model and installed it, but rather, adopted our own from various, evaluated ones. For example, local government in France and Holland has much more control than state governments in Australia. Consequently, the South Australian model is controlled and funded to a major extent by the State.

In his very compelling paper 'Community Policing—Nothing New Under the Sun', Braiden has argued that there is no common definition for community policing. What is important is that each individual looks at the ingredients and uses imagination and innovation to build his or her own model (Braiden 1987, p. 19). Whilst the countries we visited had different models to suit their circumstances, they did have one common theme. That theme was to tackle the social justice issues with a multi-disciplinary agency approach and endeavour to stop crime occurring in the first place. Police were not seen to be the automatic choice to direct community policing, but rather, as being part of a community group with an equal share of the decision making.

The preceding outline of strategies adopted in Europe and North America may provide the concepts for building models of community policing as part of the crime prevention process.

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The Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs Crime Prevention Working Party

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The Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs is coordinated and chaired from within the Division of Youth and was established in 1988 out of the need for close cooperation between those departments which were directly involved in delivery and regulation of youth affairs.

The following state government departments have representation on the committee: Education; Employment, Vocational Education, Training and Industrial Relations; Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs; Police; Health; Housing and Local Government; Attorney-Generals; Ethnic Affairs; Corrective Services; and Premiers.

To give direction to its work, the committee established a number of working parties operating in the areas of youth policy, information services, juvenile offending and youth week. Recently, the coordination of the state government response to the *Burdekin Report* was handed over to the Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs for the purpose of upgrading its contents in preparation for a submission to Cabinet.

Part of the role of the committee is to deal with issues of concern regarding youth matters, which may be raised by individual state government departments. These issues are discussed at the Inter-Departmental Committee and a coordinated approach between the relevant government departments is used to overcome the problem. The most recent example of this work has been the move by the Government to coordinate the funding of community facilities. The end result of this process is that these facilities can be used on a more regular basis by an increased number of community groups and the funding can be more equitably distributed.

The Working Party on Juvenile Offending

The Working Party on Juvenile Offending was established in 1988 in order to develop a proposal to combat youth crime in Queensland. On joining this group in February 1989, I was pleased to find that the members considered that the best strategies available to the Inter-Departmental Committee to tackle the prevention of offending were to ensure that government services to families and youth were coordinated, integrated and developed in collaboration with communities.

It was also suggested that such strategies could be relevant to other social problems affecting young people such as homelessness, drug abuse and youth suicide and that these problems were themselves interactive to some extent. As part of the work, the Working Party presented the following proposals to the Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs in July 1989:

- Focus on young people 'at risk' should not be lost to the Inter-Departmental committee. Such young people are visible early in life in schools, clinics and in community and welfare agencies, and yet, many proceed inexorably towards destructive lifestyles.
- We should examine the merits and limitations of present responses before seeking resources for new, additional ones.
- One of the limitations of present responses to social problems may be that they are designed too much according to the form of government departmental structures, rather than social reality.
- Until recent years, there has not been much in the way of the development of a common frame of reference, sharing of information and ideas, coordination of services or collaborative development of strategies.
- The Inter-Departmental Committee is able to initiate such sharing, to generate and explore possible strategies and to develop proposals for negotiation.
- These activities would be likely to impact on a number of interrelated youth problems and family issues also, not just offending.
- A suggested process for the operation of the Inter-Departmental Committee would be:
 - (a) a departmental representative presents a paper to a meeting on 'Key Issues Affecting Youth in the Next Five Years—A Departmental Perspective'. Such a presentation outlines:
 - the issues as perceived;
 - the data available;
 - the strategies used or that are being developed;
 - the possible relevance to other departments;
 - proposed action by the Inter-Departmental Committee;
 - (b) a discussion follows of the elements of the presentation as above, leading to decisions or action plans which might, at their simplest level, be to share information, data, etc, with relevant people beyond the Committee, to the identification and development of possible new strategies.
- Where necessary, individuals or small working parties could be nominated to report back to the Inter-Departmental Committee.

It was through this process that a presentation was given by Mr Ian Peers from the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs which outlined what appears to be quite a complete approach to the issues of juvenile offending.

The essence of the approach is contained in the following areas:

Area 1: Individual Control

(To punish, restrict or compulsorily manage offenders or their parents.)

Area 2: Individual Guidance and Assistance

(To increase the ability of the individual to meet his needs constructively in the existing environment) e.g.

- employment preparation
- social skills training
- living skills training
- remedial education
- personal or group counselling and therapy
- accommodation support

Area 3: Family and Community Support and Development

(To assist families and communities to respond more effectively to the needs of young people), for example

- family counselling support
- family and community networking
- funding, training
- assistance to community youth organisations

Area 4: Advocacy and Public Awareness

- to raise public awareness of the facts and issues concerning juvenile offending
- to advocate on behalf of young people affected

The critical point about this approach is that no one area can stand alone as the answer to offending behaviour. What is needed is an approach which incorporates all of the points outlined above.

It is interesting to note, however, that there has been quite a great deal of development in New Zealand regarding the youth justice system. At a recent Crime Prevention Conference in Melbourne, hosted by the Australian Institute of Criminology and the Commonwealth Youth Bureau, the representatives from New Zealand indicated that the number of police in New Zealand had been reduced and that institutions for young offenders and those needing the care of the state had declined from forty to three. A system of incarceration had largely been replaced by a process of family and community consultation designed to resolve issues between offenders and those offended against.

Recently in Queensland, a great deal of attention has been given by the media and some individuals in the political arena to the area of juvenile offending. This has resulted in a range of reactive solutions to address the problem. The most notable of these was the proposed 'curfew' legislation of 1989. While this received some recognition from the general population, it failed to capture the support of the majority of workers with young people and the police.

This increased attention to the area of juvenile offending led the Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs to re-establish the Working Party made up of representatives of government departments concerned with young people. Following discussions at recent conferences in Melbourne and Brisbane, a decision was made to expand the group to include representatives from a number of peak community sector organisations.

The Bonnemaison Approach

Initial Working Party investigations focussed on the development of a statewide, coordinated, community based program which would allow communities to address the issue of juvenile offending at their local level. Hence the development of a proposal based

on the philosophy and principles of the Bonnemaison program became the conceptual starting point.

The important element about this successful French experiment was not so much the programs but the assessment of the causes and the careful application of community development processes. These include the following:

- acceptance of a causal link between crime and the issues of social inequality and poverty;
- national commitment to increase community awareness about the problems and causes;
- cooperative link between the three tiers of government;
- provision of adequate resources;
- devolution of power to local committees;
- involvement of community and organisation representation at the local level; and
- commitment to a change in socio-economic outcomes for communities and young people.

The Bonnemaison approach is founded on the belief that a policy based substantially upon repression fails both in terms of reducing crime and in its efforts to make people feel more secure. The failure of traditional methods underlines the need for a broad coordinated approach combining social preventative measures working alongside existing enforcement measures.

The concept is also based on the understanding that there is no one single cause of juvenile crime. It is rather the combination of causes which gives rise to criminality.

The Victorian 'Good Neighbourhood Program' and the South Australian 'Confronting Crime' program are adaptations of the Bonnemaison approach.

Investigations into these programs have provided a number of principles for successful operation. They are as follows:

- there must be real and substantial involvement by the community at all levels;
- young people must be involved in the development of the program;
- the program must be supported by all political groups;
- the program should not be hosted by the police department or any government agency which has statutory responsibilities for young people; and
- an evaluation program must be developed at the start of the program.

The Working Party Report to the Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs

The Working Party in its report to the Inter-Departmental Committee has adopted the following goals and objectives for the proposal.

Goals

- Research the motivating factors behind juvenile offending.
- Increase community awareness of the factors and realities relating to juvenile offending.
- Introduce programs, based on research findings, that will take a preventative approach to the issue of juvenile offending behaviour.

Objectives

- Establish a partnership between state government, local government and the community;
- increase awareness about the nature and causes of juvenile offending and develop prioritised action strategies; and

- reduce and help prevent instances of criminal behaviour through programs that:
 - enrich young people's relationships with and participation in their community, its groups and organisations;
 - strengthen community cohesion;
 - increase young people's access to education, training, employment and cultural and recreational activities; and
 - research the juvenile justice system and juvenile offending. This research would be undertaken collaboratively by government and community sectors.

The report also contains information on program management which includes allowances for a Standing Committee, made up of government and community representatives and a Resource Unit for the day-to-day administration of the program. It also contains information on the possible role of local government, local coordinating groups and funding proposals.

Now that the Working Party has submitted its report to the Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs, it is being studied by various government departments and community groups with the view of finalising the proposal for submission to Cabinet before the end of the year. It is hoped that before too long, Queensland will have a substantial community based crime prevention program.

Complaints against the Police: A 'Community Policing' Perspective¹

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Recent events have identified a range of attempts to strike a balance in police accountability between citizen demands for effective, external police accountability mechanisms and a police preference for internal forms of accountability, in other words, for self-regulation. The quest for this balance has emerged from the failure of the police in recent years to convince many segments of the community of their ability to investigate and prevent misconduct and corruption within their own ranks (cf. Scarman 1982). Demands for 'independent' or 'external' elements in the investigation and review of citizens' complaints against the police, while discernible over the last thirty years, have increased in recent times and indicate something of a malaise in police-community relations. In other words, the demands for changes to complaint mechanisms are linked to changes in police relationships with the community. It would therefore seem sensible to understand what has gone wrong with police investigation of complaints and to seek ways whereby police-community relations can be put on a more trusting footing.

Traditionally, citizens' complaints about police conduct have been treated by the police (at best) as manifestations of individual officer excess, to be dealt with in an ad hoc and usually disciplinary manner. This view has not been challenged in many publications on the topic of complaints. The capacity and inclination of complaints mechanisms, however, to serve as bureaucratic monitoring systems (Hill 1981) or negative feedback systems (Dunsire 1986) have been insufficiently considered by the police and in the police complaints literature. This reflects a failure by police and others to view citizens' feedback via complaints as a necessary and valuable resource for the purpose of self-regulation. Complaints against police inevitably raise issues and problems of a prospective and systemic kind, as well as requiring a retrospective focus upon individual acts of alleged police wrongdoing. The relationship between citizens' complaints and the organisational needs of police forces is therefore just as important as the need to respond to individual complaints. Put slightly differently, it is just as important to consider the lessons gathered from complaints viewed in the aggregate as it is to deal with the problems raised by individual complaints.

