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COMMUNITY POLICING

Edited by
Superintendent James Morgan

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PLENARY SESSION: THURSDAY 2 AUGUST

OPENING REMARKS

The Assistant Director (Training), Australian Institute of Criminology, Mr Colin Bevan, opened proceedings by welcoming participants to the seminar on Community Policing and then introducing the Director of the Institute, Professor Richard W. Harding.

Professor Richard W. Harding
Director
Australian Institute of Criminology

Australia is in some ways a more difficult place to police than it was, say, twenty years ago. This is because three demographic factors classically associated with social problems have become more marked: urbanisation, unemployment (particularly amongst the young) and multiculturalism. On the other hand, governmental responses to these phenomena have generally become more compassionate and sensitive. Moreover, we do not have a Vietnamese War to split society down the middle, thus rendering public order policing - which in our kind of society must always ultimately depend upon consent - so difficult.

Police command personnel, and indeed their political masters, not infrequently complain about the inadequacy of resources available to them. This is understandable, but possibly not really justifiable. All police forces, except Queensland, show a steadily improving police/public ratio over each of the years 1970 to 1981 - a pattern which I would be surprised to see matched in any other social agency. (There are statistical blips in the Northern Territory, because of Cyclone Tracy, and in the A.C.T. because of the measurement ambiguities following the disbanding of a separate A.C.T. police force and the establishment of the A.F.P.) Moreover, expenditure on equipment has likewise increased markedly. The debate will always, inevitably, stray back to resources; and this is undeniably an important matter. But I would suggest that a more pertinent debate is that of the optimum utilisation of those resources.

In that context, it is apposite that the Institute has been able to bring participants together for this conference on community policing. This general approach to policing is comparatively labour-intensive and, therefore, expensive. As you all know, there has been a fairly prolonged period during which a more mechanised form of policing was almost exclusively in vogue - anonymous men (and occasionally women) cruising around in their metal shells. Human contact was cut off; and with that excision the ability of police to get the feel of the community was seriously eroded.

In most of the Western democracies, there has, thankfully, been a reaction back, a recognition that crisis-response policing - requiring mechanisation, more recently computerisation and sophisticated defensive and offensive weaponry - is different in kind, or at least to a major degree, from public order policing. I myself became keenly aware of this, as something more than what one read about in journals or saw on television documentaries, when visiting Holland in 1979. There, in The Hague, I saw community policing taking an archetypally Dutch form, with policemen living in the community, dressing like beatniks and so on in an effort to gain community acceptance. If one had had the same persons pointed out to one in the United States and had been informed that they were policemen, one would have assumed that there must be a catch in it and that they must have been undercover narcotics agents. I make this point to emphasise that community policing, to be successful, must take a form appropriate to the particular community.

We should not seek to discover a universal model in the course of this Conference, therefore, but rather try to identify from the experience of others approaches which we ourselves may be able to adapt to our needs.

Recently, I was looking at a book by John Brown - Policing by Multi-Racial Consent : The Handsworth Experience. In this he describes and evaluates the more conservative, less laid-back British approach to community policing in that most difficult of environments, the black ghetto. (This is an area particularly apposite for study here in Australia for obvious reasons.) The key component is the Permanent Beat Officer (PBO), invariably a mature and experienced policeman, coming to work there from his own area, wearing uniform to do so, not pretending therefore to be something he is not, but possessing a commitment and concern and compassion and intimate knowledge of his area. Let me quote directly from Brown to give you the full flavour:

> Closer relationships with other agencies serve to extend relationships within the local community. The process is two-way. Growing contact with teachers, youth, probation and social workers, housing and employment officers, leads on to growing contact both with those they serve - victims of crime, children and parents, young offenders and others at risk, disadvantaged groups and so on - and with those at places which they frequent or where they meet and congregate - shops, pubs, clubs, temples, churches, community organisations of all kinds. And growing contact of this kind, in turn, strengthens and renews contact with local public services. In ways such as these, formal and informal networks of care and order are created and reinforced. In consequence, the police (primarily the PBOs), whose functions draw them into this web of relationships, come increasingly both to conceive and to enact 'policing' as something you do <u>with</u> others rather than <u>to</u> others, as a profess of <u>long-term interaction</u> rather than as a series of short-term actions. (Brown, 133)

The moral Lord Scarman, writing a foreward, draws from this is that 'success will come only if the police take the "initiative"'. It is encouraging to hear that this is starting to happen, not just overseas but here in Australia. At this conference, we shall all have an excellent opportunity to learn from the experience of others. I myself have nothing direct to contribute to that process; it is a matter for police personnel present, particularly Inspector David Smith upon whom we are making such onerous demands, and our distinguished visitors. With regard to these - Professor Bayley, Professor Chappell and Dr Stenning - a notable point in that none of them is a mere theoretician; all have a great deal of experience in working with police. Although I am here to listen and learn, old pedagogic habits die hard and I cannot resist offering one or two cautionary comments.

First, community policing if it is to be successful must be integrated into the total police structure. Thus, initial training programs must take account of the needs of this aspect of policing; there is evidence that this was a problem, for example, in the Handsworth situation. Also, police career structures must take account of this kind of approach; transfer to the C.P. Branch should not be regarded as akin to being put back in the Car Registration Branch. Third, the deployment of manpower must take account of the need for a reasonable degree

of continuity on the job for personnel involved in community policing. I note that recently a senior A.F.P. policeman - with us, I am glad to say today - commented that the idea of community policing had broken down partially in the A.C.T. because officers were moved too frequently. It must be said that this comment was made in a context where it appeared that this problem had been recognised and tackled successfully.

It is certainly to be hoped that this is the case. However, a recent seminar at the Institute on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the A.C.T. produced some strong anecdotal evidence that confidence about this may be a little premature. Be that as it may, I think we would all agree about the principle, and it is gratifying that it has been recognised and sought to be implemented.

The other caveat I would make is this. Community policing depends on community confidence which in turn cannot be segmented - confidence in one aspect of policing but not in others. Still, in most Australian States, there is one notable area in which community confidence in the police can only, at best, be partial. This relates to systems for dealing with complaints by members of the public. I must confess I last looked at this matter in 1979, when the Australian Law Reform Commission reference on Complaints against the Police was revived in conjunction with the establishment of the A.F.P. Looking quickly at the matter again, a few days ago, I was surprised at how little progress had been made. There is one very simple rubric in this area: that where the investigation of complaints is carried out by police themselves and there is no fallback possibility of non-police investigation, there will never be the degree of public confidence in the process which is necessary to underpin such policing approaches as community policing. This comment is made without impugning the goodwill and conscientiousness of any single complaints investigator; it is simply a fact of human nature. Those Australian police forces which still resist the creation of a procedure which will permit, though not require, external investigation in appropriate cases are failing to recognise that. They can only benefit in the long run from such changes. Public accountability will <u>increase</u>, not decrease, public confidence - which in turn is a prerequisite to community policing.

The theme of the opening remarks was that community policing must be integrated into the total police structure, there must be a reasonable degree of continuity and status on the job for personnel involved, this approach must take the form appropriate to the particular community and strive to engender confidence by being accountable to

the community and strive to engender confidence by being accountable to the community. Success in the broad policing strategy will come only if police take the initiative. These opening remarks set the scene for the conference. In one form or another speaker after speaker returned to a similar theme.

At the conclusion of his opening remarks, Professor Harding expressed pleasure in being able to introduce Mr Peter Anderson, Minister of Police and Emergency Services for New South Wales, where the issue of external accountability in relation to public complaints is now a vigorous reality. It was noted that Mr Anderson is so interested in the future of community policing that he agreed to open the seminar and that the New South Wales Government had established a framework within which public confidence in the police could be fostered.

OPENING ADDRESS

The Honourable P.T. Anderson MP
Minister of Police and Emergency Services
New South Wales

I am delighted to have been invited to perform the official opening of this seminar on Community Policing conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology.

I have a high regard for the Institute and the work it undertakes and I especially congratulate the Institute for arranging the seminar. I believe it will not only be of benefit to those present and to the various police forces in Australia but to the Australian community at large and that is what community policing and policing as a whole is all about.

As some of those in attendance would be aware, community policing is a topic in which I have taken a great deal of interest.

I think it can be safely said that a vast majority of the world's progressive police forces have implemented community policing in one form or another and it is the topic on the lips of those police forces in the world at the present time who have come to the realisation that 'traditional' policing methods are not enough.

Last year I had the privilege of undertaking a study tour which included amongst many aspects of policing, an examination of community policing practices and procedures and community relations bureaux in operation in a number of major centres throughout the world. These included Washington, London and Hong Kong.

It would be an understatement to say that I was more than impressed by the activities and programs implemented by these police forces.

My observations of these organisations strengthened my belief and resolve as to the importance of community policing methods to the modern police force.

It affirmed my opinion that it is not simply a matter of how much money governments allocate to police forces, what modern technology is utilised, or how many police officers they have - community policing is vital to the operational success of any police force.

While the history of community policing can be traced back many centuries, the most positive aspect of its development occurred more than 150 year ago in London.

At that time England was facing a civil crisis; the populace was near general revolt. There was no respect for law, crime was rampant and disorder was the rule.

The Army had been ordered to repress riots and stop crime. There efforts were less than futile, often inflaming the situation by further alienating the civilian populace. The community was losing faith in the Government's ability to stop crime and protect life and property. The traditional approaches to crime control and civil disorder - more manpower and force - were no longer working.

The Government recognised the need for immediate action. They appointed one of their members, Sir Robert Peel, to take the responsibility for Londond's civil protection.

Sir Robert, recognising the need for drastic action, established the Metropolitan Police Department of London. This also created the first police community relations program, as he felt that no police force could be effective without the active support of the community it serves. Few of the leaders of the community gave this new approach much chance of success as disintegration of order had been continuing for many years.

What happened, of course, is history. Sir Robert's 'bobbies' won the community's support and this unheard of police partnership did the impossible. Their success proved that community support was much more important than previously thought; it was invaluable.

Unfortunately, this amazing lesson was not long remembered in the United States. The twentieth century found many American Police Departments withdrawn to closed shops, shunning outside community interference. The gap continued to grow and crime began to rise, gaining momentum until it drew national attention in the sixties.

During that decade, a second effect of police isolation was discovered. Heavy handed police intervention into civil demonstrations often tapped a reservoir of hidden frustration in the community, resulting in explosive disorders. Washington learned this lesson first hand as it experienced destructive disorders in 1968, winning the dubious distinction of 'Crime Capital' at the same time. This long-brewing alienation was discovered as Presidential and Congressional Commissions on Police Community Relations went to work making innumerable recommendations that had the universal common denominator of creating a partnership with the citizens.

Today, the Metropolitan Police Department in Washington cultivates and enjoys supportive relationships with virtually

operating with Advisory Neighbourhood Councils, Police Citizens Advisory Councils, Civic Associations, Churches, Parent-Teacher Associations, Tenant Associations, Block Clubs and numerous other Citizens Groups.

Neighbourhood Police Centres and Police Community Services Officers seek out those in need as well as those who can help. Today the Metropolitan Police Department in Washington is a service organisation that serves the community in an amazing variety of ways.

Popular support is no less a factor in the fight against crime today than it was in Sir Robert Peel's era.

Burtell M. Jefferson - Chief of Washington's District of Columbia Police from 1978-1981 said this:

> In any community it is essential for the police and the people they serve to work hand in hand to accomplish the goals established by our society. Preservation of peace and the protection of life and property can only be achieved through the joint efforts of both elements. The standards set by the community provide the guidelines for the law enforcement agency and the public trust and support in that agency determines its effectiveness.

The police forces that have implemented community policing have all had a common experience. There was a general resistance among police to the concept in the initial stages, however, when individual police saw it working they became committed.

One of the most impressive advocates of community policing I have ever met is Inspector James P. Shugart, the Director of the District of Columbia's Community Relations Division. In the foreward to one of their publications he stated:

> One of the basic goals of our community relations programme is the shaping of a public perception of an effective, fair department worthy of public support because we know that the community's perception of its police department bears directly on their level of co-operation with us. Of course the level of citizen co-operation determines, in large measure the effectiveness of the police department that serves it. Therefore, by projecting a positive image, our performance of duty is more readily accepted and the rapport and respect needed to function effectively is augmented.

> Real commitment to our community relations efforts is indispensable to its continued success. That commitment must be made by everyone in the department and spring from an understanding of the benefits that grow from strong community support for the police. We must make ourselves realise that the benefits of an effective and successful community relations programme are mutual.

In the United Kingdom, a Strathclyde Police Working Party concluded from its research that 'the community involvement posture adopted by senior officers is contagious and generally reflected in the attitudes of subordinates'. A recent commentator has emphasised 'without this wholehearted support from the top, any efforts at street level will fail'.

There is still, in my view, a strong-hold belief amongst many police and some in the community, that the answer to such problems as escalating crime rates and increasing social problems is found in increasing manpower and by using bigger and better weapons and ultimately riot shields, batons and mace.

For too long the public have been fed cliches and shibboleths about policing. We have to ask why - the answer is simple - it meant that the difficult questions about the quality of policing could be avoided.

It is time that we as a community faced up to reality and rejected the myth that more money and more manpower is the answer to our law enforcement problems.

But let us return to the United Kingdom 150 years after Peel established the London Metropolitan Police.

It is worth remembering that for years the British bobbies had been held up as the model for every other police force in the world. I had the opportunity to briefly see them in action last year and I was very impressed at what I saw in both England and Scotland but the aftermath of the April 1981 Brixton disorders has changed and will continue to change policing in the U.K.

Lord Scarman in his report stated - both the police and the community were now able to take stock of what had happened. In cold statistical terms, 82 people had been arrested, 279 police officers injured, 45 members of the public injured (there were probably more), 61 private vehicles and 56 police vehicles damaged or destroyed, and 145 premises damaged, 28 of them by fire. As important, however, was the effect of what had happened on the attitudes and feelings of those

involved. The police had undergone an experience, till then unparalleled on the mainland of the United Kingdom. Within the community there were some who felt elated because, as they saw it, the community had taken a stand against the police; and there were some who saw disorder as an opportunity for publicised protest; but many more were saddened and uncertain at the implications of the events. It was clear to all, however, that the scars of what had happened would linger in Brixton, and particularly in the relationship between the police and the public, for a long time to come.

The disorders, Lord Scarman said, arose from a 'complex political, social and economic situation' that was not special to Brixton; there was a strong racial element involved but these were not 'race riots'. They were triggered by police action that was common to Brixton streets but in essence the riots were 'an outburst of anger and resentment by young black people against the police'.

Lord Scarman found that a major cause of hostility by young blacks was the loss of confidence in the police by significant sections of the Brixton public. The reasons for this loss of confidence included the collapse of the Police Liaison Committee in 1979; the 'hard' policing methods adopted in Brixton; lack of consultation about police operations; distrust of the procedure for investigating complaints against the police and unlawful and, in particular, racial prejudiced conduct by some officers.

So returning to the myth of which I spoke I think everyone here today who has read the Scarman Report on the Brixton riots would readily agree that that myth which I mentioned is not a panacea. It could be called a control mechanism, however, it can never be termed a solution.

The vital objective is to gain the respect, support and interaction.

I think the experience and the position in New South Wales highlights the point I am making.

In recent years the New South Wales Police Force has undergone a massive upgrading through increased funding and manpower.

Both have increased to the extent that since coming to power the Government has more than trebled police funding and increased manpower by approximately 24 per cent or 2,000 additional police.

With a strength of almost ten and a half thousand officers, an expenditure of over a million dollars a day, the New South Wales Police Force is by far the largest in Australia and is the equivalent of the third largest police force in the U.S.A.

While many of you may think I am using this occasion for politicking on the Government's achievements, I am not, what I am trying to illustrate to you is the complete opposite.

Because, despite these improvements, and many other initiatives in administrative and operational areas aimed at specifically providing a more efficient and effective police force, crime rates have escalated.

This has been particularly the case in those crimes which have the most widespread and personal effect on the general public - house breaking and motor vehicle theft.

Whilst the increasing crime rate is not unique to New South Wales or even Australia, it is nonetheless disturbing and in terms of the improvements made, frustrating.

The time has come for change and as Sir Robert Mark said in his book 'Policing a Perplexed Society':

> One of the essential requirements of a police system is that whilst adhering to certain basic principles, it should be capable of adapting to meet the requirements of different societies or communities and ... our most effective weaponry is the trust and confidence of the communities we service and the support of the public generally.

The very nature of the crimes of house breaking and car theft has served to heighten community awareness of the problems facing its police force.

John Avery in his book 'Police Force or Service', explains that in the past 'many people have all too readily abdicated what once had been considered their social responsibility, adopting the attitude that experts are available to cope with most problems'.

This abstraction and extraction of the police officer from the context of the community that his or her presence was designed to elevate is counterproductive.

The Australian community in the past has had a false ideology that it was somehow not their role to assist police, that crimes were committed against authority, not against society.

Misguided as it may be, this ideology was never broken down by the police forces in this country because while they may have acknowledged the fact that community support was necessary, they did not seek it nor did the public accept that the police force was the community.

Any remaining vestiges of that ideology and the resultant apathy, are eroding rapidly as more and more people come to the view that crime is not so much an assault on authority and thereby a problem for the authorities to grapple with alone, but an assault on a community of which they are part, and therefore a problem which requires their direct involvement.

I often wonder whether our system of police versus so-and-so or the Crown versus so-and-so, should not be changed to the American concept of 'the people versus'. The reality is, after all, that crime is not committed against the police or the crown, it is a crime against the people as a whole.

Some cynics would say the time now is right for community policing, because so many people have had crimes committed against them and have as a result, become aware that it is not just the police force's problem.

The time has always been right for community policing and if it was used in Australia a lot earlier, the pattern of crime increase would not be what it is.

The community did not, and does not, need direct evidence.

It was and is up to the police forces in this country to take up the challenge that confronts them.

A challenge it is, because there is no easy way to solve a problem that has existed for several generations in Australia.

It will require, and I concede it will be gradual, a complete change of attitude by many in our community to what policing is all about.

When I say the community I also mean the police.

Because the impetus for such a change must come from the Police.

What this means is the changing of generations of preconceived ideas that police have about their jobs, and what the public perceives as a police officer's role.

In some local communities it will be painstaking work, in others they will welcome this change in approach with open arms.

Let me give you an example of effort breeding success.

The Police Aborigine Liaison Unit established in New South Wales in 1981 has won the respect and the support of the great majority of the Aboriginal Community in New South Wales.

This success did not come overnight, it was through painstaking work involving discussions and consultation - giving and taking.

Much of that success is due to the efforts of the Officer in Charge - Sergeant Bill Galvin.

They have begun to bridge the gap that has existed since 1788 in the community between law enforcement and Aborigines, where police used to relate to Aborigines with rancour and testiness.

I believe there has been a discernable and heartening shift in public opinion in New South Wales towards greater co-operation with its police force and a greater willingness to take positive crime prevention action.

This trend is being fostered by recent newspaper editorials and general media comment on increasing crime rates.

In the past the media has pushed the one line that increasing crime was the fault of the police force and the Government.

Of late, however, their comments have not been restricted to the naming of a scapegoat, but have highlighted the need for public support and community involvement in law enforcement.

I am glad the media has accepted that the police force is part of the community, because in this day and age the support of the media is vital.

New South Wales is currently establishing a Police Community Relations Bureau with the goal of attempting to return the concept of policing to its origin within the community. That Bureau will be under the dual control of a Chief Superintendent and a civilian Director, both of whom are here today.

A number of community relations programs launched within the past two years have met with unprecedented success.

I believe that the police have made massive advances in terms of community support and involvement through these programes.

Two of these programs are the Blue Light Discos and Safe Houses, which we copied from Victoria.