Complaint mechanisms which address these **two** aspects will, it is argued, contribute to the development of **responsive** police forces:

¹ This paper is based upon portions of a chapter entitled 'External Review and Self-Regulation: Police Accountability and the Dialectic of Complaints Procedures' to be published shortly in *Complaints against the Police: The Trend to External Review*, A. J. Goldsmith (ed.), (Clarendon Press, Oxford, ©Oxford University Press, 1990).

A responsive institution retains a grasp on what is essential to its integrity while taking account of new forces in its environment. To do so, it builds upon the ways integrity and openness sustain each other even as they conflict. It perceives social pressures as sources of knowledge and opportunities for self-correction (Nonet & Selznick 1978, p. 77).

Citizens' complaints against the police therefore are 'sources of knowledge' and 'opportunities for self-correction'—resources in the pursuit of responsive policing.

In making this case, this paper will propose to draw attention to the **inevitability** of complaints in police work and indeed in social relations, and then to show that complaints are also **healthy**, by identifying areas of police practice which require further consideration and on occasions improvement. This is followed by an examination primarily of the reasons why police-controlled complaint mechanisms have failed as community relations mechanisms. In the final section, the paper deals more directly with the links between complaints and a commitment to the community policing philosophy, and expands upon the organisational utility of complaints mechanisms which adopt a prospective (as well as retrospective) view.

Why Do Citizens Complain?

Some level of complaints against police is unavoidable for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is the inevitability of police discretion. Many areas of police work are not subject to specific rules, regulations or policy guidance. Smith and Gray (1983) have described these areas of discretion as 'policy vacuums'. Secondly, rules tend to be general in character and exhibit problems of ambiguity and uncertainty of meaning. They can also be accidentally or even deliberately vague (Hart 1961). This causes problems in the exercise of police discretion, making conflicting perceptions of 'appropriate' police work possible and even likely between police and citizens. Thirdly, much policing is of the 'order maintenance' kind (Packer 1968). Operational decisions in this kind of policing are rarely clear-cut and often require the exercise of personal judgment by individual street-level officers. The decision-making milieu of street-level officers is fraught with risks and constraints of various kinds:

Street-level officials are exposed to litigation-related risks that flow from systematic features of their work. These features include: the character of their interactions with the public; their ambiguous and conflicting goals; their duty to act; the risk of harm from official decisions; their risk of error; the scope of their discretion; and the external constraints upon their decisions (Schuck 1983, p. 60).

While the appropriateness of police responses to particular situations is open to different interpretations, their significance is exacerbated by disparities of power which typically characterise relations between police officers and citizens. The police officer has at his disposal the ability to embarrass, humiliate and even harm the citizen. In addition, a police tendency to use stereotypes in carrying out their duties naturally inclines police patrols to focus their attention upon those groups within the community which are the subject of negative stereotypes. Unfortunately, stereotypes inevitably result in a significant number of 'false positive' interactions, that is, police-initiated contacts with citizens in which the police officer's reason for initiating the contact proves groundless. The risks to police-community relations from wide-scale negative stereotyping have been amply demonstrated in recent times by the Brixton riots in London (cf. Scarman 1982). For obvious reasons therefore, such interactions can give rise to complaints by citizens.

Another explanation for complaints is to be found in human nature. Hirschman has suggested that 'disappointment is a central element of the human experience' (1982, p. 11).

If this is even partly true, it is quite unfair and pointless to blame the police for all citizen dissatisfaction with their behaviour. Human nature and the 'social distance' arising from the use of bureaucracies for the delivery of public services are sources of human dissatisfaction and grievance for which the police must be held largely immune from responsibility. 'No matter how well a society's basic institutions are devised, failures of some actors to live up to the behaviour which is expected of them are bound to occur, if only for all kinds of accidental reasons' (Hirschman 1970, p. 1).

There is also the view, that needs to be challenged, that complaints are in some way pathological and that the ideal system of policing would generate no complaints. Instead, it is suggested that, complaints should be seen as profoundly normal and democratic, involving the expression by citizens of preferences for one state of affairs over another. On this analysis, 'disappointment is the natural counterpart of man's [sic] propensity to entertain magnificent vistas and aspirations' (Hirschman 1982, p. 23). Complaints, in microcosm, are 'unsolicited' suggestions about how police practices might be improved. Given that policing is likely to remain a relatively visible as well as contentious topic, complaints need to be seen not simply as **threats** to existing policies and procedures or individual officers, but more importantly as **opportunities** for re-examination of organisational policies and practices, particularly in terms of their implications for good community relations. The issue then is not whether or not complaints should be discouraged or tolerated, but whether there are adequate mechanisms and resources to ensure that citizens' complaints are fully stated, and systematically collected and analysed for the administrative lessons they provide for the future organisation and conduct of police work.

Why Has Internal Review Failed So Far?

The widely attributed failure of internal complaints mechanisms reflects a loss of public confidence in the way in which the police have responded previously (or more to the point, **not** responded) to citizen's complaints and to evidence of misconduct within their own ranks. As the Fitzgerald commission of inquiry into official corruption and police misconduct in Queensland observed recently, this phenomenon has taken on global proportions:

To a large extent, attempts all over the world to combat police misconduct locally [i.e. internally] have revealed similar and recurrent problems: police culture, lack of effective control of internal investigative procedures, lack of investigative resources, organisations and procedures which inhibit honest police, and lack of public confidence in the police force's ability to investigate complaints against its members (Queensland 1989, p. 285).

The citizen's predicament has been compared to the situation of a chicken obliged to complain to 'one fox about the treatment he has received in the chicken coop from another fox' (Victoria 1978, p. 102). This lack of public confidence in police self-regulation is observable and significant at each of the four principal stages of processing a complaint against the police:

- the **making** of a complaint by a citizen;
- the **recording** of the complaint by police;
- the **investigation** of the complaint by police;
- the **response** by the police or other authorities in the case of a substantiated complaint.

Why are Complaints not made?

Systematic evidence of the scale of non-reporting of complaints against police and the associated reasons is, not surprisingly, difficult to obtain. However in a recent public survey in London, in which evidence of widespread underreporting of complaints about police use of stop-and-search powers emerged, the 'most common reason given for not complaining . . . was a lack of faith in the police complaints system' (London Policing Strategy Unit 1987). In many, if not even most, instances these perceptions held by citizens are based on personal experience or local knowledge and cannot simply be dismissed as the misperceptions of isolated crackpots and 'anti-police' elements (cf. Freckelton 1988a). This interpretation has been borne out by the findings of numerous official inquiries into police misconduct (for example, Victoria 1978, p. 103; Queensland 1989, p. 289; Scarman 1982).

A variety of other factors help make sense of underreporting, and also point to the sorts of issues complaints mechanisms must address if they are to operate meaningfully. While undoubtedly some people consciously decide not to report certain negative experiences to authorities, it is also the case that objective grounds for grievance will not always be perceived by their 'victims' as cause for complaint. Perhaps due to ignorance, limited intelligence or fraud, 'victims' will not interpret their experiences negatively so as to activate a 'sense of entitlement' (Felstiner, Abel & Sarat 1981, p. 643). Others will make a conscious choice not to complain, instead deciding to 'lump' it, for reasons of cost (Best 1981, p. 39; Galanter 1974), convenience, embarrassment, frustration with the system or fear of recriminations (Felstiner, Abel & Sarat 1981; Hood & Sparks 1970).

The 'costs' of non-receptivity to complaints from the police can be measured in terms of loss of public co-operation, trust and confidence. The scale of unreported grievances is therefore highly significant. The evidence from the area of consumer behaviour (Best 1981) and the anthropology of disputes (Nader 1984) points to underreporting as a pervasive phenomenon. Given the legal and quasi-legal resources available to police officers to deter would-be complainants from filing complaints (for example, threats and use of 'verballing', 'fit-ups'), it seems likely that underreporting of police-related grievances is significantly greater than in the case of consumer grievances. A failure by complaint handling mechanisms to address these issues will not only affect the mechanism's ability to deal with citizen dissatisfaction and collate information of systemic significance, but also do little or nothing to address the public legitimacy problems faced by the police. Ironically, it seems probable that citizens least often complain directly to the police when public confidence in the police is low; in other words when there is most **need** for complaints to be gathered and analysed systematically. In such circumstances, external agencies constitute an alternative means for receiving complaints for the purposes of remedying complainant injustices and addressing issues of systemic reform.

Why are Complaints not Recorded?

Police forces have long exhibited a degree of laxity towards the recording of complaints (Littlejohn 1981). Part of the explanation almost certainly is that police probably make better law enforcers than desk clerks. But the causes of this laxity are much more entrenched and it would seem to reside largely in the organisational practices and culture of police forces (Shearing 1981; Punch 1985). It is difficult otherwise to account for either the persistence or the pervasiveness of police resistance to recording complaints.

An example is provided by events in the state of Victoria. A report on the state of the Victoria Police in 1971 by a visiting English police inspector, Sir Eric St Johnston, revealed that at that time systematic records of complaints were not compiled by the police, and that at the district level, superintendents exercised wide discretion in reporting complaints to headquarters, and many so-called minor ones were routinely not notified (Victoria 1971, p.

170). A tightening up of recording and reporting procedures was recommended, including the keeping of a complaints record book at each district office. Yet in 1976, only five years later, recording procedures were again attacked in the Report of the Beach Board of Inquiry (Victoria 1978), which found that 'there was no satisfactory avenue through which a citizen could lodge a complaint against police misbehaviour (1978, p. 106). Damningly, the Report stated:

The Board's inquiries revealed that police not only fail to record complaints when complaints are made, but go further and insert a direct 'no' in the column appropriate to the recording of a complaint when one has been made; further, false entries are made in the register (1978, p. 101).

Despite various administrative and legal changes since 1975, one can question how much things have altered since then in the light of recent criticism in the *Richardson Report* (Victoria 1987) and even more recently, the discovery by a team of investigative journalists anonymously polling suburban police stations in Melbourne that very few police officers approached indicated any familiarity with complaint recording procedures (Melbourne Age 1989).

This institutionalised reticence towards would-be complainants is perhaps explicable in terms of the 'police culture', particularly the group loyalty police officers show towards other officers (Reiner 1985), and a consequent reluctance to assist citizens in the filing of complaints against fellow officers (e.g. Queensland 1989). Both the Fitzgerald (Queensland 1989) and Beach (Victoria 1978) inquiries discovered evidence of a 'them against us' syndrome, 'an attitude of police mind, which is affronted by the impertinence of the civilian in making a complaint at all and which then in a defensive reflex classifies him as a trouble-maker, or as being anti-police, or motivated by malice or ill-will' (Victoria 1978, pp. 106-107). Evidence from the United Kingdom points to the existence of a similar phenomenon there (Box & Russell 1975; Russell 1976).

Significant here is the systemic nature of police attitudes and responses to would-be complainants and what they indicate about relationships with the public. As discussed earlier, the nature of police work undoubtedly does cause police officers to be more exposed to the risk of complaints, perhaps more than any other occupation. But what is regrettable specifically about the police response is its consequences for police-community relations. The police need to 'cease thinking of themselves as a brotherly band beleaguered by citizens (and, of course, other hostile forces) and start thinking of themselves as public servants within a specialised law-administration organisation' (Gelhorn 1966, p. 205).

Inevitably in the course of their work, the police offend far more citizens than those they justifiably investigate and charge. While the complaints of the latter should never be ignored, the police certainly ignore the complaints of the former group (i.e. law abiding citizens) at their peril. Moreover, if police officers fail to record complaints, the opportunity for police forces to respond systemically to the actions giving rise to complaints is lost. The consequences of organisational inertia, consequential upon this lost opportunity, for police-community relations scarcely require comment. Where this is the situation, alternative recording arrangements outside the police organisational structure become inevitable.

What is Wrong with Internal Investigations?

The Fitzgerald Inquiry could find virtually nothing positive to say about the role played by the Queensland Police Internal Investigations Section:

The Internal Investigations Section has been woefully ineffective, hampered by a lack of staff and resources and crude techniques. It has lacked commitment and will and demonstrated no initiative to detect serious crime . . . The Section's efforts have been token, mere lip service to the need for the proper investigation of allegations of misconduct. The

Internal Investigations Section has provided warm comfort to corrupt police. It has been a friendly, sympathetic, protective and inept overseer. It must be abolished (Queensland 1989, p. 289).

Internal investigations have been the target of sustained criticism across a range of police forces in different jurisdictions (Terrill 1980). The evidence considered so far points to the difficult problems associated with setting up an internal investigation process which can be relied on to be fair and effective. Its resolution, however, is critical, for as Terrill points out: 'The investigatory stage of any complaint procedure is central to reducing the criticism of the entire process, because it does influence both the integrity of the steps that precede it and those that follow' (1983, p. 620). Smith and Gray startlingly concluded, following their extensive observational study of police work in London 'we believe that police officers will normally tell lies to prevent another officer in London from being disciplined or prosecuted, and this is the belief of senior officers who handle complaints and discipline cases' (1983, p. 581). In Queensland, the Fitzgerald Inquiry found that the state police force was 'debilitated by misconduct, inefficiency, incompetence, and deficient leadership' (Queensland 1989) and that 'both honest police and citizens who report police misconduct risk serious detriment with little prospect of appropriate action' (p. 204).

Police ability to substantiate complaints has scarcely inspired greater public confidence in police internal investigations (for example, Littlejohn 1981, p. 15). Lustgarten examined the substantiation figures for the London Metropolitan Police:

In 1984, 8 per cent of all complaints were substantiated. **Not one** complaint involving harassment, racial discrimination, false evidence or perjury was found substantiated; the same was true in 1983. Only 20 of 1410 complaints of assault—1.5 per cent—were substantiated (1986, p. 154).

As he goes on to suggest, 'Either those who do bother to complain are all liars, or there is something wrong with the system'. Similarly, the Richardson inquiry into internal investigations in the state of Victoria considered the substantiation figures and observed:

From a complainant's stand point I have not heard of a lower success rate anywhere [2.3 per cent]. Were the results to be understood publicly, it would add fuel to the argument that it is a waste of time to make a complaint of assault against the police in the absence of substantial, independent, corroborative evidence (Victoria 1987, p. 22).

Low substantiation rates can be explained in a number of ways. The system of criminal procedure in common law countries is perhaps partly responsible, premised as it is upon police-controlled investigations of crimes, and even police-controlled prosecutions in some countries (e.g. Australia). The fact that police-citizen contacts outside the police station environment are frequently 'low visibility' encounters (Goldstein 1960), presents many complainants with insuperable evidential difficulties if they file a complaint. The pressures at this stage either to withdraw the complaint or to accept the inevitability of an 'insufficient evidence' determination to the investigation, are very strong, and are reinforced by the situational ability of police to 'set up' or in other ways 'neutralise' the complainant. It has to be remembered that very often, the complainants are 'one-shot players' (Galanter 1974), while inevitably the police are 'repeat players' in systems in which they have tended to be prosecutor, judge and jury.

Another possible explanation is the attributed reluctance of senior officers to investigate complaints against their subordinates for fear of the prejudicial effects upon staff relations and force morale (Australia 1983, p. 570). However, Hugh Selby, former head of the

Victorian Police Complaints Authority (PCA) saw the failure of internal investigations in Victoria as the result of an inadequately defined mandate:

The fundamental causes of the failure may be found in the lack of any coherent, logical statement of principle by police as to the purposes of police internal inquiries, appropriate methods to achieve these purposes, and obligations owed to interested parties, which include complainant, police complained of, PCA and parliament (Selby 1988, p. 230).

The failure of the same internal investigation department to give sufficient attention to the needs of complainants was also the subject of rebuke by the Richardson inquiry, which observed that the existing internal administrative procedures 'emphasise too much the convenience of the force' (Victoria 1987, p. 32).

The argument so far serves to underline the need for external investigative bodies in many jurisdictions if the integrity of public complaints procedures is to be re-established. The real issue is not merely the **effectiveness** of complaint investigations, but whether such investigations are **credible** precisely to those groups within the community in which police legitimacy levels are low. Hogg and Findlay have argued:

The real test of police accountability and responsiveness to the community must lie in their relationships with those with whom they have the most frequent contact, groups who currently tend to be the least favoured by police stereotypes and working images (1988, p. 52).

Poor internal investigation of complaints does nothing to restore the police relationship with these groups for whom such investigations remain 'in-credible'. It may be supposed that the credibility of such investigations is not just a product of the activity/inactivity of police investigators in particular cases, but also to some degree is influenced by the failure of typical investigations to see complaints in the context of police organisational and subcultural characteristics (Reiner 1985).

What Follows a Substantiated Complaint?

The substantiation of complaints of itself does not ensure that the relevant officer involved will be formally disciplined or punished. Nor does the typically individualistic focus of these procedures ensure that appropriate systemic changes will be forthcoming. In most police forces where charges of some kind are being considered, internal disciplinary charges are preferred to criminal charges (Goldstein 1977, p. 215; Queensland 1989, p. 289). Yet analysis of available figures, in the case of the Victorian police, would suggest that the disciplinary process fails to deal firmly with charges of misconduct, even the more serious ones. For example in 1986-87, of the 174 charges dealt with by the Victoria Police Discipline Board (that is, the more serious charges), exactly 50 per cent of the charges were either withdrawn or dismissed, while another 10 per cent of charges were 'adjourned', that is no substantive result was obtained. The equivalent figure in 1987-88 was 58 per cent, with another 8 per cent adjourned. In total then, in 1986-87, 60 per cent of all charges referred to the Board resulted in no prejudicial outcome for the police officers charged, while the equivalent figure for 1987-88 was 66 per cent. In 1986-87, of the remaining 69 charges for which some formal sanction was imposed, over half (37) resulted in fines, while nearly a quarter resulted in reprimands. In 1987-88, of the 46 charges which resulted in some form of negative outcome, 18 resulted in fines and 7 in reprimands. Twelve of the charges in that year concerned one police officer, who was dismissed (Walsh-Buckley 1989, p. App. G).

The issue of sanctions in the context of police complaints raises a basic question. What should the philosophy and objectives of the complaints system be? Is it to satisfy the individual complainant through punishment of the wrongdoer or to assist the police administration in monitoring and reforming the conduct of its officers (Hudson 1972, p. 431)? These philosophical issues have received little express attention in the police complaints literature. Lord Scarman in the report of his inquiry into the Brixton riots specifically commented upon the 'insufficient discussion of policy matters arising from complaints' (1982, p. 182). Commissioner Fitzgerald similarly pointed to the 'ad hoc and reactive' nature of the internal complaint investigation system in Queensland, and to its failure to examine trends and identify particular sources of complaints within the police force (Queensland 1989, p. 289). A leading American police scholar, Herman Goldstein, has also criticised the traditional approach:

Both police and public become so preoccupied with identifying wrongdoing and taking disciplinary action against errant officers that they lose sight of the primary objective of control which is to achieve maximum conformity with legal requirements, established policies, and prevailing standards of propriety. This objective is far more likely to be attained by fostering an atmosphere in which the police conform because they want to conform, rather than out of fear of the consequences if they do not (1977, p. 160).

The challenge therefore, at the 'sanctions end' of the police complaints procedure is to reorient the current almost exclusive focus on the 'micro-justice' concerns of past wrongdoings by individual officers to include a 'macro-justice' perspective in which the aggregated evidence of patterns of wrongdoing and undesirable behaviour in police focus are analysed and matters of systemic change and policy reforms are expressly addressed. When external complaints mechanisms replace or supplement internal mechanisms, this must become a priority for these external bodies. The concept of a responsive police force requires nothing less.

The Quest For 'Interpolable Balance' In Complaints Mechanisms

An 'interpolable balance' perspective takes as its starting point a need to identify 'self-policing' mechanisms which are already present in any system, and to build on those; may point to the need to redesign government in a way which will strengthen immanent control rather than taking the existing structure as given and seeking to strengthen formal oversight and does not assume that 'control' is necessarily to be exercised from any fixed place in an institutional system, but can contemplate a network of complementary and overlapping detectors and effectors (that is, 'redundant channels', in information-processing language) with mobility—even lability—in the seat of the checking mechanism (Hood 1986, p. 772).