The community response to both of these programs has been nothing other than phenomenal.

These programs though are only the beginning of a journey which will take several years to complete, however, it is a journey well worth the effort.

It is vital that police and the community respond to the challenge through a change in attitude.

I would not be naive enough to suggest that the concept of community policing has been universally embraced by all within the N.S.W. Police Force. I, and many others, are committed to its implementation as an operational policing concept not as some form of public relations exercise, but it cannot succeed without the total commitment of police themselves.

It is indeed unfortunate that my proposal to introduce name tags last year was met with such violent objection. I found on my study tour that they are an accepted part of a police uniform in the United States. Those police who I spoke to in places such as New York, Washington and Los Angeles admitted that prior to their introduction some years ago police had had the same objections that were heard in N.S.W. last year. None of the fears had been realised.

The objections advanced last year were emotive and illogical. Some event went so far as to distort what I had actually said and portray the impression that I equated police officers with prisoners. Indeed, my point was the exact opposite. I was in fact referring to a Royal Commission Report.

The proponents of name tags for police believe that they will enhance the relationship between the public and their police. The opponents either intentionally or unintentionally are preserving the 'us' and 'them' mentality that has inhibited police/community relations for so long.

It is a matter of regret that too often police reject suggestions about policing from those who are not themselves police, be they academics, lawyers or politicians.

I do not believe that any fair minded person can reject the thrust of the concepts first advanced by Sir Robert Peel and subsequently reinforced by such bodies as Royal Commissions

or Presidential and Congressional Inquiries and by Lord Scarman in the U.K. and for that matter Mr Justice Lusher in N.S.W. Their reports have so much to offer policing in this country.

But accepting the reality of this position how can anyone reject the views of Sir Robert Mark, John Alderson, Patrick V. Murphy, Burtell M. Jefferson, James P. Shugart and many other experienced police? All of whom came to the same conclusion 'that the police cannot successfully carry out their task of maintaining law and order without the support and confidence of the people. The police and the people are one'.

Perhaps Alderson captured the concept best when he said of democratic community policing: 'It would exist in its purest form where all the elements in a community, both official and unofficial, would conceive of the common good and combine to produce a social climate and an environment conducive to good order and the happiness of all those living within it'.

Frequently in discussions about community policing I encounter the same reaction - that the concept is too simple and too logical to work. But it has worked and we all have a role to play.

It is not enough for the police alone to adopt the principles and apply them.

The community has a responsibility, in fact a duty, to assist the police.

Members of the community should report suspicious behaviour forthwith. They should not be apathetic or apprehensive about supplying information to the police. They must be prepared to become involved in giving evidence or offering assistance.

Having rejected the myth of more powers, more equipment and more police we must all adopt the philosophy of accountability, co-operation, consultation and understanding.

Again I thank the Institute for their invitation to be here today. It is my fervent hope that this seminar will lead to an increased commitment by us all to the concepts of community policing.

In declaring this seminar officially open I leave you with the words of the late John F. Kennedy:

> This is a free society, and the kind of country we have, the kind of strength we have, depends in the final analysis upon the people themselves.

On expressing thanks to the Minister of Police and Emergency Services, Professor Harding then introduced Professor David Bayley from the Graduate School of International Study, University of Denver, Colorado, U.S.A. Professor Bayley's previous visit to the Australian Institute of Criminology was in August 1982 when, in conjunction with Professor Duncan Chappell, well known in Australia and New Zealand, he conducted a seminar on 'Police Research'. Professor Bayley's own field of research includes the power of politics; the power of criminal justice; police behaviour, research and methodology in India and Japan; the social determinants of police functions and growth in a number of countries mainly in Asia, Europe and North America. His recent and current research has been centred around the Koban approach to Community Policing in Japan and its implementation, at least in a modified form, in Singapore. Professor Bayley's grants of honours in professional publications involve many dimensions but they centre mainly around police matters.

Professor David H. Bayley
University of Denver
United States of America

COMMUNITY POLICING IN JAPAN AND SINGAPORE

Clearly something is in the air around the world and it is called community policing. Many people are talking about it, especially in police circles. The Minister of Police has already reviewed a good deal of this experience today and the question I think we have got to grapple with is what is community policing? Is it significant?

What I intend to do is to review with you some of the most notable experiments in community policing from several countries. I am going to then treat the subject of why it seems to be needed, why it is that police forces are reaching out in this particular direction. I am going to address myself briefly to the question of whether it can be done anyplace or whether there are particular limitations in its export and expansion. And, lastly, I shall discuss the minimum requirements for success. So you can see I am going to cover a lot of territory in a fairly short period of time.

The first thing I want to look at is community policing. As I talk to police officers in many places I do not think I have ever met a Commissioner of Police or Chief of Police who did not quickly tell me he was doing it already. If that is true, a lot of this is really spinning our wheels and plainly we are carrying coals to Newcastle. What I think they are saying is that they recognise that there is a public out there, they are willing to talk to them every now and then, and they are terribly concerned about raising the PR image of the force in public. That is what passes as community policing. Community policing has been in the United States, I regret to say, in all but a few communities, largely a public relations exercise. This is the way it began after the riots in the 1960s and in many communities it has not gone beyond that.

I am not going to talk today about community policing as PR - it has to be more than that. What I am going to try and do for you is to give you an operational definition of community policing. By that I mean I am going to tell you about what some forces have done to change standard operating procedures throughout the force and that have done so under the rubric or banner of community policing. In other words, I am not going to tell you about what people are doing simply to change their image, I am going to talk to you about experiments where Chiefs

of Police have had the courage to change customary traditions of operation within a Department.

I find that when Departments do this under the banner of community policing four areas of activity seem to be involved. I am going to talk about each of those and give you examples of each from several countries.

The first element is community crime prevention; the second element is patrolled deployment for non-emergency interaction with the community; the third is active solicitation by the police of requests for public service; and fourth is the provision of opportunities for feed back from the community about police operations. These, I find, are the elements that seem to hang together when departments do something significant under the banner of community policing and do not simply talk about image generation.

The first element is community crime prevention. These take a variety of forms. By and large they involve the formation of neighbourhood crime prevention organisations which are to be active in mobilising the community in its own defence. Neighbourhood watch, I suspect, is the most prominent of these in almost every country. Neighbourhood watch is a phrase that is used in Singapore, Japan, the United States, and here in Australia as well. It sometimes involves operation identification, as we call it, where the police lend engraving tools to the public and they put a social security number or something like that on their personal property so it may be more easily recovered.

Basically community crime prevention involves some way of pulling the public together into groups that can help to defend themselves. These are not necessarily residential groups; they are often commercial groups like taxi drivers or shop owners or industrial concerns. It is any group that feels they have a community of interest with respect to crime prevention.

The most extensive network of crime prevention organisations that I think exists in the world is in Japan. Every neighbourhood in Japan has a crime prevention association and indeed they also have traffic safety associations as well, usually led by the mothers of school children. In addition, tied to these neighbourhood crime preventions associations, there are 500,000 what are called 'contact points' between the police and the community. These are either shops or residences which distribute literature and brochures about crime prevention and are also prepared to carry requests for services or complaints about service police service to the local police commander. In other words they are a liaison, a contact point. Japan is roughly the size of the State of California.

It is a fairly small place and in that small place, they have got one half million of these. Every neighbourhood has a crime prevention organisation. The people are aware of it. They have roots in the community that go back generations. Indeed, if you know something about the way the Japanese live, it is very difficult to resist membership in your neighbourhood crime prevention organisation because as soon as you move in, somebody is going to show up on your doorstep and say, we have a meeting every month, these are the current campaigns, we would sure like you to join. And, at least if you are Japanese, it is difficult to say no.

In the United States, I think the most extensive organisation of a community in crime prevention is in the city of Detroit. Detroit began community crime prevention in 1976. They are doing it in two ways. First, there is a central crime prevention organisation at Central Headquarters. Detroit is a city of about one million and a half people, and it is a very difficult city to police, and I will return to that in a moment. They have 36 officers out of a force of 4,000, that have worked hard since 1976, block by block in that city to organise crime prevention associations. They have now, over the last 8 years, organised 12,000 city blocks into crime prevention organisations.

Second, and even more interesting, I think, is another experiment beginning again in 1976 but it really did not fall into place until 1980, they established 52 mini police stations in the inner city of Detroit. Detroit is a city which is 70 per cent black, and until the middle of the 1970s it was policed virtually by an all white police force. Needless to say relations between the two groups were terrible. The police also had a number of scandals in the late 1960s and early 1970s, so they had a lot to live down. They thought in 1976 that one of the ways to build a bridge between the black community and the police force was the establishment of these 52 mini police stations. These mini police stations are only doing one thing - they are doing crime prevention and organising the neighbourhood immediately surrounding them. They are not full-service police stations. Officers are not doing patrol out of them, although they will take complaints. They do not respond to emergency calls for service, your 000 system, I think it is. They do crime prevention, which means that the officers get out of the police station and get to know the immediately adjacent community as intimately as they can. Part of that involves interacting with neighbourhood health services workers, social workers, with the church, with the schools. It is their responsibility to see what forms of public security the people in that area think are needed, and then to organise the community, as best it can, to those objectives, and also to tell the police force at large what it is that the local community needs. This is a point that I shall return to later.

What the police think the local community may need may not be what the local community thinks it needs by way of policing. It is the job of the mini stations in Detroit to change the police conception of its own role in the local community.

Each station is in charge of only one officer. It is open 12 hours a day, not, however, by the one officer. Detroit has unions too. What the officers do is recruit volunteers to keep the police station open and to receive complaints and requests for service when the officer is out in the community. The officers spend most of their time away from the mini police station. During his absence the volunteers take over.

Now what is interesting about the Detroit decision to move ahead in this particular fashion was that, although community policing is often said to be labour intensive, Detroit moved this amount of manpower into community policing at the same time that the police force contracted by one-third. Due to the downturn of the auto industry, that force contracted its staff in 1979 from 6,000 to 4,000 sworn officers. There are still 900 officers on the lay-off list waiting to be called back. Now you think of the morale problems that that force had and simultaneously decided to mount this major effort in crime prevention. The reason they did so, and I will return to this a little later, they simply thought they had no choice. With this kind of cut back in manpower, they had to do something dramatically different from what they had done before. They had the courage or stupidity, depending on how you view this, to go ahead with community policing in a very big way indeed.

Another thing that Detroit has done is to organise citizens'-band radio mobile patrols. There are now in this population of a million and a half, 90 of these CB patrols involving 2,000 members of the public. They provide their own vehicles, their own CB equipment, and all of the support. They sometimes get an allowance from the government, if the government ever has two dimes to rub together, for petrol, but by and large these are entirely self-supporting patrols. The patrols are chartered by the city. The people in them are trained by the police and they are closely supervised by the police. They have one strict rule - never leave your vehicle to intervene in anything that you see. The CB patrol is on the street to be an extra set of eyes and ears for the police. They are to act like concerned citizens and simply to dial the police emergency number.

In other words, they are a way of expanding patrol visibility because they go about in marked cars, in at least cars with decals on the side of them. They provide information to uniform patrol about situations that may need attention. They have been very effective indeed and one of the things they have done, besides helping to lower street crime rates in the areas in which they patrol, has been to give the public a sense that they need not be passive in the face of rising crime rates, that there are things they can do to help.

The second major aspect of community policing which represents, I think, a very significant change in customary operating procedures of departments is changing the mode of patrol deployment. Around the world patrol deployment is based upon the motor vehicle, upon the patrol car. There are exceptions to this, but this is something that began to come in, as the Minister noted, several generations ago in the United States under the banner of professionalisation. In order to cover more space and to be more efficient in terms of territory covered per dollar expended, police forces adopted the motor car.

Now the problem with the motor car is that it limits the police officer to interacting with the community only in situations of emergency. Very rarely, all the studies show this, very rarely do police officers who are based in patrol cars initiate any encounter of any significance with the public. In other words, they really fail to operate proactively, they operate, by and large, reactively. I am sure you are familiar with this.

What several forces in the world have done is simply to turn their back on the motor car and to deploy uniform patrol personnel in a way which allows them to be proactive and especially to interact with the community when the community is not in desperate need for police services. For example, the Japanese police made an explicit decision in 1972 to decrease the number of mobile patrols on the streets and to increase the number of fixed police posts. In Japanese cities now there are 6,000 of what are called Koban which are full service, around the clock, police stations. I have done the arithmetic on this and I calculate that there is a fixed police station or Koban within seven blocks of every urban resident in Japan. Since 75 per cent of the Japanese population is in cities, that means 75 per cent of the population is within seven short blocks from face to face contact with police officers.

It was not until 1976, in fact, that over 50 per cent of the calls for police service came over the telephone rather than face to face. I suspect in Australia, certainly in the United States, 90-95 per cent of the contacts between the police and the public come through the telephone. Indeed I have often said that the only group of people in the United States that patrol officers routinely meet in a non-emergency way are waitresses in coffee shops.

The other place where one finds a notable experiment in changing the deployment mode of the force is in Singapore. In June of 1983, they decided to 'learn from Japan'. This was their phrase. They established in central Singapore, B division, eight Koban. They call them neighbourhood police posts - NPPs. The police force have been evaluating the experience in the one police division for one year. Singapore has eight land divisions and one marine division. I have just been lucky enough to have spent three weeks in Singapore and was able to be in the wind-up of the evaluation of these police posts.

Not only did the police evaluate the NPPs in the terms of the customary indicators of policing success - crime rates, solicitation of service, clear up rates, and the like - but they also had a team of scholars from the National University of Singapore who participated in the evaluation of the success of the experiment. Their major contribution was to do a before and after public opinion survey. That data is now available, if not this week it certainly will be in a week or so, from the Singapore Police Force. Those of you who may be concerned with what might be gained at least in densely populated areas of modern cities from basing in a fixed way might be interested in this material.

The Singapore police posts are manned around the clock by six person teams on eight hour shifts. In other words, there are three shifts and on each shift there are six constables, one sergeant, and during the day shift an inspector. The Singapore people recognise that this is terribly labour intensive. In order to carry this off throughout the city they would have to increase the strength within the division by 70 per cent. That is a lot. They are not doing community policing on the cheap as Detroit has done it, which shows that there are lots of ways to skin the community policing cat. It depends on what you ask your posts to do. In Singapore they are working around the clock and they are doing everything, backed up of course by specialised teams of CIB and special branches and so forth. They are willing to take complaints, do patrolling - foot, scooter, cycle - and they respond to emergency calls for service when they are close enough at hand so that they think they can beat a patrol car to the location.

So far, all the indicators are in the appropriate direction. Some crime rates have stayed exactly the same. You would expect this since only some crime rates are preventable through community organisations and by foot patrolling. You cannot organise the community successfully against homicide, for example. I have some questions whether you can against rape. But you certainly can against purse snatching, cycle theft, theft from cars, theft of cars, robbery on the streets, and what the Singaporeans call 'outraging modesty'. I am not exactly sure what that involves but the women seem to have a fairly good idea. One finds that these kinds of street crime, which do seriously concern people, dipped in the NPP areas despite the fact that the total number of requests for police service rose. That is very significant.

One other experiment in changing the mode of patrol comes from the United States - from two cities, Newark, New Jersey and Houston, Texas. These two cities were selected by our Federal Government two years ago as places where experiments were to be undertaken in new forms of policing. The reason for this was that over a long period of time, researchers concluded that most of traditional police strategies were not working. I am going to say something about that later.

So finally the police said in exasperation to the Federal Government, in effect, for God's sake stop telling us that all we are doing is wrong, what in the world should we be doing? Tell us how we can police better. The Federal Government responded to this cry of desperation and undertook to do some controlled experiments in two cities and to provide police with some positive suggestions for how they might use their resources better. This was called the fear reduction project and it was sponsored by the National Institute for Justice. It is being carried out by the Police Foundation, under the direction of Pat Murphy. I have been lucky enough to be an adviser of that project. It, too, went into the field in the summer of 1983, parallel to the Singapore experiment, and is just coming out at the present moment. The Police Foundation hopes to have reports prepared by the fall 1984 on whether the innovations which these two very different cities have tried are significant.

I should point out that Newark, New Jersey, is a very old fashioned densely populated, largely black, decaying city in the eastern part of the United States. Houston, on the other hand, is a modern, expanding, low density, primarily white city. So these cities provide two very different places to carry out the same experiments.

In both cities the police chiefs decided that one of the things they wanted to experiment with are neighbourhood police posts, similar to Japanese Koban, similar to neighbourhood posts in Singapore. Not, however, similar to the mini police stations in Detroit. I can not tell you yet whether the evaluation shows they are working or not in these two very different places. Some data should be available to you in the near future.

What is interesting, of course, and why I go into these experiments, is there is now around the world, some very careful innovation being undertaken and it is being subjected to rigorous evaluation. Those of us who are concerned with knowing whether there is anything in this business of community policing should know shortly at least about the experience in Singapore and the United States.

Underlying all of this redeployment is something which is terribly important, namely, unplugging some proportion of force personnel from the emergency dispatch system. In the United States, I think perhaps the greatest obstacle to innovation is workload. The demand that comes through the telephone, through the dispatcher, to the wireless, then to the officer is so great they are jumping around like fleas on a hot griddle. They have not got enough time to take a coffee break. In Denver, Colorado, for example, which is my home city, there is a population of a half a million and it generates 750,000 emergency calls every year. That is slightly over 2,000 a day and the number of sworn officers is 1,342. Figuring that 65 per cent, roughly, of our force is in patrol - that tends to be the average around the

world - roughly 1,000 officers on the streets among three shifts have to handle 2,000 emergency calls for service a day. In Detroit the workload became so heavy that there is now a Departmental rule that a patrol car on an eight hour shift does not have to respond to more that eight 000 calls. When it gets to that they can sign out. But that is a terrible burden on officers. If you also consider the amount of paper work which is generated through any call, you realise American police officers are really too busy to think. It is very easy to take cheap shots at the police of the United States, but frankly when you look at what they are faced with in terms of crime rates and emergency calls for service, you understand why they simply cannot undertake new initiatives without thinking many, many times about whether they can afford it.

So what these police chiefs in Detroit and New York and Houston have decided to do, and this is where the courage needs to be shown, is to take some proportion of the force and say you people are not going to respond to emergency calls for service. We are going to put you in the community free from that tinny sound in your ear, so that you can invent the form of policing which your community needs. I think it is a principle that if all most patrol officers are doing is taking their direction out of the wireless, you are not going to have in-depth community involvement at all. Somehow, if the workload is heavy, you have got to unplug some proportion of your force.

Now the question then comes - what are you going to do with the calls that you are no longer servicing? There are various devices for this, like telephone crime reporting and prioritisation of calls. One of the things that you have to very quickly move away from is the decision to send one car for each emergency call. This is a tradition in many departments, certainly in the United States. It is now collapsing right and left.

One of the things that all of these cities seem to be showing is that through deploying people unplugged into neighbourhoods the emergency system gets freed up in fairly short order from a lot of trivial complaints. The problem for many citizens is that if they want police service, they do not know what else to do but call 000. That is a terribly expensive way to go about it. If you put officers out there in recognisable places where the public knows they can be found when needed, then the burden of trivial calls on the emergency system ought to decline. I would consider that, indeed, one of the success criteria for this mode of community policing. We are finding that seems to be what happens in the United States. People who have got minor problems that they would normally bother the police with, are deciding to stop by the police post on the way home rather than trying to commandeer police attention by pretending that they have got an emergency when in fact they have not.