In the present context, the concept of 'interpolable balance' implies two things. The first is that external complaints mechanisms should assist police forces to self-regulate, by assisting the inherent capacities of police forces for self-control to develop. Aside from the issue of public legitimacy, police self-regulation offers all sorts of organisational advantages over regulation by external bodies, including access and expertise (Bayley 1983). Interpolable balance also implies however that attention should be given to a variety of regulatory devices available in organisations, including 'detectors and effectors'. By this, it is taken to mean that mechanisms for the systematic collection, analysis and response to sources of organisational knowledge need to be put in place.

It has already been argued that there has been a conspicuous neglect by virtually all persons interested and/or involved in police complaints in the bureaucratic monitoring

potential of complaints mechanisms. Some of the intrinsic advantages of so doing have already been suggested, but it must be conceded that external agencies seem to overlook these advantages almost as much as internal agencies. In this respect, the **ex post**, retributive philosophy of police complaints has continued to excessively dominate complaints handling mechanisms of both types. This paper has argued that this has probably been to the detriment in terms of public credibility of both.

Aside from the intrinsic advantages, there are issues of fundamental equity and logical consistency which need to be more clearly identified in making the case for a broader view of complaints and a continued role for external agencies. On the issue of equity, there are clearly limits to the amount of control that can be exerted over or within any organisation. Any control mechanism, be it internal or external, faces real constraints so that there is nothing magical about 'self-regulation' or 'external accountability'. Control problems in policing not only challenge the would-be controllers (police administrators), but can also frustrate those who find themselves the target of police attention (police clients):

In performance arrangements, where central aspects of encounters between staff and citizens . . . cannot be monitored sufficiently from above or outside, the necessity for supplementary evaluation and control from below, exercised by the institutionally weaker, directly affected clients becomes obvious (Wirth 1986, p. 752).

In view of the recent evidence, an external agency seems more likely to be credible and effective in providing this kind of protection and ensuring that the clients of police are given a voice in matters which directly affect them.

There is also a logical inconsistency between police attitudes to organisational efficiency and effectiveness and their attitudes towards complainants. The stock-in-trade of the police and the public in their dealings with each other, at least substantially, is **information**. Information of relevance to police work comes in two distinct forms: criminal intelligence, that is, information about wrongdoings and suspicious behaviour in the community; and organisational knowledge, that is, information about how the organisation is functioning, including the behaviour of its individual members. Citizens are sources of both kinds of information. There seems to be an assumption by police that the two categories of information are distinguishable for all practical purposes, and that one can be obtained without the other. This view is fundamentally flawed, as Radelet points out:

As a general rule, in a community where there are numerous complaints against the police and accompanying clamour for establishment of a civilian review board or some other external mechanism for control of police behaviour, there are police-community problems and usually other problems of a serious nature . . . **There is an inconsistency between police lamenting, on the one hand, the apathy of the public regarding problems that loom large for the police, and on the other hand resisting the right and obligation of citizens to complain about what they perceive an improper police conduct** (1980, pp. 304-5 author's emphasis).

Complaints procedures widely viewed as ineffective are scarcely likely to allay public apathy or, even worse, defuse public hostility towards the police. Absent in such procedures is any basis for trust in the form of shared information and expertise; in other words, the elements necessary for a reciprocal, politically consensual relationship between the parties are missing. Just as the public requires an effective police force in order to lead more secure lives, the police require consensually provided information if they are to respond effectively and sensitively to law and order issues. If this information in part comes from a publicly credible complaints mechanism, it is at least a preferable state of affairs than the relevant information not being provided at all.

These arguments are surely even more compelling in those police jurisdictions which have expressly adopted the 'community policing' approach to police-community relations.

Bayley has suggested that a key element of 'community policing' is the creation of 'mechanisms for grassroots feedback from the community' (1989, p. 64). Neighbourhood Watch schemes constitute one prominent example of this; complaints mechanisms of the kind advocated here potentially provide another. A strong, systemically oriented complaints system conducted by an external agency would seem to answer a number of the shortfalls identified in existing community policing schemes by Bayley (1989). These include an absence of strategic urgency about community policing inside police forces and a tendency for community policing initiatives to suffer from budgetary constraints, resulting in a marginalisation of these initiatives and a corresponding absence of operational consequences. A prospectively geared complaints system would provide a formula currently lacking for incorporating community policing into the traditional activities of policing, especially the work of general duties officers' (p. 86), upon which, Bayley argues, public acceptance of community policing is dependent. From an organisational perspective, the complaints-handling procedures advocated in this paper would provide a focus for the receipt, investigation, and assessment of complaints. Individually and in aggregate, form, these complaints would offer a rich source of information on a variety of police organisational and field practices. Approached in this way, 'community policing' could not be marginalised or isolated from police operations, and because complaints most commonly emanate from street-level contacts with police officers, the reform proposals generated would be particularly directed to police practices at this level (*see* Goldsmith 1990).

The precise nature of the relationship between external complaints mechanisms and internal control will need to be carefully considered and evaluated over time and the balance struck will probably require periodic readjustment. The notion of 'interpolable balance' requires that 'outside' control agencies take adequate notice of the self-regulatory potential of the organisations under scrutiny. Obviously, the ability of police forces to exercise this potential in a credible manner will vary from force to force. This view underlines the important role that external review agencies have to play in improving police accountability, not by claiming 'property' in citizens' complaints by displacing internal mechanisms but by acting as a communication channel and analytical resource for these mechanisms. In large measure, the role of external review agencies is inherently educative. External review agencies should devote greater thought and resources to developing the capacities of police forces in these respects. The more 'success' the external review bodies have in this role, the more likely is a rekindling of public confidence in the police and the ability of police forces to monitor effectively their own organisational 'bill of health'. 'Interpolable balance' implies that there is no ideal trade-off to be struck between external review and forms of internal accountability; there are too many situational factors at work in any given case to justify a particular balance. Rather it behoves police forces and external review agencies alike to re-examine many traditional conceptions of organisational control and responsibility, helping to identify new approaches to these issues as well as bases for the coexistence of external and internal complaints mechanisms.

Conclusion

The saddest aspect of police abuses is that they defeat their avowed purposes. The rationalisation for street abuses is that they create or at least maintain respect for authority. Punishment for the 'wise guy' is supposed to 'teach him a lesson', but the system of police abuses creates only contempt for authority . . . The system within which the police work is evil, for the simplest reasons: because it injures people and destroys their respect for the legal process (Chevigny 1969, p. 283).

The American administrative scholar James Freedman has written that 'the quality of an agency's performance is usually a function of the degree of public support it enjoys for the achievement of its statutory responsibilities – or the degree of public ambivalence towards it

stated mission' (1978, p. 126). It has been argued that a broadly-conceived, publicly credible complaints system for handling complaints against the police is important not only in terms of public confidence in the police generally but also specifically in facilitating the diagnosis of problems in police operations which affect the effectiveness and legitimacy of police practices. This paper has suggested that this function is also rendered important, indeed critical, by the unavoidably **political** nature of policing, warranting processes and procedures which enable matters of mission or mandate to be considered and formulated as much as possible on a consensual basis. In other words, public respect for the police and the legal process generally is best achieved by the provision of complaint mechanisms that are not premised upon a view of police as almost unimpeachable 'experts' acting decisively on law and order issues in a clear-cut social world, but rather one in which differences of perspective can be accommodated and which reflects a broader, less absolute notions of expertise and knowledge in relation to questions of police conduct. It is this view which must permeate our mechanisms for handling complaints about police conduct. When this occurs, our police forces will be more 'responsive'.

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Police Responses to Community Policing

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A good deal of analysis has been done on organisational change within police bureaucracies and on operational changes in the streets. The link between these two processes of change in the transition to a community policing model needs to be better understood. Of course, management style and work culture are notoriously difficult to measure. It seems a reasonable assumption, however, that if community policing depends for its success on an increased flow of information between police and the rest of the community, then an increased flow of information among police is also necessary.

Some interesting and important evidence of this need for more information is provided by serving police officers studying at tertiary level. This paper analyses a set of assignments on the topic of community policing. All of them were written by police undertaking their second year of part-time study for a Bachelor of Social Science (Policing Studies) Degree offered as part of the external studies program from the Riverina Campus of Charles Sturt University (CSU). They reveal complex attitudes to the theory of community policing and its practice in Australia. On the other hand there is a general consensus that the level of communication about the goals and objectives of community policing needs to be improved within their police organisation. Indeed this apparent lack of communication may be one of the reasons why many of the essays submitted for this particular assignment have a confessional tone. Police are keen to talk with a relatively disinterested third party, someone outside either their organisation or their immediate community, about their personal initiatives and the broader goals of policing.

The assignment in question was the last of three for a subject entitled 'Government and Police', one of the politics subjects in the Policing Studies Course. Like a number of other such courses being offered by Australian tertiary institutions, CSU's course concentrates on sociology, psychology and politics, the three areas identified in documents such as the *Lusher Report* as essential to police education (Bradley & Cioccarelli 1989). 'Government and Police', as the second subject in the public policy strand of the course, combines a study of individual and organisational ethics with analysis of the role of police in the broader political process. Its concerns are thus best described as political sociology. Students of the subject generally take the opportunity to illustrate particular points with their own experiences. Not surprisingly, these provide ample evidence of their skills as 'street corner politicians' or 'street level bureaucrats' (Muir 1977, Lipsky 1980). But can a set of essays tell us anything more than that a few career minded police have an ambivalent attitude about current management strategies?

Firstly, it would be a mistake to simply dismiss these attitudes as predictable. In the debate about community policing, the opinions of the practitioners should be constantly assessed—and not just in the letters page of *Police News*. One of the most notable features of the essays in question is the sheer number of rationales given for introducing a new model of policing. Some of these are clearly enunciated, others are implied. In some cases there are underlying justifications for community policing which have not been thought through fully. This is significant. At the start of the 1990s, when the idea of community policing has been gaining favour as a viable strategy for nearly a decade in New South Wales, it is obvious that the objectives of those charged with implementing the policy are still far from clear. An assignment on the topic proves a useful opportunity for police to think in depth about the viability of the policy. For professionals in related areas, their observations may prove illuminating.

The assignment called for a response to the question 'What does Community Policing really mean?' Three references were recommended for preliminary reading. The most important of these was Professor David Bayley's comparative study of community policing initiatives by Australian forces, a study carried out in 1986 (Bayley 1989). In addition, a chapter from Roger Graef's *Talking Blues* and Samuel Walker's short essay 'Broken Windows' and 'Fractured History' were recommended. The chapter on Community Policing from *Talking Blues* contains excerpts from interviews with Community Liaison Officers throughout England (and Northern Ireland). Some of these officers are enthusiastic, some fit the stereotype of the crusading convert, but many more are disillusioned police who have some depressing stories to tell; often the rural beats sound as dangerous as the inner urban areas. It is telling that not one of the essays on community policing cited this article, even to deny its relevance to the Australian situation. With other groups of students this might not have come as a surprise. With police who had assiduously read and reflected on all other supplied reading material, the apparent oversight actually seems to be more a case of ignoring bad tidings.

Conversely, Samuel Walker's contribution to the debate about community policing in the United States was discussed with interest and approval. Walker argues that there has been a tendency to exaggerate the depersonalisation of policing the primary commitment of police to crime fighting and the supposed fall of police from a position of political legitimacy and public acceptance. Most students saw many similarities here with the Australian debate. The fact that they readily responded to Walker's benign findings while collectively denying the less encouraging material provided by Graef's *Talking Blues* might suggest that police were more emotionally involved with this question than with the more theoretical questions in earlier assignments dealing with topics such as constabulary independence, ministerial responsibility and order maintenance. Precisely because students seem to be speaking 'from the heart' as well as 'from the head' in this exercise, their responses are particularly valuable. Their choice of words, the structure of their arguments and their explanation of the objectives of community policing provide an important insight into the current feelings of practitioners in an ambitious program.

The following analysis is based on a dozen essays chosen as the most interesting and articulate from a larger sample of over 30. The ideas in the selected essays are nevertheless representative. All of them were written by students who are currently serving in the New South Wales Police Service. Responses from Federal or South Australian Police provided too small a sample to be considered in any way representative. The same, of course, might be said about a group of 30 New South Wales police (ranging in rank from Constable to Senior Sergeant.) There is some truth in that criticism, most obviously because police enrolled in a university degree program are probably among the more committed, ambitious and articulate. The counter to this criticism is that this is precisely why their attitudes are so important; these are the sort of people whose commitment is necessary if organisational reform is to succeed.

Working on the assumption then, that the dozen chosen texts are worthy objects for textual exegesis, it would pay to look at the **structure** of arguments, at the use of language and, finally, at the perceived objectives of community policing programs.

Structure

There were essentially two ways that students structured their arguments about the meaning of the term community policing. About half began by denying strongly that community policing was simply another name for neighbourhood watch. They then followed the four-point, means-based or operational definition suggested by David Bayley (1989), illustrating this with local examples. They concluded by offering some rationale for the program and warning of potential pitfalls.

The alternative approach was to outline some of the major long-term trends in policing and thus to place the evolution of community policing programs in historical context. (One of the more interesting debates here concerns the extent to which the introduction of the motor car isolated police from the community—and the extent to which this tendency was counteracted by the telephone, which connected the private sphere of the family home to the outside world and to the police—Haldane 1986, pp. 137-140). Arguments concerned with the historical context of community policing tended to pay more attention to the rationale for the program rather than to operational definitions of the concept. About half the responses, in other words, relied on an historicist approach, most of the rest argued sociologically with only a few particularly well written responses managing to combine the two approaches.

Those who began their argument by denying that community policing meant neighbourhood watch suggested that most people did still consider the terms to be synonymous. Several suggested that the reason for the confusion was that senior police were too keen to 'simply give the public what they want'; an ungrateful public then interpreted community policing as a public relations exercise. The implication of those who took this line was that some sort of dialogue has been established between senior police and other public bodies but that this dialogue has bypassed most serving police.

This is not to suggest that these were the responses of stereotypically cynical veterans. On the contrary, those who took what is being called here a 'sociological' approach, who focussed on present structures and activities of police, tended to be optimistic. In contrast, those whose approach was 'historicist' tended to be pessimistic. The 'sociological' arguments tended to be illustrated with well chosen and interesting personal experiences. Those more concerned with the historical background to current developments, although committed to the principles and public objectives of community policing, were more wary of potential pitfalls and tended not to provide personal anecdotes to illustrate their arguments.

It seems curious that the approaches of over 30 students to this topic should divide so neatly into two groups. There is no apparent connection between rank and attitude in this sample and no other obvious explanation suggests itself.

One can only recall Robert Reiner's dictum that 'cynicism is the Janus face of commitment' (Reiner 1985, p. 90) and ask whether this is a case of the cynical face of committed police revealing itself. (To pursue the question one would need to use the psychologist's quantitative methods). A further related observation was that only the more pessimistic answers used tellingly incongruous words and phrases.

Language

The use of inappropriate words in undergraduate essays is not a rare occurrence but a few examples stand out here in essays by articulate students whose choice of words is generally very careful. When a particularly eloquent sergeant writes of 'generations of **mutual disdain and mistrust**' between police and public, one presumes he means just that. But when he says that we will only be able to assess the effects of community policing in the year 2000, 'when a generation of Australians have **endured** the new policy', one can only hope this is a slip of the pen. Similarly, when it is suggested that community policing 'has not been **in vogue** long enough' to be adequately assessed, it is hard not to infer that the program is seen to have more style than substance. This seems to be confirmed by another student's description of community policing as **the new catch phrase** within policy departments around Australia. Since the mid-1980s . . . we have been **bombarded** with information lauding the praises [sic] of a new 'back to the people' approach to policing'. Again, the imagery suggests that many police feel under siege from both a public demanding extra services and an administration keen to ensure that they get these services. And this is imagery used by police who are committed both to the police service as a whole and to the objectives of community policing.

Other interesting language tends to confirm prevailing opinions, but in a way that indicates the emotional involvement of these contributors to the debate. It is lamented that 'community policing officers are really the meat in the sandwich. They shoulder the blame for the shortcomings of the police as viewed by the public and in turn the shortcomings of the public as viewed by police'. It is still supposedly seen by many as 'a soft option staffed by wimps, imbeciles, do-gooders and bludgers'. Interestingly some officers strongly in favour of community policing are beginning to talk of the unrewarding activity of 'cold hard law enforcement'. One of the younger respondents, a constable based in a small Riverina community, criticised the 'somewhat arrogant mentality of those members of the public and police force who believe that the police alone stand as the thin blue line between public order and public mayhem'. He then criticises 'the considerable resistance within the more senior ranks who see their role as crime fighters as the single most important issue'. The implication is that community policing strategies may prove a gentle way to purge the senior ranks. This sort of speculation, however, takes us beyond language usage to the more important question of the rationale for community policing programs.

Rationale

The most useful way to categorise the many arguments in favour of community policing would seem to be a classification according to the supposed beneficiaries of the scheme. It was claimed that community policing would benefit individual police, the police bureaucracy or the community as a whole. Many gave examples of how life would be better for all three groups. Mercifully, nobody described community policing as a win-win situation.

Individual Beneficiaries

Community policing was seen to provide a number of benefits for individual police. One experienced sergeant suggested that some of these individual beneficiaries were less than deserving:

The overzealous detective attempts to illegally influence the jury decision believing that the community is behind him in his attempt to weight the scales in favour of the police. Patrol commanders, having had the term 'community policing' forced upon them late in their career, formulate 'shopfront' neighbourhood watch schemes and Police Community Consultative Committees on paper although such a committee rarely meets and if they do, no one knows why they are meeting. The friendly local

constable in a small town believes he is involved in community policing when he cautions all offenders and suspects and conciliates all situations. This may be not because of community policing, but because he is lazy. District commanders formulate Community Policing Sections with inexperienced constables with a gift for public speaking who do nothing other than attend community policing meetings such as rural watch and tell 70 year old farmers how to firebrand cattle.

This view of life as a farce was not widely held, but there was a general awareness of the potential for the abuse of community policing practices. A more commonly expressed view, on the other hand, was that community policing would lead to 'greater work satisfaction, pride and a sense of professionalism' and to 'more involvement by the majority of police'. Quite a few argued that community policing was a strong antidote to the boredom of policing crimes:

When a serving detective in the inner suburbs of Sydney, the author would call upon house after house on an afternoon shift plain clothes car, recording particulars of breaking and entering offences by the dozen . . . just go in, view the crime scene, record relevant particulars and point of entry, property stolen, offer a few words to victims 'about the weather' and offer sympathy to their plight, then off to the next job. Very occasionally would we break the monotony by being able to capture an offender and take him to a police station. What a change when transferred to the country!

An interesting variation on this theme of increased job satisfaction was the notion that community policing would actually keep unrepentant 'enforcers' happy:

A comment that I have heard said by some junior police is that they joined the police to fight crime and to catch criminals, that community policing is a load of bull and it doesn't work. If they really thought about it for a while, they would understand that neighbourhood watch and community policing programs would allow them to do just what they joined for, i.e. to catch criminals, because Mrs Jones, who has been made more aware of her environment and involved in a program, will contact the police and report a crime. Then rapid deployment might come into play where the suspect can be arrested.

Only a couple of students mentioned this rationale, but it has doubtless been used in stations around the country.

All of the listed reasons why **individual** police would benefit from proposed developments were outweighed by rationales for community policing based on benefits to the **police as a whole**.

Collective Benefits for Police

Many of the explanations identifying collective benefits for police from community policing could be reduced to a relatively simple formula. It was argued that community policing encourages community trust which brings more information to police and this, in turn, leads to a greater number of arrests. High crime clear up rates—supposedly one of the few quantitative measures of efficiency—have long been considered a prerequisite for police credibility. Linking these facts produces a neat syllogism:

- community policing increases arrest rates
- arrest rates increase police credibility

Therefore

- community policing increases police credibility.

When justified in this manner, however, community policing looks like a crude example of bureaucratic self-interest. It is revealing that, from a sizeable batch of essays, many of them well-argued and sophisticated, not one student was prepared to spell this out. There was plenty of talk about requiring trust, changing the policing paradigm from conflict to consent, bringing police 'in line with society', 'revitalising the organisation 'and devolving power' from the 'middle managers'. Even the more cynical, however, did not openly entertain the idea that the primary rationale for change could be the need for the police service, as a bureaucracy, to survive and prosper. It may be that this was simply considered obvious. The fact that nobody mentioned the concept, although all had encountered it in an earlier politics assignment, suggests that to openly concede the bureaucratic self-interest of any police service is somehow considered damaging to its credibility. When in doubt, it is safer to talk about community policing as providing collective rather than selective, benefits. Many did so.