Third, active solicitation of public interaction. What this means is that out of whatever deployment mode you choose, the police actually go into the community before people call 000 and actually ask them for work. This sounds silly, especially in the United States where I have been complaining that we have already got more work than we can handle. Why police do this is to find out from people in a disaggregate way, rather than from the media or the politicians, what the people in the community want from police. This is done in various ways. The dramatic way is to go door to door. 'Here I am, I am officer so and so, I am based usually in a community police post, I want you to know that it is there, we are trying to organise this area in a neighbourhood watch, can we be any use to you, if so please tell us how, we are going to have a community meeting next week', etc. Like a door to door salesman, actually asking the people what they want, trying to get feedback from the public about what they want.

The Japanese police go to every residence twice a year. Out of the neighbourhood police posts, Singapore police are doing exactly the same thing - going door to door and asking the people what kind of security needs they have and also volunteering police service, coming inside and giving them advice on whether their premises are safe whether they have got dead bolt locks, whether they have proper catches on the windows and all those kinds of things.

Detroit, Newark, and Houston police are also making door to door visits. Now you talk about labour intensive! This is quite incredible when you think about it. At the same time, they are doing double duty, since this is a visible presence of policemen in the neighbourhood. By and large, this approach offers the police to the citizens on their terms, rather than waiting until things get so desperate that they have to call 000.

Out of the neighbourhood police stations in all these countries the police officers do foot patrol, sometimes cycle patrols, and sometimes scooter patrols, depending on the nature of the area. What they hope will come out of these neighbourhood visits or these house-to-house visits over the long haul, is the collection of intelligence having to do with crime in the neighbourhood. I can report, certainly from Detroit and Japan, that there are some wonderful cases of the public helping the police after they have gotten to know the police in this very intimate way. By the way, all these cities require their officers be assigned to specific posts for at least two years and usually three rather than being shifted around very quickly. What you find is that the people begin to feed intelligence into the neighbourhood police force post, which is then used by criminal investigators, vice squad, and people like that. A wonderful story from Detroit, for example, involved people in a neighbourhood who recognised a house in the middle of a block which seemed to be dealing drugs. The neighbourhood became very concerned, so the local police officer in the police post organised a neighbourhood watch group on that block. They held

their first organisational meeting in the summer time. It was held in the yard of the house directly across the street from the drug house. As you can imagine, people gestured angrily at the house. Within one week that house was up for sale and the people had moved. There was another house where something similar occurred but it was more quiet and the people in the neighbourhood simply said to the police officer that we think they are dealing drugs and the place was staked out. It turned out they were. A raid was organised and some very good arrests were made.

The Detroit police say they are now getting a lot of this kind of information. It is about abandoned buildings where there may be derelicts living in, or drug abusers who use them as bases for purse snatching and robbery on the street, and so forth.

Another advantage of this sort of co-operation is that when you make arrests on the basis of intelligence provided by the citizens you have got your witnesses. That solves the problem right from the beginning of getting the kind of corroborative evidence that is the basis of a good bust.

One of the things that immediately happens that police forces have to be prepared for is that the public will tell them all sorts of things that they want from the police that has nothing to do with what the police can deliver. All the police forces I have mentioned have prepared to become experts in referral. I do not expect that police can ever handle all the problems many people are concerned with - pot holes in the road, bad garbage collection, inadequate street lighting, the fact that the welfare cheques do not come on time, zoning, ordinance violations and so forth. What the police do is to say to these people, we cannot solve this for you, but here is the way you should go about attaining the kind of assistance you need.

In a short run the number of requests for police service will escalate dramatically. What happens in the longer run, however, is that the police get into the community. At last the public can see that there are some people, authoritative people, who are on our side, who know the community, who know the levers of power, who know the public and private institutions that can help citizens in various ways.

There are some wonderful cases that demonstrate the inventiveness of police officers in putting this new face on policing. In some of the 52 mini stations in Detroit they have recruited retired people, both men and women, to help people fill out government forms. Now think about that a little while. A lot of people have trouble dealing with government simply because they cannot do the bloody paper work - I happen to be one of those, and I suspect some of the rest of you are - and yet there are retired accountants, school teachers, and business executives with nothing to do, and what the neighbourhood police posts have done is organise these people into relays to be

available for the person who has got to apply for some medical benefit, for example, which they missed because they did not know how to use the form.

In the Japanese Koban again you find some wonderful things. If you lose your money or you have drunk too much and have spent your money late at night and cannot get home on public transportation, you can go to the Koban and they will lend you car or taxi or subway fare to get back. I had to ask the American question of them, of course: How much of this is repaid? They told me in Tokyo that 94 per cent of this small change is returned to the Koban. This program does not take a lot of money, but think of the goodwill that the police get as a result of being able to do this. Now a lot of you out there are thinking that it would not work in Australia. I do not know if it would work in the United States, but sometimes I think we undersell the public. Most of the public will not rip off other people and they would be so grateful, I suspect, that you would find them showing up with the money in the future. There are some people that might abuse the system. You would have to be a little careful. But I think we know who those people are.

There are some other things that the Japanese Koban does when they are established around train stations and in some heavy shopping centres. If you get to a city late at night and you do now know what hotel to go to, you can go to the Koban and they will tell you what are acceptable hotels and they will even telephone and book a room so you do not have to wander around the streets with your baggage in your hand trying to figure out where to go. Once again, this is a small thing, but it takes no time virtually of the officers. It is one way of saying to the public, we are here on your terms rather than you interacting with us on our terms.

One last example - I could tell a hundred - has to do with some of the Japanese Koban in residential areas which have lots of small children, especially where there are playgrounds. When the sun begins to go down a chime is played over the loud speaker and the Koban officer announces that the sun is going down, you should think of leaving the playground, your mothers are probably looking for you to give you supper. It sounds kind of quaint, perhaps, but all I can say is that the Japanese mothers think it is marvellous to have the police exercising some kind of gentle supervision that insures the safety of their children in public places.

Let me move on to point four about community policing. This is grass roots feedback. It is really the other side of the other three. If the police are going to do community policing they have got to open themselves up for commentary on their performance from the community. If you think that you can contact the community and keep the terms of trade only police terms of trade, you are sadly mistaken. In all of these cases

what the police have done is to establish new forms for soliciting the opinions of the community about what they are doing. It takes a lot of time, especially the time of supervisors, to go from meeting to meeting. In Singapore I figured out that the Inspector of the neighbourhood police post had nine groups that he meets with at least once a month and often more. I am not talking about neighbourhood watch groups. I am talking about larger groups of residents in the local area. In the city of Detroit the Chief of Police meets with the city-wide steering committee once every two months. The Divisional Chief meets with a divisional steering committee of the neighbourhood watch groups once a month. All the local beat officers must meet when neighbourhood watch people want to meet. In all these places the police are saying to the public, we will meet with you, you tell us what the agenda is. It is not a case of simply organising meetings to change image; it is organising meetings at which the police sit there and are willing to hear what the community has got to say. This is the legitimisation function of community policing and many police forces are simply not willing to do it. Police love to give speeches and they will tell the public what the topic is, but they will not sit still when the agenda is in the hands of the other side.

These, then, are four aspects of what I think are significant experiments in community policing. The next thing I want to look at - and I am going to do the rest of this very quickly - is why are people reaching out, why are tough minded police officers in some difficult cities reaching out for community policing. Has somebody just done a number on them? Such as liberals from the university like me? Or are there some serious reasons for thinking that this is important to do? I think the answer is that there are serious reasons. The fundamental point is that the public are co-producers of public safety. It is a myth that the thin blue line can provide public safety to the community on its own. It can not. And frankly police officers know this, at least in their guts. What we are really faced with is getting this recognition out of the stomach and translating it into new procedures in departments.

Let me summarise very quickly what are the things that research has shown us. I am going to state four points quickly and we can argue about these during question time. These have been demonstrated in a lot of research over the past 15 years.

First: Simply adding money or personnel to police departments has no effect either on crime rates or clear-up rates. This has been shown again and again. This is the argument that police chiefs have made to the public in every country in order to enhance their budgets. It is a crock. That is not the way to enhance public safety.

Second: Random motorised patrol is of doubtful efficacy. It does not affect crime rates; it does not affect arrest or clear-up rates either.

Third: Speed of response has been oversold. In fact, raising the speed of emergency response has no affect on apprehensions, prosecutions, or even citizen satisfaction.

Some of you may want me to go into this and I will be happy to do so. Let me just say the reason that speeding up the response time of police officers does not work is because the public has already sat around for a long time before they have called the police. Figures show that in confrontational crimes where victim and perpetrator meet face to face, it takes the victims five minutes to get themselves together after being victimised before they call the police. So although response time is reduced from five to four minutes, you are really talking about the police arriving nine minutes rather than 10 minutes after the commission of the offence. That simply is not time enough. So unless you have instantaneous police response, all this business of trying to lower response times is not particularly useful. It is not the intelligent utilisation of resources.

Fourth: Crimes are solved by information provided by the public. Unless suspects are identified specifically by the public, the chances of the police solving those crimes falls to less than 10 per cent. If the police have only physical clues and do not have information from the public that specifically identifies the suspect by name or licence plate, address, something like that, the chances of that crime being solved falls to less than 10 per cent.

Police on their own are helpless. So in order to carry out the traditional core police function of catching bad actors and successfully prosecuting them, input from the public is essential.

These four points, then, support what I am saying about the public being co-producers of public safety and that the police on their own are relatively helpless.

To wind up. Can what I have described as four features of community policing be undertaken any place? Does it require a particularly compliant or culturally shaped population in order to make it work? I used to think, meaning two years ago indeed, that probably there was something unique about Japanese that made them able to accept house visits and all the rest of it. I have been turned around about in the last year because I discovered Detroit. I have also been watching fairly closely what is going on in Houston and Newark.

First of all, police officers can always deploy their manpower in any way they want - it is invisible to the public, they will not know.

Second, we all know that by and large the public wants more police officers close to them. It is very rarely for the police to say they are going to have a post someplace and people say, 'Oh, for Christ sake, No!'. They all say they want it close by. One of the problems of Commissioners of Police is really to fend off that kind of pressure for more police presence and not less. So we know that simply getting close to the public will not be resisted. When, however, the police begin to interact in this intensive non-emergency way, that is when you might expect some resistance. And, oddly enough, in the United States we did not find any resistance whatsoever, because the police did it very carefully and only after a lot of training. They took a non-authoritarian approach to community contact.

Even in high crime areas, most of the public wants the police. Most of the people in high crime areas are not criminals; they are victims or potential victims; they are young people, women, and old people. These are the people, especially the latter two, that are at risk. They do not want fewer police officers. They want more police officers, but on their own terms. There is, I suspect, around the world a kind of thwarted demand for policing and the problem is that the police are not responding to that demand because they are locked up in these steel shells of patrol cars and only come after the crime has been committed. They are not available before the crime has been committed and in ways which seem to promise to the community that crime can be prevented. When the police put themselves in that posture the public is delighted. The scales fall from their eyes and they say this is what we wanted all along.

So resistance does not depend, I am quite convinced, on being Japanese or Chinese or whatever it may be. I think even in difficult places like New York, Houston and Detroit, there is a thwarted demand for conscientious community-involved policing.

What makes community policing succeed? I am simply going to tick off what I have seen in all of those forces which I think are doing significant things. First of all, note what I am saying, the key to successful community policing is with the police. It does not lie with the public. It is, excuse the pun, a cop out for the cops to say that the public has to shape up first. In my judgement the police have to shape up first and if they will do these things in the appropriate way, I think the public will then respond as I have described and indeed as I have seen. The burden is on the police officers. That also means that the opportunity rests with police forces if they will only have the courage and the commitment. Now, you do not just do this by wishing. These are the elements that I find in all of these forces which have managed to do community policing. One, there has to be an abiding commitment from the top to change standard operating procedures. If the person at the top is not convinced that community policing is more than public relations, you will never get anything more than public relations.

Second, all rank levels have to be gradually persuaded. You cannot just send down a force order and say tomorrow at 12 noon we are going to have community policing. It is not that easy. You are going to have to pull these people into small groups, send them back to the training academy, take time to convince them from the top that this is in the interests of them as well as the public. That is going to take start-up time and it can be costly.

Third, you are going to have to protect your innovations from the ordinary demands of policing. What always happens with experiments in community policing is that they hold up for six weeks and then suddenly sombody over in the CIB says they have an emergency. We want to take three of your chaps, do you mind, for 10 days. The chaps never come back - we all know this. There is a guerrilla warfare that goes on in any bureaucratic organisation, especially in policing. If you once get somebody's personnel you will not give them up. So you have got to protect the experiment. This is a matter of commitment from the top. It is also a matter of how you command community policing. I also say you have to protect it from the ordinary ongoing demands from your 000 system. Often the politicians are the enemies here because the politicians hear from the public that they are not being serviced in the emergency mode. They go to the police chief and say 'You have got to respond to an emergency call for service', and then he begins to raid the community police personnel and it all collapses. I have seen this happen again and again, especially in North America.

Fourth, police officers have to have adequate information about whether performance follows programs. This sounds elementary but I have seen it happen too often that you talk to the Commissioner and he says he has a marvellous program in community policing. Then you get out on the street and you find business is being done absolutely as usual. We have programs in the United States, for example, of trying to have our patrol officers park and then walk for four hours out of every eight hours. Park-and-walk is the Aberdeen system which some of you would be familiar with. We discover time and time again that if those officers walk 10 minutes in an eight hour shift, it was a miracle and usually that 10 minutes was from the parking lot to the place where you get hamburgers. The people in command did not know. They did not have a clue. The officers would say, yes, yes sir, we are walking, we are walking and we love it down here. It was nonsense. So what you have got to get is feedback from the bottom, and this often means creating supervisory devices that you have not yet got.

Last, you have to have community support. In addition to the resources, and it can involve resources, I think you have to have a kind of stand-still agreement from the political types. The police must say they do something but the politicians must stay off our backs for a couple of years until we have given this a good run. The problem is that often the public and the

> politicians ask for results in too short a period of time. They have got to give the police time enough to do these things. If that is not given, the police will be driven, often against their better judgement, into doing things too quickly and sometimes bending the experiment to manufacture the figures that everybody wants. So the public has got to give the police elbow room in order to do things which are as different as what I have been talking about.
>
> I do believe that community policing, as I have described it, is needed in all advanced urban communities, not simply in peculiar places like Japan. I have given you some reasons for thinking this. The initiative, I believe, is in the hands of police officers. The future of public safety will involve their active engagement of a very concerned public.

Professor Bayley put his finger on a central problem for police administration. How do you turn the 'tap' off. Public demand continues. The telephone has made it easier for citizens to contact the police and the radio and patrol cars have made it easier (quicker?) to respond. So demand and supply have tended to reinforce each other in a spiral of growth. In responding to the here and now, the police have left themselves few resources to design and implement new initiatives aimed at crime prevention and the preservation of public tranquility. There would need to be a change advocated by the London Metropolitan Commissioner, Sir Kenneth Newman, from 'demand-led' to 'policy-led' policing. In response to a suggestion from the floor that he, Professor Bayley was oversimplifying and generalising, the Professor was quick to point out that he was not making a generalisation about policing in the United States. He noted that most police forces were not doing very much with Community Policing but the burden was clearly on police officers to show that what they are doing is working. Community Policing may not be the answer, but it is working where it has been tried. More experimentation was required to determine whether public safety was enhanced, whether fear of crime went down, whether crime clearances rise and whether public satisfaction with the police and respect for and trust in the police improves.

From the floor it was pointed out as a reminder that for Singapore to implement the Koban system they had to increase civil police strength by 70 per cent. Professor Bayley remarked that such a situation in U.S.A. would not be acceptable. In Detroit the 'police shops' were one man affairs, in Singapore the tactic was to establish Neighbourhood Police Stations. Plans have to be tailored to fit budgetary costs; that is a local judgement that the public have to make, whether it involves police or volunteer support from the public. How the public is involved will vary from place to place. Singapore, Tokyo and Houston are so different that it would hardly be possible to compare them in terms of the effectiveness of any particular approach and approaches adopted in Australia will have to be different too. Mr Pat Murphy, former Commissioner of Police in New York was quoted to make the point:

Senior police administrators can be sure of one thing.
Anything they do won't make the situation worse.

There was general agreement that what was needed were very strong evaluations and hard facts and figures. Without these, proper judgements cannot be made.

The afternoon session commenced with the introduction of Superintendent Jim Morgan. Superintendent Morgan was awarded the M.B.E. for his services to the community when he headed a multidisciplinary squad responsible for identifying victims from the Mt Erebus disaster. With 25 years experience with the New Zealand Police he has a Master's degree with Honours in Sociology and he is also a Barrister of the High Court of New Zealand. At present he holds the position of Director : Public Affairs, Wellington National Police Headquarters.

Superintendent J Morgan, M.B.E., M.A. (Hons), LL.B
Director : Public Affairs
New Zealand Police
National Headquarters, Wellington

COMMUNITY POLICING IN NEW ZEALAND

Community Policing has undergone something of a renaissance and has been given prominence in New Zealand at a public level and more recently and more importantly, at a political level. It is almost as though the politicians had made a greater discovery than Archimedes when he jumped out of the bath crying 'Eureka'. Yet any long serving police officer will ask you, 'so what's new?' and 'Isn't that what policing is all about?' What has happened is a movement to embrace a concept of policing without giving that concept a proper definition and without fully understanding the political and philosophical underpinning of community policing as a concept. We all 'know' what community policing is all about, but do we really 'understand' what it means?

Any discussion on police systems in Western Liberal Democracies must, of necessity, start with at least a tentative acceptance of the concept of democracy - that is a system of government which recognises the right of all members of society to influence political decisions either directly or indirectly. These representative democracies began to evolve during the 18th and 19th Centuries in Britain, Europe and the United States and while most civilisations have had some kind of law enforcement agencies, most modern police systems developed from the early 1900's. Representative democracy is based upon a central political tenet that the body politic shall govern only with the consent of the governed. It follows then, that the police, as part of the executive arm of government, must police by consent. The exercise of police power by the State to regulate personal and property rights in the public interest is based upon the premise that the public be consulted on what is or what is not in the public interest.

The growth of police systems in Western Liberal Democracies has been dramatic, particularly over the past 20 or 25 years. The consequences of that growth have been the tendency of the police organisations to become more bureaucratic in form, increasingly centralised in control over resources, and a greater reliance placed on the use of technology and computerisation as a means of combating rising crime rates. The unintended consequences of this human action (which should be of great interest to the sociologist - an action which proceeds according to intention is, or should be, of less interest) was the tendency towards bureaucratic control and reliance on technology have led to a gap in police community relations which was dealt with by a

technical approach, eg, the creation of specialists to deal with community related problems. The consequences were the adaptation of two apparent contradictory styles of policing which emerged in the 1970's. One may be charaterised as 'fire-brigade' policing - heavy, reactive, designed to stamp out trouble in the streets, the other, only recently emerging has been termed "community policing" - more accurately described as getting alongside the community in order to police it. The earlier use of specialists to combat community/police related problems exacerbated the problem with general duty police leaving community relations to the specialists and the community viewing police/public relations exercises with some suspicion.

The trend of the police service in Britain following publication of a Home Office Report in 1967 was the development of a new system which enshrined principles of professional policing. This was the introduction of Unit Beat Policing, part of which was the 'Home Beat' policed by a Constable on foot whose special responsibility was liaison with local schools, social service agencies and other organised groups within his area of responsibility. In building up links within 'the community' the Home Beat Officer had a specialism in what has been termed "community relations".