Community Benefits

There seem to be three main lines of argument about the general benefits of community policing. The most prominent of these portrays the program as a sort of mass consciousness-raising exercise. Some suggested, for instance, that the general community needed to be 'trained' for the new style of policing—as a counterpart to more sophisticated police training.

A more general implication, however, was that the new programs would serve to better educate citizens about the nature of the criminal justice system and the role of police in that system. A few were pessimistic about the possibilities of change in this generation:

I have also lectured high school students about the role of police but I often find their attitude is already set about police. However, if police can establish a good relationship with the younger children and demonstrate to them that we are not just about arresting people, this may go a long way to educating a new generation about the good job that police do and also cultivate a source of information for future use. Community Policing is about breaking down mistrust between public and police, getting rid of the 'US' and 'THEM' mentality that pervades our relationship with the public.

A second claim about the collective benefits of community policing was that it would co-ordinate public and private sector service delivery and make that whole system more efficient. Those students who discussed this possibility welcomed it; indeed it was suggested that police success in co-ordinating service delivery was the second major link in police campaigns for increased legitimacy. Police acceptance is seen now to rest on two pillars: efficiency in cleaning up crime and effective delivery of a range of public services. A common argument was that modern technologies have caused police to be far more accessible to the public, in turn the public expectations of police servicing has increased (for example pick up a phone and dial 000 and say '. . . I want something done. I want to see the police'). This has led to a Catch 22 situation where avenues of complaint have been opened up, checks on accountability increase as do expectations and hence complaints. There are thus more dissatisfied people. Therefore, it is up to the police to do more servicing with available resources.

Again the solution can be expressed as a syllogism:

- delivering a wider range of services increases the status of police
- co-operating with other agencies helps to deliver a wider range of services

Therefore

- co-operating with other agencies increases the status of police.

The bureaucratic self-interest is discussed more openly in this argument apparently because this is a situation where everybody benefits: the community demanding services, other agencies and the police as co-ordinating body.

A final claim about the benefits of community policing for communities as a whole is one that has been made in some of the more influential literature on developments in the United States (for example Skolnick & Bayley 1986). This category consists of the most general arguments about the advantages of community policing; it is seen as producing 'a more peaceful society', 'making life more pleasant' and 'putting social control back in the hands of the citizens'.

Underlying the last two claims is an important notion of a new social contract. One might summarise this as two propositions from public police agencies to the general community:

- we will provide social services if you give us information about crime
- we will relinquish primary responsibility for overt social control if you accord us professional status.

This latter proposition is a little abstract but the point about status is fundamental. In fact all of the preceding rationales for community policing can be understood as arguments for according full professional status to police. All of the essays fit neatly into the debate about what constitutes a profession.

Professionalisation

The literature on professionalism generally discusses the medical profession as the prime example of a group whose members undergo lengthy theoretical and practical training, are formally registered, have maximised their discretionary freedom and have avoided external regulation (Parry & Parry 1976, Boreham et al. 1976, Probert 1989, ch. 4). Police, of course, fit this general, abstract definition to some degree. Groups with unequivocal professional status, however, display a further set of characteristics relating both to the nature of the occupation and the status accorded that occupation by the general community:

the organisation which makes extensive use of professionals is one in which there is high expertise in the lower ranks, a complex task to perform, difficulties in developing effective patterns of supervision and a need for flexibility and openness to change. A strong group of arguments for autonomy come together. In this sense professionals are street-level bureaucrats who have been able to develop special claims to autonomy. But they claim to differ from other public officials in that their relationships with their clients are governed by ethical codes and by altruistic values which others lack (Ham & Hill 1984, p. 146).

It is precisely to these four factors that students involved in community policing consistently refer. Community policing, it is argued, requires and encourages higher expertise in the lower ranks, devolving and decentralising power in the process. It gives police more complex tasks and requires a more extensive knowledge of local issues. Thirdly it requires and encourages flexibility and openness to change. With the final issue of patterns of supervision, however, there is a catch. About half of the essays under discussion here

talked about increased public demand for police accountability. Indeed many saw the contract being offered as: 'we—the public—will accord you professional status if and when you become an open organisation'.

However, rather than seeing this as a threat to the push for professional status, everybody embraced the proposed contract with surprising enthusiasm, but again the rationale for this was strongly implied rather than clearly articulated. It might be spelled out thus:

- in order to gain full professional status our organisation needs to be flexible and open to change
- some of our senior management are still inflexible and resistant to change
- in theory we are accountable to the law, in practice we are primarily accountable to senior management

Therefore

- by declaring our organisation open and accountable to external scrutiny, we bypass the less flexible senior managers and show ourselves open to change in the manner of a truly professional organisation.

That problem solved—in theory if not in practice—there remains one obstacle to full professional status for police: the 'rival' legal profession. At the centre of the criminal justice constellation are the judges and lawyers whose salaries and traditional professional status are at times resented. Indeed the professional status of lawyers is a hard act to follow. One solution is to avoid direct comparison whilst annexing some areas for which the legal profession have traditionally been responsible. As one sergeant put it:

Community policing also involves actively liaising and working with other community agencies and welfare groups. Police should then be better able to deal with 'law breakers', especially children, by spreading the burden of responsibility. By utilising these non-police agencies the potentially damaging justice system can be bypassed.

In other words, rather than being on the edges of the criminal justice system and comparing unfavourably with lawyers, police can become the central organisation in a broader social justice and social service system. In the process they earn full professional status. Community policing becomes the means to achieve this end.

Pitfalls

According to these arguments, the implementation of community policing programs is part of the process of police professionalisation. But police professionalisation differs from that of other groups in the matter of external control and in the role of specialisation in the process. It seems that, unlike the medical profession, some practitioners of community policing see external control mechanisms as enhancing rather than threatening professional status. On the other hand—and again in contrast to the medical profession—specialists are seen as a potential obstacle to full professional status for police. In the words of one student:

This selling process must be carefully monitored and not allowed to fall at the feet of a few specialists. The existence of these specialists in fact relieves the rank and file of the need to practise community policing, in the eyes of the men. Such specialist units

should be established initially to train and implement community policing strategies and then scaled down to a centralised body comprised of both police and independent observers who are in a position to assess the implementation throughout the force, thereby shifting the onus to a localised level.

An awareness by police of the unusual role played by specialisation and by external controls in the issue of police professionalism was evident in these essays. There is, however, an additional difference between police and other professions, a difference which nobody mentioned. In most professional groups there are members who work for private sector organisations or who are self-employed. The group who are not state funded generally tend to enhance the status of the profession. For police the opposite is true. The emergence in recent years of a private security industry—employing many more people than do public police forces—tends to be seen as a threat. It encroaches on the traditional domain of police and does not enhance the status of policing as a profession. The potential threat of the private security industry was not, however, addressed in these essays. Rather, virtually all of the listed pitfalls for planned future developments related to attitude.

The real dangers envisaged by people were that the right balance would not be found between 'apathy' and 'crusading', between organisational inertia and excessively rapid change that would 'stretch human resources too thinly'. There were some grumblings about financial constraints but generally the assumption seemed to be that sufficient government funding would be assured for the newly professional community police service.

Conclusion

What is the significance of all this? The essays analysed here all show an enthusiasm for the objectives of community policing, but that is only to be expected from policing studies students. The interesting point is the way this enthusiasm is explained. If one pieces together the various arguments, one reaches the fundamental conclusion that community policing is seen as the means by which the police organisation will achieve professional status. From this point of view the program, irrespective of its many benefits, has a bureaucratic rationale. But there is an apparent paradox here. True professionals, by definition, work not just for the money but because they are motivated by altruism to serve the community. In essence the argument put forward by police is:

- Altruism is a defining feature of true professionals
- Community Policing is driven by altruistic motives

Therefore:

- Community police are true professionals.

(And indeed, most if not all of the police whose essays are cited here seem to have some genuinely altruistic motives. They thus seem to accept the notion that they might take on the work of other government departments as occurred during the last Great Depression—cf. Walker 1986, Costar 1989).

The apparent paradox is that if one also talks of community policing as representing bureaucratic self-interest, then the claims about altruism seem to be undermined. Police thus talk around the notion of bureaucratic self-interest; to enunciate it clearly would seem to undermine the quest for professionalism. These beliefs are neither useful nor logical. There seem to be two basic reasons for the confusion:

- police are confusing their **individual** interests with their **collective** interests
- police are assuming that a **bureaucracy** and a **professional organisation** are mutually exclusive. In fact most professionals in the modern world are affiliated with a bureaucracy of one sort or another. A professional, in other words, is one sort of bureaucrat.

These points need to be clearly enunciated within police organisations. At the moment there still seems to be confusion about the fundamental rationale of community policing even among its practitioners. This suggests that communication within the organisation must be further improved. Without a full understanding of the reasons for implementing a program, those responsible cannot be fully in control of the process. If community policing is to be successful, police must feel they are genuinely in control of the reforms that are changing the nature of their work.

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Community Policing—The Future for Queensland

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Escalating crime, an unsatisfactory level of public approval of policing methods, the Fitzgerald Report (1989), the *Police Service Administration Act 1990*, and a rebuilding of the Queensland Police Service have set the scene for the introduction of community policing in Queensland.

This paper will recommend the formal adoption of community based policing as the primary policing philosophy for the state of Queensland.

Rationale

Background

Section 2.3(g) of the *Police Service Administration Act 1990* commits the Queensland Police Service to '... the provision of such services ... as are reasonably sought by members of the community.' The same Act, in section 2.4, places the onus on the police and the **community at large** (author's emphasis) to be responsible for the preservation of peace and good order as well as the prevention, detection and punishment of breaches of the law. It further states '... members of the Service are to act in partnership with the community'. In short, community policing is now enshrined in legislation binding on both the community and the police in Queensland. The Mission Statement of the Queensland Police Service echoes that view.

MISSION STATEMENT

To serve the people in Queensland by protecting life and property, preserving peace and safety, preventing crime and upholding the law in a manner which has regard for the public good and the rights of the individual' (Queensland Police Corporate Plan).

The Queensland Police Service has not yet developed a manual of final policy statements but it is suggested that this manual should contain the following statement in respect of community policing:

The Queensland Police Service adopt and implement community based policing as the primary policing philosophy for the state of Queensland.

This reflects the theme of current major developments across the state.

What is Community Policing?

There are many definitions of community policing but it is proposed here that the Queensland Police Service recognise it as 'an interactive process between the police and the community to mutually identify and solve policing problems in the community.'

The concept of community policing is based on the unit of community—persons in social interaction in a geographical area but which may also include persons in interaction based on ethnic, business, religious or other grounds.

The Fitzgerald Model

Fitzgerald (1989, p. 381) recommended the adoption of community policing as the primary policing strategy for the Queensland Police Service, and to achieve this aim he listed four avenues of action. The first of these, Recommendation 6(a) states, 'preventive policing strategies are to be an integral part of the normal activities of every police officer'. To achieve this will entail a re-think of the attitude of many of the members of the Queensland Police Service as well as modified training for all present and future members of the service.

The second of Fitzgerald's (1989, p. 381) community policing recommendations states, 'the community is to be involved with the police in preventing crime through establishment of community crime committees and community crime prevention programs based on the needs of individual communities'. The successful implementation of the two initiatives in the above is largely a matter of aligning the provision of services with the expectations and approval of the community.

The expectations of the type of police service delivered will, naturally, vary from community to community. If research discloses that a particular community has low expectations, it is our responsibility to lift the expectations of that community.

Recommendation 6(d) of Fitzgerald (1989, p. 381) states, 'staff with language abilities and cultural skills are to be recruited to gain acceptance and co-operation of ethnic and Aboriginal communities'. The Queensland Police Service is actively searching for realistic programs which will successfully accommodate this recommendation.

The aim of Recommendation 6(e) is that regional and district officers are to design community projects for trial in those areas which have excess staff levels. This proposal presents some problems as the areas of highest need for crime reduction programs are those with the most overworked police. Experience has indicated that there are no areas in Queensland policing with staff levels which could be described as 'excess.' Is it corporately responsible to use those 'excess' police (if they are identified) on this proposal? Would it not be preferable to redeploy those 'excess' staff to be used in a responsive or reactive role, the current primary policing strategy?

The Fitzgerald Implementation Unit has proposed the following objective for the introduction of community based policing in Queensland:

Comprehensive crime prevention services incorporating community based policing philosophies are provided from each Police establishment based on research or geographic crime statistics.

The Implementation Unit has also listed five measures of accomplishment:

- state-wide community policing initiatives are centrally integrated;

- local crime prevention/community policing plans exist for all police establishments;
- crime prevention activities form a significant component of the operational duties of every police officer—confirmed by independent audit and the performance planning and appraisal process; (presently <10 per cent: aim => 30 per cent)
- crime statistics form the basis of sector (localised) plans;
- public surveys confirm overall satisfaction within the community.

These performance indicators are sufficient to implement the early stages of the project but a more thorough analysis of required performance indicators and other factors may be necessary before embarking on later stages.

The tasks required are to:

- Establish the Superintendent, Community Based Policing Unit. (completed)
- Integrate specialist areas.
- Design and implement crime recording systems.
- Plan programs on the basis of research.

The 'wildcard' is the design and implementation of crime recording systems. A computerised crime recording system is currently being investigated.

Team Utilisation

Community policing by its very nature involves teamwork. Some teams will involve police alone, but many will involve people from all walks of life. It is therefore important that key personnel be trained in team-building.

Criminal Justice Commission

The Criminal Justice Commission has a statutory role to play in the structure and manner of operation of the police service and therefore close co-operation with the Commission will be necessary at all stages of the implementation of community policing. Preliminary discussions have been held with the Commission regarding the status of existing community policing initiatives.

Implementation

This is a very large project with implications for all Queenslanders, and for this reason it should not be undertaken on an ad hoc basis. It must be undertaken using a formalised project management methodology. It is proposed that implementation will be in two phases: Phase I will centrally co-ordinate all existing community based policing projects and evaluate the current effectiveness. Phase II will involve the design, implementation and evaluation of new initiatives as well as modifying the Department's style of operation and set of values to reflect a problem-solving, collaborative approach to problems within the community.

The police force of the past has dealt mainly with the manifestations of social dysfunction such as crime and antisocial behaviour. Successful community policing philosophies will permit the resources of the community to identify and heal the root causes of the apparent social dysfunction.

It is further proposed that the training and structure of the police service should be altered if necessary to better equip the police service and the community to deal with problems collaboratively, at the root cause level.

This phase will involve input to the corporate planning process of feedback from the community, so that the organisation can alter its long-term plans and structure to be in tune with the philosophies of market identification, customer orientation and goal congruence.

Community based policing must become a philosophy and style of operation, not a manner of operation.

Staffing and Responsibilities

The Superintendent, Community Based Policing Unit will work under the direction of the Deputy Commissioner, (Operations) and have a staff of one Inspector and one researcher. The role of the Unit is to co-ordinate and assist with the evaluation of community policing initiatives identified by the Regions as worthwhile for that area.

It is recommended that a structure be in place to provide links between the community policing project and the executive of the Queensland Police Service. Goal congruence and structural/training adjustments will require executive input.

At this stage it is possible to set only the following broad time-frames.

Table 1

1	Action Preparation	Date (by)
	Establish office. Briefings from Executive & CJC Establish reporting lines.	30/09/90
2	Commence Phase I	
	a. Establish CBPU , obtain funding and commence co-ordination of existing functions.	30/10/90
	b. Consultation QPS Executive & CJC.	30/10/90
	c. Policy approval of QPS & CJC.	30/11/90
	d. Draw up project plans and implement Initiation Stage.	30/12/90
	e. Implement and evaluate Phase I. Change Control according to project plan (stages, milestones and evaluations dependent upon project plan).	31/05/91
	f. Prepare for Phase II	15/6/91
3	Commence phase II	30/6/91

- a. Design and implementation of new initiatives according to surveys; change to structure and operating procedures of Service in accordance with 'market demands'; change of philosophy of Service.
- b. Ongoing valuation and subsequent Change Control dependent upon Executive, and Project Plan.
- c. Total integration of new community based policing philosophy with police and community.

4	Ongoing Project Maintenance	01/01/95 >
	Structure, methodology and philosophy of organisation adjusted as required.	

Costs

Phase I (to end June 1991)

Expenditure has been approved by the police service for the supply of office equipment for the Community Based Policing Unit. Other costs are not able to be estimated at this stage but may involve expenditure on some project management training.

Costs associated with Phase II are not able to be calculated at this stage, the type and extent of the action to be taken during this phase being dependent on the initiatives undertaken.

The costs of **not** implementing this proposal are:

- non-achievement of the potential of the police service;
- non-achievement of the community potential, and;
- the cost to the community of the crime that could have been prevented.

Evaluation

Evaluation will be by measurement of outcomes and comparison with objectives set at the commencement of the project, and will be mid- and end-stage before setting plans for the next stage.

The measures of accomplishment suggested by the Implementation Unit are:

Phase I:

- Establishment of CBPU
- Integration of state-wide community policing initiatives.
- Evaluation of effectiveness of existing initiatives.

Phase II:

- Establishment of local crime prevention/community policing plans for all police establishments.
- Establishment of crime prevention strategies as a significant component of the operational duties of every police officer.
- Establishment of crime statistics as the basis of localised plans.
- The conducting of public surveys confirm overall satisfaction (Consultation with CJC).
- Reduction of crime.

Recommendations

It is recommended that the Queensland Police Service formally adopt and implement community based policing as the primary policing philosophy for the state of Queensland and that the project be initiated and implemented in accordance with the following guidelines:

Phase I: Co-ordinate all existing community based policing projects and evaluate the current effectiveness;

Phase II: Design, implementation and evaluation of new initiatives, reorganise training, philosophy and structure of the Queensland Police Service in accordance with identified needs.

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The Police and the Community in the 1990s—Overview

an Address to the Australian Institute of Criminology

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The first thing to observe from scanning the conference presentations is that the 1990s will really be the start of the implementation of various schemes and programs involving 'community policing' in Australia. There seems to have been considerable academic discussion about it here and overseas, and some programs are already underway, but it is still all relatively new in Australia.

Second, there seems a lot of divergent views about what is community policing; is it a return to old values, or is it a new direction in policing?

Third, there are different opinions about the very notions of 'community' and 'policing' that underpin our discussion of it. 'Community' can mean different things to different people. Claims to community can, at times, be a claim to dominance and control. It must be ensured that community/police relations, particularly in the Aboriginal and ethnic communities, are sensitive and fair—that is, sensitive to cultural differences and needs.

It must be ensured that the police work with the community, not against it, and that means being as free from corruption as possible, and limiting the abuse of police power such as excessive and unjustified use of force. There must be accountability.

But this is not just the heavy responsibility of the police. Politicians must tackle some of the fundamental issues and face up to the realities of Australia in the 1990s, by being sensitive to legitimate needs and demands. Aboriginal crime and the over-representation of Aborigines in prisons are not just a police or prisons problems. Rather it is a political one. The social problems faced by Aboriginal people can only be confronted by Aboriginal people having self-determination and cultural integrity.

Finally, there are divergent views about what community policing can achieve and whether in fact, it is the best direction that can be taken. Whilst the old practice of the police on the beat is an attractive one, there are potential problems, not the least obvious being that our geographical communities are rambling suburbs and isolated towns. In those circumstances, the motorised patrol has the advantage of being able to respond to incidents quickly. On the other hand, a speedy response to crime is not the only responsibility of the modern day police officer.

All this has to be taken in the context of our historical development, models that have been tried overseas, and our own methods of monitoring and evaluating their operation. Also, we must look at our own needs and work out ways to satisfy them, not in an homogeneous way, but with sensitivity to legitimate multicultural interests and with imagination and forethought.

This paper will now look at the Queensland experience, some of the recent historical context and some associated issues and problems.

The Changing Face of Policing in Australia—Post-Fitzgerald

Inevitably and unavoidably, policing and police forces will always be the centre of significant community attention, debate and criticism, because police are often seen by the community in only one role—that of enforcing the law made by the legislators and the courts.