This trend was followed in New Zealand with the introduction of the 'Community Constable'. The first Community Liaison Officer or Constable in New Zealand was appointed to Balmoral, Auckland on 4 April 1973. Community Liaison Officers answered a community need by establishing direct communication with their particular communities. The title "Community Liaison Officer" was subsequently changed to "Community Constable" to reflect the Constable's involvement with the community. A combination of factors delayed a widespread introduction of this concept, the main impediment being the widespread population which is characteristic of New Zealand and continued reliance on 'fire-brigade' policing. There has been increasing commitment to the concept of the 'Community Constable'; by Police management. Thirty seven Community Constable positions have been established. In addition, staff establishments in certain police districts have been increased to enable deployment of personnel on mobile beat duties to service those smaller communities where the appointment of a Community Constable is not justified. Eight further Community Constable appointments have priority status. This officer is now seen as an integral element in the collection of information on known and suspected criminals as well as a person who builds up a wide range of interest. The Community Constable is becoming the pivot of community based self help programmes designed to recognise and anticipate crime risks and initiate action to reduce that risk. An example of such a programme is the Neighbourhood Support Group.

Neighbourhood Support Groups

Neighbourhood Support Groups are a community response to community needs. Groups were formed by concerned women in mid-1983 in the Saint Mary's Bay, Auckland area after a brutal attack on a woman in her own home. Since then, other groups have started at Parnell, Freemans Bay, Ponsonby, Mount Eden, Glen Innes and South Auckland.

These Groups are an extension of the Neighbourhood Watch programme which is primarily diercted at property protection. Neighbourhood Support is against violence, whether street violence or self defence classes - residents have been encouraged to ring the police to report all incidents even though they consider the matter may be minor - neighbours have been encouraged to get to know each other and to set up telephone networks.

Neighbourhood Support Groups perform a valuable service in providing group members with information on Support Services such as Marriage Guidance, Rape Crisis, Women's Refuges, etc. In this respect they reduce the Police workload.

What input then is required from the Police? A typical group consists of the following:

(a) Area Co-ordinator.

(b) Street Co-ordinator.

(c) All members of the neighbourhood, referred to as "Supporters".

Area Co-ordinators and Street Co-ordinators ideally have a direct liaison with Police and "Supporters" report occurrences to Area/Street Co-ordinators of the Police. It is vital that the Police contact for everyday matters is readily available to channel information into the area and receive information. No matter how well intentioned the Police staff, shift rosters play havoc with continuity of communication. This is clearly a role most suitable to the Community Constable.

In some cases Neighbourhood Support Group liaison occupies the greatest part of the Community Constable's working time. The benefit in one case is the continuous contact with 10 Area Co-ordinators and 160 Street Co-ordinators in the Mount Eden Borough with great advantages for Police and the public.

Local politicians in Mount Eden are enthusiastic supporters of Neighbourhood Support Groups. Over a three month period, burglary and unlawful taking have decreased in the Mount Eden Borough. Street meetings are regular events, the community is

bonding more closely and Detectives are enthusiastic supporters of the scheme. In Auckland, in over a period of two weeks, two CIB cars were questioned by residents and their bona fides established by Neighbourhood Support Group members. A newsletter is prepared by the Community Constable with CIB assistance to inform local groups of matters of Police interest. The newsletter is printed by the Mount Eden Borough Council as a community service.

Through the large number of street meetings promoted and supported by Neighbourhood Support Groups:

(a) The community sees Neighbourhood Support Groups as beneficial as people are drawn closer together.

(b) The community sees police in more positive terms than remote from the public, with personal contact being replaced by mobile patrols whose occasional contacts with the public are rushed. The community bewailed the demise of the foot patrol, and applaud the closer involvement of the Community Constable.

The Neighbourhood Support Group concept is excisting, it was initiated by the community for the community. It deserves and is receiving police support. At present it is confined to the Auckland Police District. It will survive if:

(a) It continues to be sponsored by interested organisations.

(b) It continues to receive support from Local Bodies.

(c) Group members retain their initial interest.

(d) Enough police personnel establish links with groups to receive and dispense information.

(e) Police liaison personnel do not become overburdened.

(f) Groups do not adopt vigilante tactics.

Neighbourhood Watch Programme

This is another example of police initiative which could pay dividends if properly co-ordinated by the local Community Constable. This is an ad hoc programme promoted by the New Zealand Police and supported by private sponsors. It was first introduced in New Zealand in 1980 and has been the subject of community services advertising in the news media, radio and television. Apart from providing the outlet for Neighbourhood Watch Kits from local police stations, there was very little follow up on the programme effectiveness. In a survey of 1089

randomly selected respondents in South Auckland in part designed to establish public knowledge of the scheme, membership and perceptions of effectiveness, there was found a high level of awareness of the general aims of the scheme. Of those responding to the question, 85% were aware of the scheme, 11% were members of the scheme. Of those who were members of the scheme, a large percentage, 71%, were not sure of its effectiveness and 8% indicated that the scheme was not working.

Of those who were not members and gave reasons why they were not, the following tables gives an insight on the reasons why there is such a high awareness and yet low membership. To the question:

Why are you not a member of the Neighbourhood Watch Scheme?

The following were the responses:	%
Area Quiet, Scheme Not Needed	5
Families/Neighbours Already Watch Out	26
Scheme Not Well Publicised	5
Not Aware of Scheme Operating in Local Area	9
Interested - Will Seek Further Information	12
Can See Reasons Why Schemes Would Not Work In Own Area	15
Participated in Scheme - Unfavourable	4
Other	24
	100%

If anything came out of this section of the survey, the public have less confidence of the effectiveness of the scheme than the police. In a survey conducted with Police members during the same period, the following responses were of interest:

	%
Not Effective	10
Slightly Effective	36
Moderately Effective	45
Very Effective	9
	100%

In order to test police presumptions on the effectiveness of the scheme, the Otago University Psychology Department assisted the Dunedin Police in the conduct of a programme designed to measure the effectiveness of saturation of Neighbourhood Watch Kits in a selected area for a period and compare that area with a control area in the same town. The following is an executive summary of this experiment.

AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS AND COST-BENEFIT OF THE INTENSIVE DOOR TO DOOR PROMOTION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH SCHEME

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This project was designed to evaluate the effectiveness of the door to door promotion of the Neighbourhood Watch Scheme, as carried out by the Dunedin police over the past three years. The police promoted the scheme in this way in eight residential areas within Dunedin, six of which have been examined in this study. The first of the two areas omitted was St Kilda, which was the earliest to be treated (March 1981) and for which no reasonable amount of baseline data could be obtained from available police records. The second area to be omitted was Pine Hill, which being the last area treated (May 1983) did not allow enough time for collection of data before the completion of this analysis.

The six areas examined in this study are Brockville, Lower Wakari, North East Valley, St Clair, Maori Hill and Caversham. The data from these areas has been analysed to test the effect of the door to door promotion on the following variables: burglaries, thefts, prowlers, wilful damage, car theft and interference, and reports of suspicious behaviour. The collection of data was from the daily police phone messages for all variables except burglaries which were obtained from the police "break book".

The results of this analysis show that the act of door to door promotion of the Neighbourhood Watch Scheme caused a differential increase in the likelihood of reporting of suspicious behaviour between treated and untreated areas, but implied that this increase may taper off after four months. At the time of intervention (the door to door promotion) significant changes in the pattern of burglary and theft frequencies were found, which indicate that they were increasing prior to the promotion and decreasing afterwards. However, this effect occurred in bot hthe targeted and the surrounding control areas, implying that some other factor is operating in conjunction with the promotion. It is our hypothesis that this factor is the media coverage which occurred immediately prior to each promotion, except for one area, Caversham, which received no such coverage. The fact that Caversham and its control area did not show the decreases in burglaries and thefts that the other areas did, yet was consistent with them in that it showed the differential increase in reports of suspicious behaviour, supports this hypothesis. The incidence of prowlers, wilful damage, and car theft or interference did not appear to be affected by the door to door promotion, or the associated publicity. This may be due to the unplanned, spontaneous nature of these crimes, perhaps contributed to by such factors as alcohol consumption. These results should be interpreted with a degree of caution, however, as the inter-recorder reliability obtained was less than satisfactory.

A cost benefit analysis of the door to door promotion shows how the monetary benefits to the public through the prevention of burglaries and thefts outweigh the cost to the police of preventing them. If the full cost of the promotion is attached independently to each of the affected variables (this means that all the costs of the scheme are charged against, eg, burglaries) then the following conclusions can be drawn.

(1) The cost to the police of preventing each burglary through the scheme is calculated at $30.40, compared with the average saving for the public of $405.32 for each prevention.

(2) The cost to the police of preventing each theft through the scheme is calculated at $35.92, compared with the average saving for the public of $177.68 for each prevention.

(3) The cost to the police of obtaining each additional report of suspicious behaviour through the scheme is calculated at $13.17, and although monetary benefits cannot be placed on this for the public, benefits are likely to be significant in terms of increased public awareness, improved police-public relations, and the higher probability of clearing crimes.

If the cost of the door to door promotion is applied jointly to thefts and burglaries then the cost to the police of preventing one of either type of offence is only $16.47, for an average saving of $291.50 to the public. If the cost of the promotion is applied to all three variables jointly (burglaries, thefts, and calls reporting suspicious behaviour), then the cost to the police of achieving a unit change is reduced to only $7.03. Thus, it is clear that the door to door promotion of the Neighbourhood Watch Scheme coupled with attendant publicity is worthwhile. In the case of five of the six areas involved in this study (Caversham excluded), the public was saved a total of $6,600.72 for an expenditure of $421.54.

Recommendations for future analysis of this scheme are that they include a number of areas to be treated without prior media coverage, plus a number of areas receiving media coverage, but only nominal door to door visiting. This would provide a test of the hypothesis that it is media coverage which causes the burglary and theft decreases (either alone or in conjunction with the promotion), while it is the door to door visits that produce the increased willingness to report suspicious activity. Also, if it were possible to look at clearance rates, this would enable us to evaluate an important aspect of the Neighbourhood Watch Scheme; whether or not the promotion was leading to the capture of criminals as the increased tendency to report suspicious behaviour would suggest.

Difficulties in recording incidents were found by the recorders, mainly due to the lack of clarity and inconsistencies on the police phone messages. Suggestions for the improvement of these include consistently circling the appropriate description on the top of the page, always specifying the nature of the all if it is classified under "other", obtaining more accurate information as to the caller's address and where attention is required, and if possible more legible handwriting would be helpful. For research and ongoing evaluation purposes, it would be a great help if a case number were assigned to each call as it came in and this case number were cited in any subsequent follow up or apprehension.

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While there have been some criticisms of the methodology, assumptions and conclusions of this study, it clearly suggests that closer involvement of the police in programmes such as Neighbourhood Watch is desirable. The New Zealand Police Public Affairs Directorate is at present working on policy directives which will require Community Constables to:

(a) Establish Neighbourhood Networks.

(b) Actively promote and set up Neighbourhood Watch Schemes.

(c) Ensure the initiative is maintained by regular but not too frequent meeting with Watch Groups.

It is hoped that direct police involvement will ensure a proper setting up of the Group and a continued interest is maintained. One of the problems of leaving such schemes to the well meaning non profit amateurs is the inevitability of failing interest and collapse of the scheme if there is no professional feedback and support.

Community Crime Prevention

Sometimes the community does not correspond to geographical area on political jurisdiction. It may be a community of interest. For instance, in the case of drug diversion for illegal use, the "community" can be an association of Pharmacists. As an example of this community involvement in crime prevention, the Canterbury/Westland Branch of the Chemists' Guild conducted a programme in association with the police, the preliminary results of which suggest a high level of success. The scheme will be adopted on a nationwide basis if the success indicated at the local level continues.

Due to the excessive amount of burglaries committed on chemist shops in the past few years, together with the odd robbery, all of which were drug orientated, members of the local Chemists' Guild decided to formulate a plan of action in association with Police at the annual general meeting of the Guild in April 1983.

Approaches were made to the local Medical Officer of Health, Medical Practitioners and Police Drug Squad members and Crime Prevention Officers seeking police support.

The objectives of the proposed scheme were to encourage the non holding of narcotic drugs on chemists' business premises at all times. To this end the sub committee encouraged all local members to support this scheme, as it was felt that anything less than full support or close to it would prevent the scheme from being a viable proposition. At the present time there are 170 members of the Guild within the branch, of which 98 percent are participating in the scheme.

In essence, the success of this scheme depends in the main on the co-operation of local GPs as they issue the prescriptions for the narcotics as required for the needs of their patients. It is imperative that the amounts ordered are not excessive. It is proposed that all prescriptions be for the original pack (packets of 10 or multiples - ampules in packets of five). In the case of a morphine mix, mainly for cancer patients, the whole pack being equal to one whole gram. This enables the prescription to be dispensed in full with nothing held by the chemist.

To assist in this matter the Guild have supplied all GPs with relevant information outlining in full the manner in which the prescription should be completed in order to comply with the scheme. An approach is also being made to the Health Department with a view of changing Regulations in order to instruct doctors to order narcotics in original packs. This approach being made by the local Canterbury/Westland Branch of the Pharmacy Society.

There appears to be some confusion as to the role of the Security Company Armourguard in the holding of emergency supplies of narcotics for Guild members. The drugs they hold are for individual Guild members who wish to avail themselves of this service. The drugs are selected by the Chemists and are placed in a metal security container, which is then held by Armourguard. On request of the Chemist, the container is delivered to him, and after selecting the appropriate narcotic the container is returned once more to Armourguard for safe keeping. During normal hours, narcotics are readily available on demand from normal pharmaceutical outlets. It is envisaged that the emergency supply will be utilised in a roster situation, such as a late night - Saturday morning, or in the instance of cancer sufferers prescribed for outside normal pharmacy hours. It is best described as a facility to be called upon only if and when required.

The sub committee has produced a sticker designed to inform all interested persons that narcotics were not kept on those particular premises. This will be displayed in a prominent place such as the front door or window.

One of the problems which surfaced once the scheme was launched was the concern expressed by other drug outlets such as hospital pharmacies, both public and private, together with pharmaceutical suppliers who feel that they are a greater risk in view of this scheme. It was unfortunate that on the day of the media releases informing people of the implementation of the scheme, there was an item on television featuring the armed offenders squad having an exercise involving an armed hold up of a local hospital pharmacy. That meant requests for security surveys throughout the region on all hospital pharmacies in respect to security of drugs and staff.

The Chemists' Guild scheme was implemented on 1 April 1984 and it is intended that it run for a minimum of 12 months, although local feeling is that it will run indefinitely if found to be successful.

NZ Police School Liaison Programme

The definition of 'community' as a collectivity of people with common interests and concerns, whether or not they share a common geographical area, is a useful one when we examine the New Zealand Police School Liaison Scheme. General Instructions issues by the Commissioner of Police in 1978 required, as part of the duties of the Uniform Branch Enquiry constable, that the Constable maintain effective liaison with local schools. This was formalised into a positive policing programme in South Auckland with a properly co-ordinated and monitored programme involving clear lines of responsibility for implementing the programme. Particular Constables working in the area were

responsible for nominated schools within their area and were required to make minimum regular contact with staff and pupils at the schools. This programme has been highly successful in building up a rapport between school staff and the local police and has gradually introduced the local Police Constable to children in a non confrontation situation. The entry of a uniformed Police Constable onto school grounds in most South Auckland areas generally goes without comment. Previously police presence on school grounds did have a certain traumatic effect on children. "Who is in trouble?" was the general reaction. This liaison scheme has been taken up by most police districts in New Zealand, some referring to the scheme as "Adopt A School Programme". While we cannot categorically say that the programme is an efficient utilisation of police resources, in terms of lower crime rate and/or higher clearance we believe the scheme is an effective exercise in Community Policing.

NZ Police Youth Aid Section

The New Zealand Police, as is the case with most Police Departments in Western countries, recognises "children and young people" as a special community having special concerns and problems and requiring special attention from the police. Other Departments have their Juvenile Divisions or Bureaux dealing specially with children. The New Zealand Police approach is the development of the Youth Aid Section with its emphasis on prevention rather than detection. Society and modern police administrators recognise that the possible adverse and counterproductive effects that the criminal justice system can have on the child or young person who become involved either directly through personal initiative or indirectly through the parents or others.

The forerunner of the modern Youth Aid Section, that is the Juvenile Crime Prevention Section, was established in 1957. At the same time a limited school talks programme was introduced into schools in the major cities of New Zealand. As a result of a review of the Juvenile Crime Prevention Section and the school talks programme, the concept of the Youth Aid Section was introduced and approved, and a full-time National Co-ordinator was appointed at Police National Headquarters. In 1976, Police General Instructions were issued for the guidance of the Youth Aid Section. The school talks scheme was changed and became the Law Related Education Programme. The school talks programme had been principally a liaison role. With the introduction of the LREP there is an increased emphasis on education and the role of the Police in society. The Youth Aid Section is an integral part of the New Zealand Police strategy. The role of the Police Youth Aid Sections is to co-ordinate Police activity in the prevention of crime among young people by:

(a) Identifying children or young persons at risk and initiating action to reduce that risk.

(b) Initiating action designed to motivate other agencies in the rehabilitation of young offenders.

(c) In conjunction with the Education Department, provide a programme which fits into the Social Studies curriculum which will lead to an understanding of the law and the role of Police in society.

The police are usually the first persons to discover situations and conditions involving young people who need assistance and/or attention and they are ideally placed to assist and, where appropriate, refer those young people to the correct agencies or persons who can provide support. Equally important, the police are in the strategic position to obtain the effective co-operation of all parties in the community to assist with "at risk" or potentially offending youth. The police most often exert the first and frequently the most influential restraint on juvenile conduct and it is the police who hold the key to successful initial procedural strategies.

The New Zealand Police Youth Aid Section has a total of 100 full-time and 40 part-time staff. It is an important part of the formal justice system and perhaps the most influential diversion mechanism that is available. It is important, however, to remember that the formation of a special section of the police to deal with juvenile matters should in no way reduce the responsibility of all members of the police to service that special community. Whatever the size of the Youth Aid Section it would always be small compared with other General Duties sections or Investigative sections. It is the sensitivity and behaviour of the General Duty or Investigative Officers which will ultimately decide the success or otherwise of Police juvenile relationships. It is this interaction which strongly influences the community's respect for the police.

The Law Related Education Programme

This is an educational programme designed to be of potential use to all schools and is relevant to all pupils. It is not intended as the vehicle for a Crime Prevention campaign amongst supposed "at risk" children, as that is not its prime objective. Some Crime Prevention spinoff, however, may be expected as children learn how to live and operate more effectively in their community.

The Law Related Education Programme is concerned with helping children acquire knowledge about the law and policing. Having gained this understanding, the children need to translate the knowledge into thinking about values and developing appropriate individual actions in society. The Police Programme joins with teachers to develop strategies in the classroom to help translate the knowledge into actions. This process is the same one by which the school curriculum justifies its long term worth to the individual pupil.

Contact with this knowledge, the associated values and appropriate social actions are needs of all school children. The Police may well have an immediate concern about the behaviour of specific groups, but in the long term they will rely on all citizens supporting their efforts if any worthwhile reduction of crime is to be achieved.

The ability of the Police to do their job effectively is closely related to the degree of support given by the community. Only if people understand and fully appreciate the role and functions of the police and the responsibilities of society for policing will that support be forthcoming. The fostering of such support must start with children from a representative range of community groups being given access to the Police Programme.

In consultation with the Development Division of the Department of Education, the Police Law Related Education Programme dovetails with the Social Studies curriculum and reflects its philosophy. By fitting int othe compulsory Social Studies curriculum and meeting the objectives of education, the schools do not have to make room for the police as "visitors". Rather, the police can have an integrated input into the school with consequent advantages for both themselves and the educators. Not only is the Programme suitable for fitting into Social Studies themes, but Law Related Education can contribute to such areas as health, language, drama and education outside the classroom.

Police visit schools for a number of reasons. For example, Youth Aid Officers may need to make enquiries while Community Constables routinely call in at schools for informal chats with pupils and staff alike. In other areas, Police general duties staff visit their "adopted" schools at varying frequencies. Police Education Officers, however, have the special role of involving themselves in the education curriculum. They are general duties Police staff trained to participate in the planning and conducting of classroom practices to a standard capable of meeting the objectives of the Department of Education.

In conclusion, it could be said that the general aim of the Police Law Related Education Programme is to help young people live safe, fulfilling and responsible lives in a changing society where law is accepted as an integral feature of life in their community.

Conclusion

Successful community policing involves an open and trusting relationship with the media coupled with the breaking down of barriers between the police and other agencies - such as social and probation services and education authorities. In the 1970's social pressures tended to seduce police thinking and public awareness towards a quasi-military reactive concept. Modern police officers were seeing themselves as mobile responders to incidents. The car, radio and computer have dominated the police scene. An area of preventive policing was phased out in favour of responsive or reactive police. One of the casualties could have been the confidence and trust the community places in the police as the police and public increasingly met only in conflict situations. To return to preventative policing is not sufficient, such a strategy places the system on the defensive. New concepts and strategies are being developed which will bring the police alongside the community seeking ways of building mutual trust, promoting social discipline, and activating state and community resources to enhance that elusive element of policing - the promotion and maintenance of peace and public tranquility.

Superintendent Morgan tabled the above paper and went on to discuss policing by consent and the problems associated with determining how that consent was to be interpreted. In raising this issue he went on to discuss a number of public surveys conducted in South Auckland, NZ.

Superintendent J Morgan
South Auckland Police Development Plan

Recently the police in South Auckland became concerned about the problems of policing a multi-racial and comparatively young community. The Police in South Auckland are responsible for a population of about 330,000, slightly bigger than Canberra. There is a police strength of about 330 police officers of all ranks. It comes under the direction of a Chief Superintendent. In some parts of South Auckland 50% of the population is under the age of 19. An actual average for New Zealand is 36%. In Otara and Mangere 48-50% are under the age of 19. In Otara and Mangere about 33% of the population is Pacific Island born or Pacific Island origins, about 35% of the population is of Maori extraction. That puts that population as the youngest in the country and the most culturally and ethnically diverse. To live in Otara as a person from European or caucasian background you are in a minority in that caucasian population makes up only about a third. It is a homogeneous community for all that and quite a pleasant place to work. However, the bulk of the police in South Auckland followed the trends of centralisation of

1970's and suburbs like Otara which has about 30-35,000 people and Mangere with a similar population have no Police. It is policed by what we call "I" cars. In order to determine the level of satisfaction with police coverage in this area we consulted the University of Auckland and solicited their co-operation.

The South Auckland Community Services Survey was conducted with the objectives of establishing the satisfaction of police services, the attitudes and police approaches and the respondents experience of crime. A telephone survey was also conducted for the same reasons determining how police handled complaints and the satisfaction of complaints. The South Auckland Community Services Survey was a self administered questionnaire delivered then picked up by the police officers a week later with no coaching on the part of the police officer. If there were any questions from the members of the public they were asked to contact the University direct. They were also asked to seal the envelopes and they could post them direct to the University if they didn't want the police looking through the questionnaires. It was vital that the trust of the public was enlisted in filling in these questionnaires. The remarkable thing was that something like 80% of those returned were returned unsealed, filled in but unsealed. We used Heylen Research to conduct the telephone survey and the University computer to analyse the data to reduce the possibility of bias.

The level of satisfaction and the apparent goodwill towards the police in South Auckland was quite high. When asked the question 'are you satisfied with the Police service?' something like 85% said yes, 88% in the telephone survey. There are many ways to interpret that. That could mean, and I believe it does, a readiness of the public to accept police provided. It means basically that the police start from the position of strength in its dealing with the public. The police are generally accepted and there is a general feeling of goodwill towards the police. However, when you start to probe, as we did, individual areas of police activity from the victim or complaints survey, which was done by telephone, we find that the level of satisfaction is quite different. 85% in the general questionnaire survey are satisfied and there's a general level of satisfaction of about 88% in the telephone survey but when you ask them how satisfied they were with police attention at the point of first contact, that is by telephone, or calls at the stations or whatever, the level of satisfaction drops to 59%. When you ask them how satisfied they were with the police attention when they attended, the level of satisfaction goes up to 64%, and thereafter during the investigation process, the level of satisfaction drops quite dramatically. During the investigation and at the end of the enquiry it drops down to something like 44% satisfaction levels. To the police managers that should suggest a very serious problem, particularly to those who have

managed the investigation process, because it would appear that the cardinal principle of policing is not being adhered to and that the complainant is not being kept happy. Because if you don't keep your complainant happy then his support for any police action that may be taken will actually be effective. The telephone survey also said that something like 51% of the complainants have never been advised of the result, and 38% never heard from the police again after the police had attended the incident. These sorts of results tend to bear out the findings of the Rand Report on the criminal investigation process in North America. There has to be a realisation that the public do not necessarily report offences to the police so that the offender may be caught, they do it for other reasons and they expect the police to go through certain rituals. What the police do or do not do with burglary or other crime reported is vital to what public perception of that police department will be. if he does not go through the rituals and he omits to take out his notebook, if he omits to show some concern, if he omits to throw a bit of fingerprint powder around, if he does not do any of those things which the public has come to expect of him, then the estimation of the police will go down in the eyes of the public. It's not the fact that it's a bit of materialistic property has been taken away or that someone might have done some damage but the fact that something very precious to the individual has been taken away, and that is the right to privacy.

Superintendent Morgan then went on to show a series of slides giving details of the results of the surveys. Because of the wide range of topics concerned an the time restraints the only issue raised in discussion was the aspect of the survey which dealt with victimisation which could not be adequately dealt with because of insufficient information.

The last speaker to be introduced in the afternoon session of the first day was Inspector David Smith. Inspector Smith has had 21 years in the Victoria Police Force, 12 of those years attached to the Criminal Investigation Branch. In 1982, Inspector Smith spent four months travelling overseas to Japan, Britain, USA and Canada studying Community Policing. He has had four years in Police community involvement programmes so he has wide experience in this area. He was the Co-ordinator of the Neighbourhood Watch Programme in Australia and is at present working on similar community police developments.

Inspector David Smith
Research and Development
Victoria Police
Melbourne, Victoria

POLICE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT
A PLANNED APPROACH TO EFFECTIVE CRIME PREVENTION

Introduction

The ongoing escalation of the incidence of crime and disorder within Australian communities has placed demands on police organisations to rethink traditional strategies and seek alternative methods to reverse current trends.

Perhaps the most appealing option available to police administrators is the promotion of combined police and community action to prevent crime and disorder at the local level. While this seems little more than a commonsense approach, there are a number of inherent difficulties in 'actualising' the concept in such a way as to have a significant impact on the problem. A number of obstacles need to be overcome both within police organisations and the community. On the police side there is uncertainty as to the role of police in this field, lack of clearly defined policy and direction and reluctance to change existing traditional practices, a problem that is common to all bureaucratic organisations. Additionally there is a shortage of skilled managers to put innovative policy into effect through leadership, sound managerial practice and training.

Within the community there has been general apathy in relation to crime and a reluctance to become involved in this field of community responsibility. Fortunately, in these times of rapid social change, both police and community attitudes are changing and there is increasing awareness of the need for a more unified effort to help society to remain intact within its framework of laws and good public order.

The purpose of this report is to examine some of these issues from a police perspective having regard to the police role and overseas and Australian experience with police/community involvement. Some suggestions as to the most effective means of developing this important field are also put forward.

The Police Role

Police administrators in Britain, Canada, the United States of America and Australia have, for some time, recognised the need for the practical application of the policing philosophy first stated by Sir Robert Peel in 1829.

Peel's Principles of Law Enforcement set down public support and willing co-operation as the criteria necessary for the police to successfully acehive their objectives. As to the priorities of those principles the Commissioners of the New London Police left little doubt when they issued the following General Instruction in 1829:

> **"It should be understood, at the outset, that the principal object to be obtained is the prevention of crime. To this great end every effort of the police is to be directed. The security of persons and property, the preservation of the public tranquility and all other objects of a police establishment would thus be better effected than by the detection and punishment of the offender after he has succeeded in committing the crime."**

Peel's principles and objectives have been the cornerstone of policing throughout the English speaking world and are as valid today as when first introduced. As policing has evolved, these goals and principles have been revised as organisational goals and philosophies; corporate plans and other forms of policy statements. Unfortunately, most police forces, while espousing the virtues of their policies, have fallen short in achieving the degree of community co-operation and support necessary to halt increasing criminal activity. The manner in which police forces organise and carry out their various functions pays scant attention to actively enlisting public support.

Reactive Policing

Over the last several decades, police forces have become highly mobile. This has resulted in an increased public expectation for police to attend a wide range of calls for service within the categories of crime, public order and community service. In turn, police have responded by placing ever-greater emphasis on their ability to meet perceived public demands. This "fire-brigade" approach aims only at short term resolution of particular problems. While this has been accepted as basic police practice, there has been insufficient focus, due to limited resources, on the proper analysis of problems with the aim to minimising causative factors. This function is necessary to the reduction of problems and would assist in developing more cost effective policing methods. Problem analysis could occur in terms of:

- was the incident preventable?
- what measures can be taken to prevent a recurrence of the incident?
- what resources, other than police, could be utilised to overcome the problem?
- what was the end result of police action?

These, and similar considerations, form little part of reactive policing. Sir Kenneth Newman, Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police, stated recently:

> **"Reactive policing places the emphasis on responding to incidents. Typically, reactive policy goals and experience are expressed in terms of activities (patrol, investigation, etc) rather than in terms of specific area of achievement or of defined outcomes. Reactive police managers do not attempt to influence their environment. Under reactive policy the police force is an anvil on which society hammers out its tensions."**

Undue emphasis on a reactive police role limits the capability of achieving overall Force objectives. While police readily point to the failure of society to accept responsibilities for crime control, police policy and practice does little to engender the necessary public support and co-operation. As put by a former Attorney-General of Great Britain:

> **"As society has become more complex and sophisticated, so policing has become more and more a specialist section of society's reactive organisation against breaches of law and order. It fits neatly into the pattern of commission of offence by the criminal, detection and arrest by the prosecuting authorities, sentence by the court, detention by the prison authorities. As the pattern has developed, so the police and policing have become more remote from the local community even in some areas seen as hostile to it."**

Proactive Policing

To meet the present and envisaged challenges facing police in the control of crime and disorder, more attention will need to be given to proactive policing. The term proactive has been used to describe the preventive aspects of the patrol function which provide high police visibility and other activities in the fields of public relations and crime prevention. In the context of this paper it is given a wider definition meaning **all police functioning that results in a planned course of action to influence an event positively, before it occurs.**

This definition applies to all levels within a police organisation and includes the functions of planning, policy making, administration and operations. Proactive policing, if conducted on a properly planned and organised basis, can lead to a greater preventive effort with active community participation. While reactive policing seeks to control crime by directing efforts towards the apprehension of offenders, the proactive style seeks to influence events by reducing the opportunity for criminal and anti-social activity. But to do this, police need a more detailed analysis of crime at the local level. Practical

information about the causes will allow a planned and better balanced approach between the reactive and proactive styles. Both the police and the community agree with this. In two recent surveys conducted in Melbourne suburbs, police and the public strongly disagreed with the statement:

"Police should not be concerned with the causes of crime, but only with the prevention and control."

Table 1 provides details of responses from police and public.

TABLE 1

THE ROLE OF POLICE - ATTITUDE SURVEY

Two surveys were conducted in different areas to ascertain police and community attitudes as to the role of police. The following table shows responses to the question:

"Police should not be concerned with the causes of crimes but only with prevention and control."

		Police Response		
		Agree	No Opinion	Disagree
Survey 1	N = 95	18.2%	0	81.8%
Survey 2	N = 56	16.1%	1.8%	82.1%

Comments by police who disagree with the statement:

"More emphasis should be on how to cure problems rather than finding someone to blame."

"If we know the cause then we could carry out our role of prevention."

RESIDENTS' RESPONSES

		Agree	No Opinion	Disagree
Survey 2	N = 600	3.0%	3.3%	93%

Comments from residents who disagreed with the statement:

"Knowledge of causes would assist in prevention and crime control."

"Determining cause helps prevent crime in the long run."

"A police force's job is 75% prevention and 25% control and arrest."

YOUTH RESPONSES

		AGREE	NO OPINION	DISAGREE
Survey 1	N = 101	27.7%	9.9%	62.4%

The following comments were made by youths who disagreed:

"They should be concerned with all aspects of crime."

"They have to know the cause to find ways to prevent the crime next time."

"Should be concerned with all parts of crime."

"If they find a cause it will assist in prevention."

"If causes are found they may be able to prevent the same type of crime reoccurring."

While police cannot hope to influence all the causative factors associated with crime and disorder, they can impact upon amny of these, especially with the appropriate level of planned community involvement. Only by blending reactive and proactive styles can police hope to control the incidence of crime and its consequences, that is, the cost and fear of crime borne by the community.

The Extent of Crime

In the State of Victoria between the years 1975 and 1981, there has been a population increase of 3.2%; authorised police strength has increased 28%; major crime has jumped by 54.3% with the number of people proceeded against increasing by 31.5%. This pattern is similar to those in other States of Australia as well as Britain, for example, a recent publication notes:

"We have seen police numbers rise from 86,000 to over 110,000 whilst crime has escalated."

In 1981, 175,518 major crimes came to the notice of Victoria Police. This means that of a population of 3,900,000, there were 4,500 major crimes reported for every 100,000 people.

That Victoria has cause for concern regarding the extent of crime needs to be examined in the light of overseas experiences, not for the purpose of deciding whether we are better off but to compare like problems and learn from overseas actions. There are no policing or crime problems in other countries that are not being experienced within the Australian context, the differences lie only in the extent of the problem. Table 2 indicates the levels of major crime in Victoria and a number of overseas police jurisdictions. Civilian populations and police to population statistics are included to provide a broader view. Burglary rates are included because this office is considered a 'preventable' crime. While there are wide variations in these crime statistics, a striking feature is the low crime incidence in Tokyo compared to its population size. That Tokyo has a burglary rate of 473 per 100,000 population and an exceptionally high major crime clearance rate of 75%, makes this city's effort even more remarkable.

Cost of Crime

While offering some indication as to the extent of crime, police statistics do not acknowledge the level of unreported crime, the degree of which has yet to be estimated in this country. Nor do police figures calculate such other consequences as the financial losses borne by victims and society as a whole, the pervading fear of crime, psychological scarring and the degree of pain and suffering.

Recent research provides some indicators in those areas. A 1982 study by the Victoria Police Crime Department estimated the value of property stolen as a result of burglaries in this State in 1982 to be about $42,680,000. Major financial loss related to criminal activity occurs in all other categories of crime and is reflected in the cost of the criminal justice system, medical, legal, insurance and other fields servicing the consequences of crime.

Fear of Crime

As crime becomes more apparent in our society, so too does the fear of crime. Both in Australia and overseas there is mounting evidence about the extent to which our communities fear crime. In 1980, a national survey carried out in the United States revealed:

> **"... that the incidence of (increasing) crime is far outstripped by the fear of crime. The dramatic discrepancy between the incidence of crime and the fear of crime warrants serious attention ... The study reveals that four out of ten Americans feel unsafe in their everyday environments - their homes - their neighbourhoods - their business districts and shopping centres - due to the fear of crime."**

This high level of fear of crime is also present within Australian society. A 1982 survey of 541 residents in one area of Melbourne showed that 74% disagreed with the statement:

> **"It is safe for all members of your family to walk alone in this neighbourhood when it is dark."**

Other surveys of various sections of Melbourne's suburbs have produced similar findings.

The extent of crime with its direct and indirect consequences of financial loss and community fear provide a challenge for police both now and in the future.

A Planned Approach

Police forces do not bear sole responsibility for preventing crime. While it is an overriding primary objective of the police, the ultimate responsibility for prevention rests with society as a whole. In working towards the achievement of goals, police forces recognise the importance of securing public co-operation; the greater the degree of community support, the more effective a police organisation will be in its operation and purpose. This support can be measured, not by popularity polls, but by the demonstrated willingness of the public to actively participate in the processes of crime control and by the impact this has on targetted crime and the fear of crime. Police often criticise what they perceive as public apathy towards crime, however, police themselves provide limited stimulus and leadership in promoting greater community involvement. In the past, these efforts have been left to specialist units and the personal initiatives of individual policemen. Many police agencies have formed departments to deal with the preventive side of crime control, giving titles such as 'Community Involvement Branch' and like. The personnel attached to these units are highly motivated and have developed a wide range of innovative programmes aimed at preventing crime. A major impediment to this strategy has been the reliance on these specialist branches to involve the community in crime control while the rest of the organisation seems to have been happy to relinquish much of its responsibility in this field. Many police go so far as to term this type of activity a 'soft option', with some police strongly resenting efforts to involve them in 'community style' policing. This method of combatting crime does not fit into the reactive model and is therefore not 'real' policing.

Unfortunately, this attitude is very recognisable to the public, who in turn, are reluctant to become involved with policemen who show little interest in working with them. This has often been described as the police 'siege mentality'.

In recent times, strong influences are creating a broader understanding among police as to their roles and responsibilities. Enquiries into police administration and practices, such as the Scarman report into the Brixton Disorders recommend more flexibility in policing styles. Evidence about the extent, the cost and public fear of crime supports the need for development of new strategies in this field. There remains little doubt as to the direction required of police organisations. The problem at hand is not so much what to do, as how to go about it effectively and efficiently and any strategy development would need to be:

PLANNED:	**having clearly defined objectives and management structure**
PRACTICAL:	**achievable within limits of available resources**
ACCEPTABLE:	**understanding of rationale and objectives and a suitable commitment to its success**
COST EFFECTIVE:	**most effective and efficient use of resources**
MEASURABLE:	**capable of measuring outcomes as to effectiveness and efficiency.**

While a number of agencies have incorporated, or are striving towards a balanced proactive/reactive model of policing, others have opted to retain a specialist approach to community involvement.

FORMALISING POLICE/COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Police agency efforts to formalise police/community involvement indicate a range of options available in this field. While various approaches may differ in many respects, from an organisation viewpoint they can be categorised as coming within either the specialist or the generalist areas of policing responsibility. Each approach offers advantages to the organisation and each has its limitations. These need to be examined not as a separate issue, but in the context of broader organisational and management considerations such as policy, productivity and resource availability.

Specialist Responsibility

Providing a specialist branch, or unit, with the primary responsibility for designing and implementing police/community involvement projects is the most common approach. Obvious advantages include a neat packaging of responsibility; deployment of relatively few police resources; ease of tasking and management. They can be highly visible and promote positive publicity for the organisation. Specialist personnel develop a high degree of expertise in project development.

Such units are necessarily limited in the scope of their operations due to their number of operatives. While the intention may be to involve operational police in maintaining established projects, the experience in overseas countries, and in Australia, is that this does not occur in practice. What in effect happens is that this type of proactive policing receives a low priority when deploying scarce operational resources. Because responsibility has been placed with a specialise unit, to a large extent it rests there. This abrogation of responsibility in operational policing leads to specialist units becoming, in effect, a cosmetic buffer zone between the police and the public.

Generalist Responsibility

Current developments in community policing favour a generalist responsibility in the style of proactive policing which seeks to utilise the wider community in the control of crime. Integrating the reactive and proactive roles in this way provides a balanced approach to both short and long time problem resolution. All levels of management, including first line supervisors, undertake wider responsibility and, supported by modern management processes, can more readily impact on problems with greater flexibility and the likelihood of a far greater proportion of the public's active participation. The Los Angelese Police Department's decision to place responsibility for their large scale Neighbourhood Watch Programme with operational personnel points to the viability of this strategy. Recent developments in the London Metropolitan Police and Surrey Constabulary Neighbourhood Policing Scheme, and the Metropolitan Toronto Police organisational restructure highlight a determined commitment by these agencies to implement community policing as a generalist responsibility, with appropriate management support, and accountability by way of productivity measurement.