The police invariably go through varying degrees of popularity depending upon the prevailing laws, their enforcement and other social factors. However, the police need community support for crime solving and assistance in apprehending offenders.

At a time when many countries including Australia are facing economic difficulties and restraints because of financial circumstances, there is significant competition for the dollars available between policing and other areas of priority, such as education, health and general services.

This has meant that police have been forced, in a pragmatic sense, to prioritise their own activities, placing emphasis on investigation of crime, which is a band-aid approach, rather than trying to prevent it.

Limited resources has meant that prioritisation by police forces has been unavoidable. The community, of course, demands that emphasis be placed on crimes of personal violence ahead of property although, naturally, the community would like to see an emphasis placed on both, but resources make this very difficult, if not impossible.

Many in the community would be shocked and disappointed to hear this prioritisation. Indeed, many politicians and police would deny that prioritisation had been made. In effect, that is what has been done, because the community simply cannot afford to pay the extra taxes necessary to give the required police force the resources to deliver policing to the standard expected and perhaps even demanded by the community.

So, there is a gap between community expectations and policing reality due to funding problems and economic circumstances. There is therefore a growing role for the community to play in the community policing area in its own right and in cooperation with the police service itself, particularly in the area of property crimes.

As a result there needs to be a change in the role of police and policing in Australia. Similar, perhaps, to what has happened in New Zealand where the emphasis in recent times has been on community policing and a direct interface between local police operations and the community, so that a joint problem solving approach can be applied.

In Australia, this will require a change of attitudes by both the community and the police, so that the police alone are not seen to be the ones who solve crimes once they are committed.

The new approach requires a partnership between the community and the police to work towards resolving community problems, particularly in the area of property crime.

There is also a need to review the concept of punishment and what is suitable punishment for those who are apprehended for crime. Again, in New Zealand, the family conference concept, where youthful offenders are required to go before a family conference involving their family, together with the victim, means that there are often solutions worked out to problems which not only mean compensation to the people affected by crime, but also that the offender is not only discouraged to re-offend but is to some extent diverted from the full processes of the criminal justice system.

One of the greatest problems particularly in juvenile crime, is to try to ensure that offenders do not re-offend. The available evidence clearly seems to suggest that once offenders go through institutions, they become not only 'hardened', but also more likely to re-offend.

The emphasis therefore must be on communities not only working together to avoid re-offending by offenders, (which means coming up with community solutions to punishment) but also to take a community approach to crime prevention such as the imaginative French 'Bonnemaison' program which looks for an energy outlet for young people before they become bored and become involved in petty crimes such as destruction of property and vandalism.

It is fairly logical that young people are going to put themselves at risk of committing property crimes if they are bored and if there are no community outlets such as sporting facilities, entertainment facilities and recreation facilities in their area.

Community policing must mean that the community and the police meet in a fairly formal way to examine what facilities are available in the community, and to encourage the construction of facilities for young people to avoid them becoming involved in other activities out of frustration.

Police have been the subject of significant criticism in Queensland in recent years following the revelation of events during the Fitzgerald Inquiry. Some of the consequent criticism has been quite justified.

No-one in the community will tolerate dishonest or corrupt police officers, nor police officers who do not understand their responsibilities.

It is simply not good enough for a police officer to be 'Mr Murphy on the block' any more, because policing has become more demanding and more sophisticated.

The modern police officer has to be better educated and better trained to cope with a more complex and demanding society, which is more aware of its civil libertarian rights and more aware of the responsibility of the service.

Policing is a very demanding profession. It is very complex and requires specialised training. Indeed it should be respected in the community as being a very senior position in society. This means that there has to be support for a modern police service from political leaders, church leaders, community leaders, business leaders, trade union leaders and so on, so that police officers are appreciated as having that role, rather than simply cannon fodder for any particular section of the community wishing to push its own barrow.

Consequently, police officers have to be given the best opportunities for education and training. They also have to be paid in a way which is commensurate to their new responsibilities and proper wages must be paid to attract the best possible people. If police are paid and trained properly then it is not unreasonable for the community to expect a high professional standard from them.

The other emphasis must be on numbers and equipment so that the police have the resources, as well as the latest equipment, available.

For too long, the crooks, the leaders of organised crime, particularly in the drug area, have had more money, resources and equipment than police officers. This has meant an imbalance that has placed enormous stress on the police officers on the job. Until this is resolved in favour of policing, then crooks are advantaged. One of the ways this can be done involves pursuing the profits of crime, (see below).

There is no doubt that policing in Australia and in many western countries is going through a period of change—in some forces that has already taken place. That change is unavoidable and necessary if we are to end up with the police service we need which will not only win community support, but which will provide a long-term solution to rising crime rates.

The Tensions Associated with Change

Naturally whenever change takes place there is resistance and concern about the unknown. For example, converting police promotions from seniority to merit causes tension, as would changing emphasis in the police service towards community policing. There will be those in the service who will resist change.

However, to end up with a modern police service which can in fact work towards long-term solutions, there needs to be the changes discussed above. There also has to be acceptance that there will be tensions associated with change and there will be some resistance.

If those coming into the police service can see that the service itself consists of a professional group of people who have community respect and who are paid an appropriate remuneration and enjoy reasonable conditions, then they will see policing for what it is, that is, one of the most important and central roles in the community's well-being.

Community Policing and the Involvement of the Community in Specific Programs, for example—Youth Crime

Reference was made earlier to community policing, specifically in the area of youth crime. Like many politicians, I have constituents who are concerned about the increased incidence of youth crime, particularly vandalism and petty theft. One of the most obvious solutions involves not only schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch, which are more preventative, but also community involvement in working towards solutions to youth needs. The 'Bonnemaison' system and similar schemes where the community works with the local police to advise on weaknesses which exist in a particular community can bring about long-term solutions.

Many of these schemes are still in their infancy and are still difficult to evaluate. However, it seems fairly clear that if the community can place emphasis through Lions Clubs, Rotary Clubs, and so on, to build sport and other recreational activities, then it can give an outlet to its youth. But to cater for their needs we must consult with our young people, not just impose our expectations on them.

So, if schemes are available and the community is aware of its inadequacies, then these can be addressed by programs worked out by the local community in conjunction with the police and with government assistance. A government's commitment to change in this area can be gauged by the amount of resources they appropriate to implement these prevention schemes effectively.

There are many schemes operating which recognise the need to stop re-offenders and keep them out of institutions, as well as to prevent crime in the first place. It is also important for young people to be given the opportunity to make restitution for any damage they cause, without necessarily going through the process of imprisonment or detention.

Some of the community will see that as adopting too weak an approach and that young offenders who vandalise and steal should be locked up. The community has to avoid getting involved in this sensationalist, knee-jerk, simplistic approach to preventing community crime. We must get off the law and order/liberalise/law and order cycle if we are going to make some real, meaningful change.

It is very easy to say the police should arrest young offenders and lock them up. However that is not a long-term solution but rather a knee-jerk reaction which is likely to result in long-term problems.

The blunt reality is that locking up young offenders has never solved the problem and it never will.

In reality, young offenders are released in a short period of time and if they have gone through the institutional process, the experience is more likely to have turned them into a

person likely to re-offend and more likely to commit more property or personal offences in the community. Prevention is the key to the long-term community reduction of crime.

The hardliners in the community and in the political arena who adopt this lock 'em up and forget 'em attitude are doing the community a great disservice. The community cannot abrogate its responsibility, nor can the police force, to work out long-term solutions to community problems. Community problems have to be assessed, they have to be worked through and solved. In the first instance, research is vital to any prevention program's success—again this requires resources. This is not going soft on crime, this is simply working out realistic solutions.

No realistic solution which takes a long time to implement is ever easy, rather it is always complicated, diverse and takes a great deal of hard work and effort. The amount of work put in by the community with their local police will determine the final outcome.

Funding—Using the Profits of Crime

Naturally, the amount of funding, particularly at a time when there is severe competition for limited resources is crucial to the success of community policing. This is because community policing not only needs emphasis in its establishment and the change of direction in policing, but also because it needs the resources to facilitate the liaison between police and local communities. It may require particular trained facilitators to ensure that it works.

There is no point in having a strategy without having some mechanism to facilitate the structure to make sure that it happens.

One of the areas that does lend itself to assistance in funding in this area is pursuing the profits of crime. I am talking here about the Mr Bigs of the drug world and the major organised crime figures.

It is fairly clear that the penalties for large scale drug trafficking are not a total deterrent, because there are large amounts of money made from drug dealing. Now that there is legislation coming into play across Australia to pursue the profits of crime, that, provided it is enforced vigorously, will be a major deterrent to drug dealers.

If in turn those profits of crime are put back into things such as community policing, then we are working towards a long-term solution to solving many of our community policing and crime problems.

Community Education

If community policing is going to work, then there has to be understanding of it in the community as well as in the police service. A partnership needs to be developed which recognises that it is the responsibility of both the police and the community to prevent crime and to educate young people and people generally against criminal activity, as well as detecting those who are involved in criminal activity.

There are prejudices and walls which exist at the moment which have to be broken down by a sensible, logical and extensive community education campaign.

Cooperation Between Policing Agencies

One of the worst things that our forefathers in Australia did was to give us six competing state governments, and a Commonwealth, as well as a 'state's rights' attitude in most places.

Many people would argue that 'state's rights' are not a consideration here. However, it can be seen that the necessary cooperation which should exist between the various police departments and forces in Australia, is nowhere near as good as it should be.

It is a waste of resources not to have pilot programs operating in different states and a close liaison between the various forces to see that they operate effectively and learn from their experiences.

Relationship between Community Policing Initiatives and Broader Crime Prevention Strategies

This paper has already dealt with the relationship between community policing and broader crime prevention strategies to some extent, but it needs to be clearly understood that there cannot be crime prevention strategies without major initiatives in the community policing area and that community policing cannot be relied on alone. Any crime prevention strategy which is worked out without significant community involvement is destined to be only limited in its success.

Community policing is the necessary future direction for policing in Australia, particularly in Queensland. On the other hand, the police must not be expected to carry the burden alone. Legislators, administrators, industry and the community, must work together to improve social conditions which currently produce crime, reform the legal system to deal more fairly with offenders who break society's rules and to create an environment where recourse to crime is, as far as possible, unnecessary.

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