The trend in developing a planned and balanced integration of the proactive and reactive police roles is based on the increasing need for police administrators to deploy diminishing resources to service an array of complex policing problems in the most effective and efficient manner. Coupled with this are the requirement for increased responsibility and accountability at all levels of police management. These are productivity

issues which interact with all facets of the organisation from the role of police to productivity measurement. Any effort to broaden the area of responsibility must be considered with regard to organisational and administrative matters such as defining goals and objectives; productivity management and measurement; and staff development. These aspects are common to all organisations. It is no longer valid to protest that the police function is singularly different from that of other organisations to the extent that modern management processes are not applicable.

The following comments reflect current attitudes in this field.

Organisational Goals and Philosophy

The goals and objectives of police forces, together with guiding principles, provide broad direction for police effort and lay down guidelines within which police activity will be carried out.

The majority of western world police agencies have modelled their goals and philosophy on Peel's Eleven Principles of Law Enforcement, which hold that securing the willing co-operation of the community and promoting crime prevention are central to the police mission. Unfortunately, the day to day efforts of most police forces do not reflect the fundamentals of Peel's Principles. This has not been the result of a conscious redirection but more one of being diverted through the need to respond to more pressing short-term demands.

Underscoring the efforts of police administrations seeking to upgrade the proactive role of police has been the stated recognition for a return to core principles.

This is being achieved by a demonstrated strong commitment at the policy-setting level of Force administration. Part of such a commitment is to ensure that practical and concise objectives are defined, in line with stated policy, and organisational goals.

Defining Objectives

The goals of a police organisation are usually expressed as the protection of life and property, prevention of crime, detection of offenders, and preservation of the peace. These are abstract terms which prove difficult to accomplish in measurable form. The need for administration to account for routine activities had led to the situation where that which is more easily measured becomes the accepted yardstick of police effectiveness and efficiency. The wider range of police activity has long evaded clear definition and detailed measurement. As one report states:

> **"Because police forces in general are the products of slow and ill-defined evolution, there is little consensus on the precise objectives of the police function ... police lack a clear, common unit of success - as project serves in private enterprise - to indicate whether police programmes are working to achieve their goals. Not only does the police manager lack a well-defined set of measures to indicate performance, but he often does not have the means of accurately monitoring how resources are being used let alone measuring the results of effort."**

In the field of proactive policing, which includes community involvement effort, there is a distinct lack of direction in the form of clearly defined objectives. The setting of concise objectives would provide responsibility and accountability to managers and personnel, efforts in this field would then be viewed as a legitimate part of duties performed. Tasked activities could be measured and form part of the overall information base available to decision-makers. It is within this context that police forces are devising and implementing strategies to include other than traditional forms of productivity management. Central to this approach is the need to establish a system of management information.

Management Information

> **"The Miami Police Department currently collects and stores large amounts of information. The problem lies in the face that we have failed to properly utilise and disseminate this data because of a lack of analytical capabilities. As a result, much of the planning done by the Department is based on tradition, and is reactive in nature. Commanders and line supervisors are often forced to make decisions based on available information rather than on the best information, and this situation serves to exacerbate a 'supervisory style' of management historically prevalent within the Department."**

The above extract, from a Miami Police Department management report, 1981, typifies a problem common to most major police agencies which, even with the aid of computer technology, are recognising the limitations of relying on traditional measurement of policing activity and the need to extend and better manage their information base.

Traditional Data

In the absence of properly organised and analysed practical information, decision-makers have relied on available data obtained through traditional methods of recording activities and outcomes. This usually occurs in the following categories:

(a) crimes reported and detected.

(b) clearance rates.

(c) complaints against police.

(d) traffic statistics.

(e) called for services and response times.

(f) workload measurement.

(g) annual financial statements.

These are indicators which, in the main, offer a very general picture of what is occurring in the fields of police endeavour. In the form these data are currently analysed and disseminated, scant management information is provided as a basis for a planned effort to assess situations and effectively address problems. While effective use of data as a management tool does occur within some areas of policing, it is the exception rather than the rule. There is ample evidence to support the need for improved systems of management information to meet existing and emerging challenges in a changing environment. As pointed out by Bernard C Hofley, in "Workshop on Police Productivity and Performance",

> **"Police administrators are having to adapt to changes in economic, social, demographic characteristics of their communities, challenges to their traditional beliefs and ways of carying out their work; and increasing demands for fiscal, legal and social accountability."**

Extended Data Base

The type of information required to assist police managers should be tailored to meet the needs of all levels of management, including first line supervisors. Such a data base would include the following type of information:

(a) Crime Analysis. Incidence of crime by -

(i) Category - major crime index
- all other offences

(ii) Location - exact location

(iii) Time, day and date.

(iv) Offenders/suspects.

(v) Clearance rate - offence/no offence
- arrests/summons

(vi) Disposition of case - pre-Court
- post-Court

(b) **Resource Management**

(i) **Manpower** - **rosters/deployment**
- **availability/non-availability**
- **overtime/recall/on-call availability**

(ii) **Calls for service** - **time, day, date**
- **type of call**
- **response time**
- **outcome**

(iii) **Inspections** - **automated correspondence register**
- **warrant/summons/file summaries**
- **response time**
- **outcome**

(iv) **Traffic** - **incident analysis**

(c) **Community Problem Indicators**

Relevant information from recording sources other than police will complement police data in identifying situations and emerging problems likely to require a police response. Such indicators could include:

- **media reports**

- **demographic and social data as required (eg, census reports, victimisation surveys).**

This type of information, the bulk of which is currently collected and contained in various report forms and duty summaries, needs to be converted into a format to suit the user's needs. In other words, the best information required by decision-makers must be available to them in such form that it is current, practical, readily understandable, usable and relate to their respective areas of responsibility.

Computers can provide police with the technology to store and retrive vast amounts of data, in analysed form. Police organisations will need to align their management procedures, in order to capitalise on the advantages offered.

Managers and other police personnel will need a working knowledge of such a system, commensurate with their level of individual responsibilities.

Staff Development

External education and in-service management training courses seek to provide basic knowledge in organisation and management.

While this type of training is essential in preparing police personnel for management positions, there is a growing awareness for the training role to extend to and place the greater emphasis on the motivational and field training aspects of ongoing staff development. The complexities of policing in a rapidly changing environment call for this approach in providing continuing support for the direction in which management needs to take in working towards goals. Police personnel need to be kept informed, not only of what is required of them but also of the rationale in terms of Force policy and objectives. They must also have the skills and incentive to achieve their objectives in measurable form as pointed out in a report on "Neighbourhood Policing" by Beckett and Hart, 1981.

> **"Training is considered to be the means by which the objectives of the organisation may be internalised by police officers as being similar to their own. This may be achieved within a training programme which actually sets out to inform officers as to what the organisation needs and suggesting areas where the answers may be found. This will provide scope for individual officers and teams to tackle problems and see the results and failure of their own efforts. This aspect is in contrast to many large organisations where successes or failure is hidden within an emorphus bureaucracy."**

This approach to staff development will assist in creating a positive working environment where police will operate to their full potential in a participatory style of management.

The Community as a Resource

Part of a manager's function, at whatever level, is to consider the resources at his disposal which can be deployed to meet objectives. In this same report it was observed:

> **"Consideration of resources available to police suggests that the only one as yet largely untapped is the local community itself. This implies a return to the concept of a contract between the police and the public to work together in the maintenance of public order and prevention of crime."**

Overseas and Australian experience in police/community involvement has demonstrated the willingness of the general public to actively participate in police initiated programmes aimed at crime control.

The extent to which the public will assist police in this regard is determined by a number of factors:

(a) The type of programmes planned must reflect the community's attitudes and expectations - ie, the problems police seek to overcome must be of equal concern to the community.

(b) The type of public involvement expected must not exceed what the community perceive as their role - ie, prevention rather than enforcement.

(c) Programmes need to be "localised" rather than rely on the more anonymous direction and personnel of a "central" operation.

(d) Where possible, programmes should be "owned" by the community. A sense of proprietorship will encourage stronger community involvement.

(e) Programmes should be cost-effective in terms of deployment of police personnel - ie, maximum community and minimum police resources.

(f) Efforts in this field must be capable of measurement in terms of resources used and results of efforts. This is also important in providing feedback to the community.

Ensuring that the above criteria forms part of any joint effort in crime control is clearly a management responsibility. It involves decision-making in the use of resources available in addressing current problems.

VICTORIA POLICE FORCE

The Victoria Police Force has responsibility for policing a State-wide population of 3,900,000, approximately 3,000,000 people reside in the metropolitan area of Melbourne. The 8,186 sworn police personnel operate with eleven metropolitan and twelve country police Districts.

Police/Community Involvement Programme

In 1980, the Victoria Police Force developed a Police/Community Involvement Programme (P/C.I.P.) to test in practice the concept of a planned and practical approach to increase public awareness of crime related problems and a co-ordinated police/community effort towards the reduction of these problems. To this end a pilot scheme, designated the Police/Community Involvement Programme (P/C.I.P.) was implemented within an outer metropolitan police District.

The area for the scheme, the Westernport Police District, was selected as being 'average' in terms of crime statistics and demographic data. The District covers 885 square kilometres and comprises the City of Frankston with a population of 80,000 and a further 116,000 people residing in eight other municipalities. There are 127 schools within the area, eleven police stations, 250 police personnel service the District.

Thirteen police personnel, under the control of an Inspector, were seconded from operational areas to staff the project for an initial period of twelve months. The pilot project was implemented in February 1981, following a period of staff training.

The objectives of the programme were to:

(a) Identify police and community problems, needs and attitudes relative to the police function.

(b) Further the objectives of the police force by the promotion of community awareness, co-operation, support and confidence.

(c) Act as a focal point to assist police and other organisations/individuals within the community to work together towards common goals.

(d) Provide practical assistance, through information and feedback, to police at both administrative and operational levels, in regard to police and other organisations policies and procedures.

(e) Provide a similar informational service to other organisations within the community.

The P/C.I.P. has worked towards these objectives with regard to both long term and short term effectiveness and to the efficient use of resources.

The initial task was to make contact with various local agencies and organisations to acquaint them with the pilot scheme and identify police and community problems in crime related areas, the emphasis being on joint responsibility in working towards problem resolution. Resulting from these contacts a number of specific projects were developed and implemented with involvement from local police and the community. Tables 5, 6 and 7 contain some detail as to these projects and include the number of people participating in these undertakings. In most instances the 1982 projections were exceeded.

To date, outcomes of the P/C.I.P. are still being evaluated by means of quantitative and descriptive data including crime reduction, where this can be measured; police personnel time deployed; degree of community involvement; and citizen satisfaction.

A series of comprehensive reports detailing the development and progress of the P/C.I.P. have been prepared by the Victoria Police Research and Development Department. These reports cover the following aspects:

Vol. I	P/C.I.P. A Summary of the First Twelve Months
Vol. II	Attitude Survey Prior to Commencement of P/C.I.P.
Vol. III	P/C.I.P. Contacts with Community - A Computer Analysis
Vol. IV	P/C.I.P. Project Detail.

While the results of preventive efforts are difficult to measure; the greater benefits being likely to occur in the longer term, sufficient knowledge has been gained from the pilot project to make the following statements:

(a) The objectives of the P/C.I.P. have been achieved in measurable form.

(b) Projects implemented have received the necessary degree of public support to ensure their success.

(c) A number of problems common to both police and the community have been alleviated by joint effort.

(d) The extent to which local police can undertake preventive policing of this nature is limited by -

  (i) the operational response commitment; and

  (ii) limited information base from which to task.

(e) The community is concerned regarding the extent of crime and has demonstrated a willingness to become actively involved in crime prevention measures.

(f) The community expects and needs police initiatives in this field.

(g) Police/community involvement of the type undertaken within P/C.I.P. is an effective crime prevention initiative in terms of police resources deployed compared with the extent of active public participation.

Future Development

The next phase of the programme, proposed for implementation in July, 1984, will integrate formalised proactive policing within the existing District organisational structure. This will involve the establishing of two distinct functions at District level. The first, a District Information Support Centre, will provide all levels of management within the district with a system of management information, in automated form. The Centre will not in any way usurp management responsibility, but will supply, in usable form, the necessary information essential to planning, tasking, monitoring and evaluation. The Centre would be responsible for the collection, analysis and dissemination of data to form an information base for routine, or as required, management reports. This system would include detailed analysis in the categories of crime, resource management and community problem indicators.

The second function proposed is a District based Public Affairs Section. This Section would have responsibilities in co-ordinating the required level of police activity in the development and maintenance of projects within the fields of crime prevention, public relations and community involvement policing. The emphasis on the role of the proposed Public Affairs Section is one of facilitating proactive policing effort within mainstream policing.

The proposed introduction of a District Information Support Centre and Public Affairs Section at District level is designed to provide advantages at local and Force levels. These include:

(a) A structured and balanced integration of reactive and proactive police functioning.

(b) Improved system of resource management through planned tasking with monitoring and evaluation of outcomes.

(c) Development and testing of computerised management information systems.

(d) The introduction of positive change with minimal disruption to the organisational structure.

It is believed that this model would greatly enhance the ability of the Victoria Police Force to meet existing challenges within the police area of responsibility and to provide the foundation for improved productivity and professional service.

NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH

"Necessity and desire appear to be creating a climate in which the police can gain additional public support - if the police make the effort. A starting point is an energetic Neighbourhood Watch Program."

Neighbourhood Watch is a prime example of police/community involvement in action. The scheme developed in the United States over a decade ago, is a community-based crime prevention programmed, aimed at reducing the rate of preventable crime, particularly residential burglary. This is achieved by residents organising into neighbourhood groups, or zones, and through a process of crime prevention awareness and action, reduce the likelihood of criminal attack upon their property and person.

Development in Victoria

Based on the success of Neighbourhood Watch in the United States and Canada, the Victoria Police Force conducted a pilot scheme to adapt the concept to local needs.

Throughout the development of Neighbourhood Watch in this State every effort has been made to adhere to the principles of community involvement policing, as mentioned throughout this report.

The following is a brief account of that development to date.

The Burglary Problem

Between the years 1977 and 1982 reported burglaries in Victoria increased at an average annual rate of 11%. The clearance rate decreased from 20.6% in 1977 to 12.2% in 1983. In 1983, 78,573 burglaries were reported. Of these, 46,404 were classed as residential burglaries, an increase of 26.1% over the 1982 figure.

For the first four months of 1984, residential burglaries showed a 50% increase over the corresponding period in 1983.

The Pilot Scheme

During the early part of 1983, the Police/Community Involvement Programme and district personnel carried out crime analysis and demographic studies which resulted in a neighbourhood comprising 600 homes being selected as suitable test areas for Neighbourhood Watch. A similar locality was selected as a control area.

Community Involvement

On 1 June 1983, a public meeting was held in the test area, 160 residents attended and offered their support in developing a Neighbourhood Watch Programme. Further regular meetings of volunteer residents and police formalised the process and committees and sub-committees were formed to develop all aspects of the programme, including logo design, finance, newsletters, property marking and support material.

During the six months of the pilot scheme, burglaries were reduced marginally in the test area, while increasing in the control location. A significant factor was the overwhelming support for the scheme by the residents of the test area.

Preparation for Wider Application

In December 1983, a decision was taken to implement Neighbourhood Watch within each of the eleven metropolitan police districts. Each District Commander being responsible for selection of areas and implementation of the programme. Prior to public launch of the programme, training teams visited each district and briefed a total of 2,000 operational police personnel about Neighbourhood Watch. Personnel from each district were selected, and received training, to implement and maintain the programme. Manuals and other support material were prepared, funding was provided by the private sector.

On 14 March 1984 the Victoria Police Neighbourhood Watch Programme was formally launched, 93 representatives from the media attended and the wide publicity given resulted in 2,500 telephone calls being received at a central information centre.

Progress To Date

Between 14 March and 31 July 1984, 21 Neighbourhood Watch Programmes have been established within the metropolitan area. These programmes cover approximately 14,000 residences with a population of 45,000 people.

The programme is receiving strong public support and public meetings attract attendances of 150 people (average over 21 programmes).

Crime Analysis

Monthly crime analysis returns in respect to each Neighbourhood Watch area are being monitored and compared with control area samples. A computer programme has been developed to measure this aspect of the programme and to record police manhours expended in the development and maintenance of the scheme.

Programme Projections

It is projected that 100 Neighbourhood Watch Programmes, covering a population of 250,000 residents, will be established by 30 June 1985. Early indications point to an even larger proportion of the public undertaking the scheme in an informal way.

This large scale public support, together with the positive police acceptance of the scheme, suggest that the earlier stated burglary problem in this State may be significantly reduced.

CONCLUSION

To promote and maintain the active and willing support of the public is critical to the success of policing in our society.

Escalating crime rates, and the consequences of this to the community, place increasing demands on constrained police resources. The diminishing capability of police to provide a professional response in the traditional fashion emphasises the need to devise alternative strategies in crime control. Part of any plan to significantly impact the broad range of crime related problems must include the utilisation of the greatest resource available to police, the public itself.

The community has demonstrated a willingness to accept responsibility in this field. Police, as being the agency with primary responsibility for crime prevention and control, must provide the quality of leadership to ensure maximum community response. Any strategy which seeks to upgrade the police role in formalising the support of the public should be carefully planned to not only satisfy immediate needs, but provide a clear direction for the foreseeable future. In designing such a strategy the information contained in this report offers some focus for consideration.

The organisation and management of community involvement policing, and other proactive effort, cannot be viewed in isolation from overall police functioning. Where this has occurred it has led to a downgrading in the proactive role within the organisational setting. Part of this lowering of priority has been the inability to justify the effectiveness and efficiency of diverting scarce police resources from the clearly defined reactive role. The results of proactive policing have not fitted neatly into traditional patterns of measurement.

Recent developments in combining the proactive and reactive functions into a balanced and integrated system, with new techniques in a computer-aided data collection and measurement, point to a new era in police management.

In the foreseeable future it is unlikely that police resources will increase in proportion to demands made upon those resources, in fact the reverse is probable. This will place added responsibility and accountability on police managers in providing alternative methods aimed at reducing crime problems. Emphasis will be on productivity improvement - deploying resources in the most efficient manner towards the most effective result, and measuring the outcome.

> Police managers will rely on clear policy and concise objectives in planning courses of action. Their decisions will be based on the best available information provided through central and localised management information systems. Regular and appropriate training will update the knowledge and skills of managers and personnel to ensure a professional standard of performance. Police will need to utilise the evident range of resources available to them, including other government agencies and the community itself.
>
> Within this framework, a planned approach to involve the community in effective crime prevention may prove a decisive factor in curbing the incidence of crime and disorder in our society.

During the break between the two segments of Inspector Smith's address some discussion was directed from the floor. There were references to the proposition that the police are criminogenic and adding more police may well add to crime figures. It was also suggested that there was an optimum on police/public ratio but that Victoria had not reached that optimum when compared with some overseas police departments. Another suggestion was that the police move to community related policing was calculated to provide a platform from which to criticise the police if the concept did not work. The reaction to this proposition was that ultimately the control of crime rests with the community but the police have a professional responsibility to ensure the community is provided with the expertise and guidance. The discussion which followed the Neighbourhood Watch segment of Inspector Smith's address was lively and great interest was displayed. Of some concern was the control of the groups and a possibly over-zealous approach to anti-crime activities. It was pointed out that there has to be strong guidelines but that the groups were largely self-regulating. The approach is maximum community and minimum police involvement.

Inspector Smith
Victoria Police

> Community based crime prevention programmes such as Neighbourhood Watch were introduced in the USA about 10 years ago to overcome the burglary problems. It is also aimed at producing other crime awareness at a local level. The success of that scheme in the USA has been well and truly documented. There are two ways to do Neighbourhood Watch, you do it properly or you muck around with it. When it's done properly the results

speak for themselves. In Detroit over a three year period burglaries were reduced by 61% in the target areas, all crime was reduced by 50% in the target areas. In the controlled area all crime was reduced by 10%, so what you're looking at, I hope, is a ripple effect rather than a displacement effect. It is not a case of kicking burglars out of one area to another, if you do it properly, and scatter it around, and really get it going, then you'll have a ripple effect of it.

Other places, such as St Louis, which has been mentioned, I believe the crime figures were reduced by 27%, in Manhattan Beach, which is a suburb in Los Angeles, 27% reduction. Success results range between 27 and 48% reduction in preventable crime. Neighbourhood Watch has also been introduced in Canada, it's a Crime Prevention Association type of activity. Neighbourhood watch has been introduced in Japan, right throughout Japan and it's now in the United Kingdom. In Victoria, we have more burglaries than most western cities, our burglary rate is higher than that in Birmingham, Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast, same as Toronto, and surprisingly it's the same as Chicago. So our rate certainly leads us into doing something about it.

Four elements to Neighbourhood Watch

Operation Identification: where people mark their property with licence number.

Educating of Residents to Identify and Report Criminal Activity, Quality Reporting: what's an emergency and what's not, don't tie up police resources, all this sort of stuff

Improve Residents' Awareness of Personal and Household Security:

you'll find out a little later how we go about that, but it's again raising their awareness getting them to do something to resist criminal attacks upon their homes and their property.

Deter Criminal Activity by Signposting:

if you mark your property you get a sticker to put on your window, saying protected by Neighbourhood Watch, goods have been marked in these premises. You get a plastic gate plate to put on your front gate. Each area talks with the council and erects signposts saying this is a Neighbourhood Watch area.

Why Do It?

We've spoken about our burglary problem and this has been very fruitful in convincing other policemen that we need to do it. In the years 1977 to the end of 1981 we had an annual 11% increase in burglaries in Victoria. In 1983 the figure went up to an increase of 21.6% over the previous year. In the first four months of this year burglaries increased in Victoria 50% above the first four months of last year. Police must recognise that we have a problem that is beyond our present capability to attend to. It's beyond our traditional methods of control. Victoria's clearance rate has fallen from 20% in 1977 to 12.1% in 1983 and of course it's fallen by 10% for 1984. So whatever we're doing with all the operations we mount, with all the resources we throw into it (75% of detectives investigation time is spent of property offences investigating crimes against property) whatever we are doing, is not having any influence on this reported burglary rate. I think that's enough said as to why we have to do Neighbourhood Watch.

How To Do It

The way we went about it was to look at the overseas experience, take what we thought was perhaps the best of the overseas programmes, avoid what we thought were the mistakes. The police in America were very quick to tell us which ways to avoid. We then put it to our police community involvement programme people and they did some research and demographic research finding an average area such as Frankston we did some research with the Crime Department as to burglaries in that area. We wanted an area that was quite average, comprising approximately 600 houses and we found one, called a public meeting there and all we did was drop an invitation in a letterbox - "Police are calling a public meeting to start a Neighbourhood Watch Programme, come hear about it". Nobody knew what a Neighbourhood Watch Programme was but on the coldest night on 1 July of last year, 1983, we got 160 people to attend at the local school house. We put to them what we were on about. We said we want to form committees with you. We want you to help us design a Neighbourhood Watch Programme suitable to the people in this community. They formed a committee with 20 zone leaders. We arbitrarily cut up the area into 20 zones, of 30 houses each, and each zone leader was responsible for attending a meeting once a month with the police to talk about crime problems. We contracted with them that a policeman would attend once a programme was set up We contracted to have a local policeman attend each of these monthly meetings, to sit down with the group of zone leaders representing that community of approximately 2,000 people tand talk crime problems with them. We would give them their "crime stats" once a month in a newsletter. It's distributed by the zone leaders to every house in the area.

Looking to all the resources in the community, we approached an insurance company and got $100,000 to pay for the promotion and support material. We did not fund those electro engravers, we did not fund street signs, we leave that to the community and we believe firmly that if the community want to be involved in something like this, then they have to take charge of the thing themselves, raise their finance, run street stalls and whatever, get their money, negotiate with the council on who is going to pay for the signs, who is going to put them up, and who services them.

We launched the programme early in 1983. Prior to that the Chief Commissioner directed that before the public launching, we had to get to the maximum number of police and let them know was was going on. We formed briefing teams, the Co-ordination Team was myself, two Sergeants and one Constable. Went to each of our elevent districts twice and briefed operational members as to what Neighbourhood Watch was and their responsibilities, roles, etc. We use the Crime Car Squad members which are our "shock troops" of District Policing. Their crime cars devoted to crime patrolling. We brought them in, trained them in community contact, the philosophy of policing, what our objectives were, the burglary problem, why we needed to this this. We produced a manual and a full kit of what to do, and we gave one team in the elevent districts the responsibility for implementing the seven steps and maintaining Neighbourhood Watch within their district.

Their Superintendent makes a decision on where it will be implemented and when. The decision to implement Neighbourhood Watch on a wide scale was taken at a Superintendents' Conference involving 55 Superintendents. The Chief Commissioner advised them "I won't do it unless you want to undertake it because you're responsible for it". They undertook it after three hours deliberation because they had never done this before, they can see all sorts of problems but they said, we've got to do it. As a result we've now got 21 programmes operating. That involves something like 45,000 people residing in Neighbourhood Watch areas. Our projection for this current year is that 100 programmes will be in place by the end of this financial year. That involves a population of 250,000 people and covers 70,000 houses.

In districts now, two Chief Superintendents are utilising local policemen so that once a programme is established by the Crime Car Squads (they still have responsibility for it) they move on and they're still doing other duties, their active duties, but the maintenance of the programme passes to the local policeman who is involved right from the start in public meetings. He's then left to maintain the programme. Maintenance is one hour a

month, attending zone leaders meetings. It's very cost effective. It's serving the principle of getting the community and the local police back together talking crime problems. Reviewing ways to improve the scheme, taking their suggestions, giving the main talks at the public meetings and will continue to do that but we insist that police involvement stays at local level with Headquarters support only when needed and asked for.

The responsibility passes to the Operations Department with an Inspector selected for a new position. His position is Special Projects Implementation Officer. So it's resting where it should be, in Operations Department. But I might say that it's reported on by Crime Prevention, as an ongoing programme.

There was much interest in this address expressed from the floor with emphasis being placed on getting the right person as zone leader, targeting in on particular crimes such as burglary with spin-off in the area of preventable property crimes, such as car theft. Problems of harrassment by would-be offenders had not occurred, people feel more confident in reporting crimes, they feel they are not just representing themselves but their community. There hd been some problems in USA controlling the groups who extended their activities to Court Watch, putting political pressure on the Courts, politicizing their activities. In Victoria the guidance comes from a manual, there are strict guidelines. The police have no voting rights on the zone committees and have no direct involvement but the committees have been found to be self regulating. As an adviser with a professional police background, it was found that the police have more influence being independent of the committees. Concern was expressed from the floor that certain individuals and/or families may become the subject of interest of the committees because of their social, ethnic or racial background which could lead to harrassment. In Victoria such a case had not been experienced or reported. One of the positive side effects of the programmes is the increased community cohesiveness and increased neighbourhood interaction. The input of police time is minimal. The police collator is involved for about half an hour each month. Where there are ethnic differences it is considered advisable to involve police officers from the same background. What became clear was that any concerns or misgivings from the floor were allayed and also that preliminary results would uggest that the Neighbourhood Watch Programme was a positive innovation in crime prevention provided it is appropriate to the community involved.

PLENARY SESSION: FRIDAY 3 AUGUST

COMMUNITY POLICING

PLENARY SESSION : FRIDAY 3 AUGUST

The first speaker introduced on the second day was Dr Phillip Stenning who is a Visiting Research Fellow at the School of Law, University of Western Australia. Dr Stenning has been involved in research on the constitutional development of police organisations and is in a good position to comment on the thorny issue of police accountability. If Dr Stenning set out to be provocative he was successful in that he appeared to touch many a "raw nerve" with police officers present. The content of the address was interesting and provided plenty of issues for debate.

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COMMUNITY POLICING: WHO'S IN CONTROL?

Ever since policing first became necessary, questions as to who should perform this function, who should control it, and whether it should be organised on a local or more central basis, have been at the top of the agenda. And the modern interest in "community policing" can be seen largely as a renewed debate about these important questions. In this paper, I want to consider some of the implications of moves towards "community policing" for the accountability and control of the policing function.

Before turning to these specific issues, however, I think it's important that I do two things. First, I need to clarify what I understand the term "community policing" to mean. And secondly, I need to say a few general things about the concepts of accountability and control.

What is "community policing"?

The term "community policing" has become very fashionable these days, for a variety of different reasons. There is the feeling that policing can only be effective if a greater collaborative effort between the public police forces and elements within the wider community can be achieved. There is also the hard modern economic reality that public police forces, like other governmental agencies, are being required to operate within increasingly restrictive fiscal constraints, if not actually to cut back their operations. Under these circumstances, the possibility of passing back some of their policing responsibilities to the community at large (or specific elements in it), is naturally appealing. In either case, "community policing" commonly becomes the solution advocated to solve the problems.

Like many other popular rallying cries, however, the term "community policing" has come to be used to refer to a variety of different things. Following Professor Bayley's lead, however, I take the term to mean at least something more than simply police public relations. Although greater police involvement in (or as some would have it, penetration of) the community may be regarded as an important element of any successful strategy for achieving "community policing", and although the police themselves may achieve better public relations as a result, I start with the assumption that these results are at best a beneficial (to the police, anyway) byproduct of the achievement of community policing, but are not its primary objective. To the extent that any community policing policy has such results as its principal objective, rather than simply recognising them as an important part of the means towards achieving the objective of securing greater involvement of the community in the actual performance of the policing function itself, such a policy should not, in my view, be regarded as a genuine "community policing" policy. In reality, it is no more than an attempt by the police to manipulate the community in a way which will make it easier for the police themselves to perform the policing function. While the "community" itself may initially think that it is being given a greater involvement in policing by such strategies, recent experience with them in several jurisdictions tells us that it will not be fooled for long. At best, indifference to police initiatives of this kind, and at worst an increase in outright hostility towards the police, is almost always the result. Inherent in this conclusion, of course, is a recognition - of which I shall say more in a moment - that it cannot be assumed that the conceptions which the police have about what "policing" is all about, and how it should be done, will necessarily be shared 100% by "the community" being policed.

"Community policing", then as I understand the term, refers to some arrangement for policing which seeks to give some significant role to "the community" (however defined) in the definition and performance of the policing function itself. Accordingly, the principal issues for debate over community policing issues such as: How (and by whom) is "the community" to be defined? What role is to be accorded to the community in the definition and performance of the policing function? And to what extent (and how) is the definition and performance of the policing function to be shared between the community and the police?

In this sense, of course, it can be argued that "community policing" is no new idea. Historically, community policing of one kind or another has been the norm. In Anglo-Saxon and mediaeval England, it was clearly recognised that the policing of communities was the responsibility of the communities themselves. Every member of the community (or at least every male member over the age of 16 years) was obliged to participate in the policing of the community, not as a paid policeman, but as a recognised aspect of general civic responsibility. And if the policing function was not adequately performed, sanctions could be, and were, imposed (largely in the form of fines) not only on individuals, but on the community as a whole. The role of the Constable (who himself was a representative chosen by the community) in this system, originally involved little more than ensuring that community members fulfilled their policing obligations.

This is not the place to review the economic, social and political changes which led to the abandonment of reliance on this traditional mode of community policing in favour of the modern form of policing (referred to by reformers as the "new police") according to which the primary responsibility for the performance (if not the definition) of the policing function is vested in organised, paid, "professional", public police forces which seek the assistance of the public in undertaking this task. It is important to point out, however, that even under these modern arrangements for policing, the idea of community policing has never disappeared entirely, and was never intended to. We can readily acknowledge that even the most efficient and effective modern public police forces rely largely on the public for their mobilisation. In this sense (which I think is an important one), the community still plays a major role at least in the practical definition of the policing function, if not in the actual performance of it.

The current preoccupation with "community policing", then, involves not so much the development of a brand new conception of policing, as a reconsideration and redefinition of the respective roles and relationships of the public police forces and the wider "community" in the definition and performance of

the policing function. Obviously, this proposed redefinition may be more or less radical, depending upon the degree of dissatisfaction which the person who advocates "community policing" has with respect to what are (misleadingly, in my view) called "traditional" policing arrangements - the modern ones, after all, have only been around since the beginning of the 19th Century - and the vision he or she has of policing in the future.

This, then, is what I mean by "community policing" - or at least by the "community" part of that term. I'll say more about what I think "policing" is about in a moment. But first, a word or two about accountability and the related concept of control.

Accountability and Control

Our system of representative democracy implies a number of fundamental principles of government which, because policing is an aspect of government - indeed perhaps the quintessential function of government - are notionally applicable to policing as well. They are based largely upon commonsense, as well as on centuries of practical experience. Put simply, they are:

(i) that anyone who exercises authority on behalf of the community, is accountable to the community for the exercise of that authority unless there are sound reasoons, in the interests of the community, why this should not be so;

and (ii) that accountability of this kind generally goes hand in hand with a right in the community, either directly or through designated agents (eg, a minister or a board or commission), to exercise control over the exercise of such authority on its behalf, again unless there are sound reasons, in the interests of the community, why this should not be so.

The application of these general principles of accountability and control to the policing function has generated a great deal of controversy in Western democracies, and especially here in Australia. While it is generally (although unfortunately, in my view, not universally) conceded that the first of these principles (that of accountability) applies unequivocally to the policing function (ie, that with some controversial exceptions - national security comes to mind - there are no compelling community interests which would suggest that the exercise of police authority should not be fully accountable to the community), there continue to be substantial and important disagreements over the applicability of the second principle (that of control) to the policing function. Even in its most restricted formulation, the modern doctrine of "police

independence", which has gained so much currency here in Australia as elsewhere, suggests that in the interests of the community itself (specifically, in the community's interest in impartial, non-partisan policing) some limits should be recognised to the community's right to exercise direct control over every aspect of the exercise of police authority. The now famous and oft-quoted observation of Lord Denning in the English Blackburn cases, to the effect that in the enforcement of the law the police are "answerable to the law, and to the law alone" (whatever that may mean) represents the classic (and most extreme) expression of this proposition.

This is not (I regret) the time or the place to discuss at length the validity, scope, implications or appropriateness of this notion of police independence in the modern Australian context. Suffice it for me to say here that, in my view, all of these matters are open to debate and cannot be taken as "given". What can be said without equivocation, however, is that whatever principles of accountability and control apply to policing generally, apply equally to "community policing", however it is defined. Even accepting, for the purposes of this discussion, therefore, the commonly held view as to the scope and implications of police independence, it is clear that whoever undertakes the policing function on behalf of the community must be regarded as accountable to the community for most, if not all, policing decisions and activities, and to be subject to more or less direct control by the community with respect at least to the determination of policing policies, if not with respect to the day-to-day implementation of those policies in individual instances. I would hope that even the most ardent advocates of "police independence" would at least find themselves able to agree with these propositions.

With this framework in mind, let us now consider what may be some of the implications of "community policing" for the accountability and control of the policing function.

Existing Arrangements in Australia

At the present time in Australia, arrangements for the performance of the policing function by the public police forces can be characterised as relatively centralised. Thus with a population of approximately 16 million people, Australia has only eight public police forces, ranging in size from about 10,500 sworn personnel in New South Wales, to about 600 in the Northern Territory. Since these forces are organised on a State- or Territory-wide basis, it can in a real sense be said that the States and the Territories are the "communities" which they are to serve. The accountability of these forces is to State and Territorial legislatures, via Police Ministers, Chief Secretaries etc (and in the case of the Federal force, to the Commonwealth Parliament via the Special Minister of State), and

to the Commonwealth and State courts. In most jurisdictions there are also special purpose bodies (eg, the Ombudsman in New South Wales, and the Police Complaints Tribunal in Queensland) which have been given special responsibility for handling public complaints against the police. All of these special purpose bodies, however, are established at the level of the State or Territory. To the extent (which I need hardly say is controversial) that external control can be exercised over Australia's police forces, it lies in the hands of the government ministers and the courts and special purpose bodies to which I have referred. It can be said therefore, that at present in Australia there are no arrangements for more local accountability and control of the police which are formally recognised and maintained.

These arrangements for the organisation, accountability and control of public police forces in Australia, may be usefully contrasted with such arrangements in other jurisdictions which, from the point of view of their traditions of public policing during the last 150 years at least, may be considered as being broadly comparable to Australia. Britain, with a population more than four times that of Australia, currently has 43 police forces, mostly organised on a regional basis, which are politically accountable to regional Police Authorities, while also being subject to a growing degree of central accountability to (and at least indirect control by) the Home Secretary. The largest police force in the country (the Metropolitan Police Force in London) is directly accountable to the Home Secretary.

In Canada, which has a population about half as large again as Australia (about 24 million people), there are approximately 450 public police forces, all but four of which are municipal or regional forces accountable to elected municipal or regional councils (the majority) or special purpose (usually appointed) municipal or regional police boards or commissions. The other four forces (including the federal Royal Canadian Mounted Police - the largest police force in Canada, with a sworn strength of about 22,000 officers) are, like the Australia police forces, centrally accountable, through provincial and federal government ministers, to provincial legislatures and the federal Parliament respectively.

Perhaps the ultimate contrast with Australian arrangements, however, is to be found in the United States of America. With a population somewhat less than twenty times that of Australia, it is reputed (at the latest count) to have as many as 25,000 separate public police forces, the vast majority of which operate within extremely local jurisdictions, and are accountable most commonly to local municipal authorities via the elected mayor. In addition, of course, there are State and Federal Police forces, as well as special purpose ones (eg, Highway Patrols, Housing Authority police, etc), which are variously accountable to State and Federal authorities.

My purpose in drawing these contrasts here is to point out that for the purposes of the organisation, accountability and control of public policing, the definition of what constitutes "the community" to be policed varies greatly from one jurisdiction to another. I believe that this has an important bearing on the implications for accountability and control of the adoption of a conscious (and genuine) "community policing" policy. I say this, because I believe that any attempt to introduce "community policing" without at the same time recognising genuine accountability of policing to "the community" itself, and also a certain (although perhaps necessarily limited) measure of genuine "community" control over policing policy and practice, would not only be in conflict with our most fundamental notions of democratic government (for reasons which I have outlined above), but would also be doomed to failure. Let me elaborate on these propositions a bit further.

"Community Policing", Accountability and Control

The way the public police are organised is often justified in terms of considerations of efficiency, economy and effectiveness. The implications of such arrangements, however, always go far beyond these considerations. This is because of the essential nature of the policing function itself which, put simply, is the maintenance of order. Everything the police decide to spend their time doing (whether it be enforcing criminal laws, directing traffic, or fetching cats down out of trees) can properly be regarded as strategies directed to this overall objective of maintaining order. From what I have just said, it will, I hope, be clear that I reject the notion that policing is solely (or perhaps even primarily) about crime prevention or control, or that "community policing" is to be evaluated solely by reference to statistics of crime.

Because policing is essentially concerned with the maintenance of order, the central question in understanding policing must always be: Who defines what order is to be maintained, and how it is to be maintained? This is why the arrangements for the organisation, accountability and control of policing are so critical in a democratic society - because they shape the answer to this question. In this context, decisions as to whether police forces should be organised and accountable locally or centrally represent not just decisions as to how best police resources can be utilised, but decisions as to who should have the principal say in determining what order should be maintained, and how. In other words who should have ultimate control over the formulation of policing policies and the manner in which police discretion (at least in the most general sense) shall be exercised.

Even accepting that there are desirable limits to the extent to which policing should be subject to democratic political control (at whatever level it is sought to be exercised), there can be no doubt that a decision to organise police forces on a local basis, and make them accountable to local authorities, represents a decision that such local communities should be undertaken within their communities, than would be the case if the police were more centrally organised, and accountable to more central authorities.

While this, of course, oversimplifies the matter somewhat - even the most locally organised and accountable police forces are often quite properly subject also to more or less significant influences from more central authorities, as the complex relationship between local Police Authorities and the English Home Secretary illustrates - my point here is that the arrangements for the organisation, accountability and control of the police in any jurisdiction go a long way towards defining what will be the "communities" which are to be policed, and by reference to which policing should be defined, performed and evaluated.

To put it another way, the decision to organise the police locally rather than centrally can properly be seen as a conscious decision that the policing function should be defined and performed more by reference to the characteristics and needs of the local "community" than by reference to the characteristics and needs of the wider "community" (for instance of the State, or Territory, or Province, or whatever the larger political unit may be) as a whole. Thus, decentralised, local police organisation and accountability, almost by definition, favours increased diversity and variation in policing policy and practice. Centralised police organisation and accountability, such as currently exists in Australia, on the other hand, tends to favour the opposite, uniformity and consistency of policy and practice. Indeed, as I have already noted, such objectives (as well as those of economy and efficiency) are the ones most commonly put forward to justify the centralisation of police organisation and accountability. This has certainly been the case, both in England and in Canada in recent years.

Now the objectives of "community policing", as I understand it, are usually to define and perform the policing function more closely by reference to the characteristics and needs of more local "communities" than those defined by more "traditional" police organisation and practice and, in the process, to involve elements of these communities more substantially in the definition and performance of the policing function. Diversity and variety in policing policy and practice, in the interests of tailoring policing more closely to the characteristics and needs of these smaller "communities" (whether they be defined in terms of neighbourhoods, city blocks, housing estates, shopping precincts etc), are consciously advocated by proponents of "community policing" as the best means of increasing the effectiveness of policing.

It is essential, in my view, to recognise, that the more local such designated "communities" are, and the further they are differentiated from the wider "community" in relation to which the police force is formally organised and to which it is officially accountable, the greater is the likelihood that the respective conceptions of order (and how it should be maintained) held by the smaller community and by the wider community of which it forms a part, will diverge. In this event, the police force, because of its organisation, accountability and control, will always find itself under pressure to give priority to the conceptions of the wider community over those of the smaller community in its policing policies and practices, because it remains answerable to the wider community for such policies and practices. In doing so, however, the police are likely to find themselves sometimes undermining the very objectives which are sought to be achieved through "community policing".

To be more specific, many of the norms and values of the wider community, if adhered to, are likely to be quite antithetical to the notion of diversity and variety of policing practice inherent in the concepts of "community policing" which are commonly advanced. Not least of these is the notion of the rule of law, and its attendant principle of equality under the law. Indeed, it is idle to pretent that there are not very real problems in reconciling notions of "community policing" with our dominant ideologies of this kind. If only to avoid the situation in which the police, because of their more central organisation and accountability, find themselves constantly having to compromise the ostensible objectives of "community policing", therefore, it can be argued that for notions of "community policing" to be successfully implemented, there must also be a genuine commitment to decentralising (to the "communities" being policed) accountability for, and control over, the policing function.

There is another, equally powerful, reason for this conclusion, however. Order (ie, that which is policed), however much we may attempt to define it in non-political terms, is always, by definition, in somebody's interests. The order which the public police are supposed to maintain is, according to current ideology at least, in the interests of the community at large. It does not take any great wisdom to be able to appreciate that the interests of smaller "communities" within this wider community will not always coincide with its interests. Anyone who has any familiarity with ethnic enclaves within our society will recognise this. In policing such smaller communities, the police are always and inevitably faced with the problem of how far to compromise the more general order demanded by the wider society (as reflected, for instance, in its laws of general application) in order to reflect and accommodate the particular customs, traditions and needs of the smaller community. This accommodation, which is so essential to the maintenance of a free and pluralist society such as most Australians (I would hope) aspire to in this country, is typically accomplished through the wise and thoughtful exercise of police discretion.

So long as the responsibility for performing the policing function is considered to reside ultimately in the public police, there is no problem with this arrangement. The police, accountable in the usual ways, can be recognised as having the ultimate right to decide (at least until overruled by the courts or the legislature) what accommodations should be made through the exercise of police discretion. One of the primary objectives of "community policing", as I understand it, however, is to increase the involvement of the "community" not only in the definition of the policing function, but also in its performance. If this is to be successfully achieved, I suggest, it will be essential that "the community" (however it is defined) must be recognised as having a more or less direct say in how discretion is exercised in the performance of policing, and in particular in ensuring that the policing of the community is undertaken in the interests of the community, as those interests are perceived by the community itself. For it must be stressed that no community can be expected willingly or enthusiastically to participate in the policing of an order which it does not see as consistent with its own interests as a community.

What does all this mean in practice? It means, I think, that to effect genuine "community policing", the police and the authorities to whom they are formally accountable, must be prepared to concede to (or at least share with) the "communities" concerned, a real measure of control over the determination of policing policies and practices. And for this to be effective, experience shows that such delegation of control must also be accompanied by a genuine concession of a measure of control over the kinds of human and financial resources necessary to put such policies and practices into effective operation. It also means, of course, that adequate institutional structures must be established within the communities themselves, through which these responsibilities can be undertaken by the communities, in collaboration with the police. Nothing, it must be emphasised, is calculated to engender greater disillusionment in communities over "community policing" experiments, than the realisation that idealistic promises of greater community involvement are not backed by a commitment to provide the kinds of resources and structures necessary to implement them in practice. In this connection, of course, the costs of implementing "community policing" projects must be seen as a matter for careful consideration.

Let me summarise briefly what I have said here, before turning more specifically to its application in the Australian context. It is that genuine "community policing" can be accomplished only (a) by reference to a community which has genuine and identifiable community interests; and (b) in a way which reflects and serves those interests. Thus, any attempt by the police to involve the "community" in policing an order which is

not defined, or at least consented to, by the "community" itself, will inevitably be met at best by indifference, and at worst by outright resistance and hostility. It is for this reason that an attempt to establish "community policing" which is not accompanied by a genuine community accountability and control of policing policy and practice is almost always doomed to failure. While the police themsleves can, and should, play an important role in encouraging the "community" to identify the kind of policing it wants (both in terms of what is to be policed and how it is to be policed), genuine "community policing" will only be achieved if the community itself is recognised as having the right to genuine participation in the determination of these matters and to ensure that the policing undertaken in its name is consistent with this determination.

"Community Policing" in the Australian Context

How does all that I have said so far apply in the Australian context? As I have noted earlier, the notion of local accountability is relatively foreign to the modern Australian public police tradition. Police forces here are centrally organised and accountable (both internally and externally), and there are no formally established structures and institutions to allow for more local accountability and control. To this extent, I think, the establishment of genuine "community policing" here faces problems of greater magnitude than are faced in some of the other jurisdictions to which I referred earlier. To the extent that genuine community policing strategies are to be adopted here, appropriate local community structures and institutions necessary for this purpose must either be found or created. While looking for these, however, some basic questions about the extent and content of community policing which is feasible here have to be addressed.

The first step in this process, it seems to me, is to determine what are the major policing problems which exist in the community. In doing so, all aspects of policing - not just crime control and crime prevention - need to be considered. In this connection, I emphasise again that in my view, law enforcement is properly viewed as a policing strategy, and not as the principal policing objective. In assessing policing problems, it should not be assumed that law enforcement is necessarily always the best policing strategy to overcome them. Most importantly, however, if "community policing" is the objective, it must be the community's perception of the policing problems, rather than simply that of the police, which must be the focus of attention. This is not, of course, to suggest that the police do not have an important role to play in stimulating the community to examine its policing problems, and in providing to the community information which it may have about those problems as they are seen by the police. This, indeed, is of the essence of police accountability to the community.

Having assessed the policing problems in a community, the next step is to consider what resources (including public police resources) are available within the community to solve policing problems, and what elements in the community are best placed to solve, or contribute to the solution of, these problems. In making this assessment, it is important, in my view, to avoid the presumption (too readily made by the police) that the only acceptable combinations of policing resources for dealing with policing problems are either the police alone, or the police assisted by the public. There are a number of policing problems which one could think of, to deal with which the best combinations of policing resources may be either community resources alone, or community resources with occasional assistance from the police - a good deal of crime in the workplace, shoplifting, complex financial and commercial frauds, securing underground parking lots, etc, are instances which readily come to mind, and the massive modern growth of private security in such areas is eloquent testimony to the point I am making here. In other words, the extent of community involvement in policing must be related to the kinds of policing problems identified within a given community and the kinds of resources and structures which exist (or can be established) within the community to perform, or share in the performance of, policing functions.

This is not the end of the matter, however. For if policing problems are identified within a local "community" which (all other things being equal) could best be solved through some degree of community involvement in the performance of policing, the question will still remain as to what levels and forms of local community policing are acceptable to the wider community of which the local "community" forms a part. At present, as I understand much of the discussion which occurred here yesterday, this question is one which is seen by many as simply a technical policing question which is best left to be answered by the public police forces. Witness, for instance, the common insistence by the police that such community policing programmes as the "Neighbourhood Watch" programme can be implemented only in accordance with strict rules and procedures that they lay down.

I cannot emphasise enough my view that such an approach is fundamentally misconceived. The determination of what policing should be done, by whom, and how - at least at the level of general policy - is a political determination for the community itself and not simply a technical determination for the police. Specifically, if the "community" is to become more significantly involved in the policing function, it is the community which should decide to what extent, when, and how, and not the police. The role of the police, as I see it, is to raise the appropriate

questions, to provide relevant information, and to offer advice and suggestions for solutions, but not to attempt to dictate the answers. For otherwise, as Morris and Heal so insightfully observe in their English Home Office Research Study Paper on "Crime Control and the Police",

> **"...when the police urge the public to recognise, accept and act upon those aspects of crime to which they may be contributing, a position may arise in which the public find themselves accountable to the police." (1981:55)**

Such a situation should never be tolerated. For in our society, it is the police who must always be accountable to the community, and not vice versa.

What this means is that once the more local and the wider communities have reached agreement (through the normal political processes) as to what should be the extent of local community involvement in the definition and performance of the policing function, and on the relationship which should exist between the community and the public police force in this regard, the responsibility for such local community policing must be acknowledged as being vested in the local community concerned, either exclusively or (more probably) in association with the public police. Equally importantly, the necessary local structures and resources to fulfill that responsibility must be placed at the disposal of the local community and the police who are collaborating with it in performing community policing. These principles, I emphasise, are equally applicable to the internal organisation and control of the police as to their external relations with the communities they serve. While their implementation need not necessarily involve legislative or other formal changes, the important thing is to recognise the essentially political character of these kinds of decisions.

To put it simply, the problem for the police in seeking the implementation of genuine "community policing" is not simply one of finding new ways of getting the public to assist in the performance of the policing function; it is more fundamentally to re-examine, and in some instances perhaps to radically redefine, the relationship of accountability and control between the police and the communities they serve. For the police in Australia, steeped as they are in a long tradition of central organisation and accountability, this will likely prove a formidable challenge.

The essence of Dr Stenning's address was that first you must have an operational definition of community policing, more than a philosophical concept and also more than a public relations exercise. There are, according to the speaker, two policing principles:

(1) anyone who exercises authority on behalf of the community is responsible to the community; and

(2) in the use of that authority there should be control.

There were strong comments in reaction to this address, a number of speakers voiced concern that such a concept or operational definition came dangerously close to vigilantism. That danger was accepted and in response to the concern expressed, it was contended that whether or not there was vigilantism was a political decision and not a police decision. The view expressed by professional police officers from the floor was that such an approach was dangerous. Other comments from the floor indicated a concern that pushing police accountability as low as suggested could create the danger of blowing the community apart. Communities are not that homogeneous sufficiently to allow diverse interests with a community equal say in police policy. The main difficulty was that one cannot define community in modern terms consequently according to this approach the police cannot hope to achieve community policing.

The late morning session of the second day of the seminar was to develop the theme of "Community Perspectives". In recent times police departments have been making some endeavour to study the relations between the police and the community it serves. One of the problems for modern police managers is the requirement for a high level of consent or at least compliance if the police are to carry out their duties effectively. Consent is not easy to determine or even less easy to obtain when there can be sharp public disagreements about what policies and practices there should be. However difficult the task, police managers must confront it and seek out what is and what is not an acceptable police policy or practice. The three speakers who took part in the session on "Community Perspectives" set about their tasks in a competent manner each acknowledging limitation in their attempts to gauge public opinion. There are insights and limitations in most research and it should be remembered that though a perspective is "a way of seeing, it is also a way of not seeing". The speakers developing a "Community Perspective" were:

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COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES

Dr Lynne Foreman: Public Perspectives of Police Contacts

AIM

- To introduce you to some of the findings of three studies undertaken by the Research Section of the Ministry for Police and Emergency in Victoria during the past 12 months.

- These projects have been conducted by the Research Section at the request of the Committee of Inquiry into the Victoria Police Force.

- One of the terms of referennce for the Committee being to enquire into, and report on police/community relations.

- The studies I shall discuss begin to tell us something in Victoria about a range of issues including what certain sectors of the community think of the police, ie, levels of respect; what changes in police practices they envisage would enhance police/community relations; and the types of contacts they have with police.

- In other words, these studies are essentially concerned with the community's perception of the quality of policing, or to borrow David Bayley's phrase "not what the police thinks the community needs, rather, what the community thinks it needs".

At the outset, I should stress that these studies are only a beginning. Certainly the results are not as specific as those provided by the four volumes of reports produced by the Policy Studies Institute in London, which examined the Metropolitan Police Force, or the Home Office Research Study which examined contacts between the Police and the public, and draws its findings from the 1982 British Crime Survey.

Referring briefly to the Policy Studies Institute reports these concluded that your ordinary London bobby is viewed by the public as racist, sexist, bored, aimless and quite often drunk. But, despite this view, only 10% of Londoners completely lack confidence in their police. It would seem that Londoners do not expect very high standards, and are satisfied with the service the 'Met' provides.

In surveying a sample of community welfare agencies in Victoria it would clearly seem that less than 5% of the community welfare agencies were clearly dissatisfied with police. In other words, the results revealed that nearly 80% of the agencies were satisfied, to varying degrees with police/agency relationships.

In contrast, when a sample of some 1,200 secondary school students were asked about their levels of respect for police generally, it was found that only 39% responded that they had great respect, 10.8% said they had little respect and 46% had mixed feelings.

It occurred to me that one should differentiate in asking participants in surveys between a general, or overall opinion of police, and a more subjective close up opinion based on their local experience.

The results of this differentiation show that:

VIEWS ON POLICE

	General	Local Level
Great Respect	**39%**	**29.3%**
Little Respect	**10.8%**	**17.9%**
Mixed Feelings	**46%**	**38.7%**
No Opinion	**4%**	**14.1%**
No Answer		

It is interesting to observe, when comparing the findings of these studies that what seems to bappen is that the greater the degree of contact between respondents and police, the less the level of satisfaction or respect.

This finding (hesitant as it may be at this stage) is useful to know, particularly if we can probe the specific ways in which contacts with police result in dissatisfaction, or put another way, the law and why.

Further, such studies, which aim to assess the mood of the public towards the police have implications for policy and practice.

I would therefore argue that police/community involvement projects must be subjected to ongoing evaluation, and that there is a strong case for assessing the views of the public who are to be affected by new initiatives, and assessing the impact of new programmes.

Perhaps an example will illustrate my point more clearly.

In CWAS II participants were asked to advise what types of police/community consultative arrangements they preferred.

This question was asked because in the first survey, CWAS I, it was just not clear what mechanisms were preferred.

A significant proportion of respondents said there was a need for greater liaison between them and police, but not how they perceived this could best be achieved.

The clear answer to this question was that community welfare was to be seen as an essential part of police involvement in the community.

This finding does not entirely accord with Government policy, which envisaged were formalised structures.

Appropriately, it would seem that government policy may need to be reviewed in the light of this finding.

I would like now to turn to the Secondary School Survey, and discuss the findings derived from Question 6.

This is an experimental question which is best described as a semantic differential.

The results provide an insight into the views of young people regarding police which will, I think, require close analysis in the future, and perhaps, with modifications, replication with other groups.

Conclusion

The results of these surveys illustrate that there is a reservoir of goodwill towards police in Victoria, and some appreciation of the complexities of their role.

Whilst there are contradictory findings from the surveys, this may be explained by the fact that individuals and groups in the community will not have standardised perceptions of police. An expectation of consensus would be unrealistic.

There are, therefore, no simple answers, there will be no certainty that interactions or initiatives will meet the same degree of acceptance throughout the community.

If these observations are correct, and only time coupled with evaluation will tell, then striking the right balance for police policy development and programme implementation will present many challenges.

The second speaker of the session was Senior Constable Lorraine Beyer. Lorraine was very heavily involved in what has become known as the Broadmeadows Study "the main purpose of which was to interrupt the traditional cycle of problem invisibility, where problems are primarily based upon practical wisdom. This was done by providing evidence to expose the true picture of crime in Broadmeadows and the attitudes of its residents towards the police".

Senior Constable Lorraine Beyer: Police Community Relations in an Outer Suburban Working Class Area

The Broadmeadows study was conducted over a ten (10) month period in 1982|83 in response to a need by the Victoria Police Community Involvement Programme of Broadmeadows for a detailed demographic, crime and attitude profile of the Broadmeadows community and the local police. Because this information would be used as a base for police/community involvement programmes, it was necessary to ensure the results would be as reliable and valid as possible.

I therefore obtained information from a number of different sources including local crime statistics, demographic statistics, information from structured oral interviews and information from police, members of the general public and local shopkeepers. Thus a combination of qualitative and quantitative data was obtained. Having the propositions in the study confirmed by two or more independant measurement processes allowed us to place more confidence in the results.

The City of Broadmeadows, was chosen for the study because of the recent establishment of a police/community involvement group in that area. It is a northern suburb of Melbourne containing a mixture of private and housing commission dwellings. It covers an area of 6,475 hectares and has a population of approximately 105,532. Compared with the Melbourne average, Broadmeadows has a higher rate of overseas born residents (4.29% higher). Most

of these are from Turkey or Greece. 49.4% of wage earners are employed in blue collar occupations, compared with the Melbourne average of 35.7%. Individual incomes for wage earners vary between $8,000 and $15,000 per annum. Broadmeadows has a higher than average number of people aged under 15 years, and then had an overall unemployment rate 2.9% higher than the Melbourne average.

A stratefied cluster sample of the population of Broadmeadows was obtained with the help of the Australian Bureau of Statistics and the Victoria Police Statistician, Dr Andrew MACNEIL. To further ensure that the opinions obtained from the public sample would be representative of the opinions of the Broadmeadows population as a whole, the questionnaires were given weights depending on the probability of each individual person's inclusion in the sample. A total of 547 members of the public were surveyed,

56 police were surveyed
53 shopkeepers were surveyed.

Members of the public were very much in favour of police input in public and community affairs and favoured increased police interaction with the community. Police, too were in favour of police involvement in wider social issues, although not to the same degree as the public. One police member commented that there were "not enough police to do everything".

Some public comments were:

"The Police Force has a lot to offer society."

"A Police Force is part of society and as such can play a major part in decisions affecting society."

70.4% of the public thought the general public was not doing enough to prevent crime, whilst 94.7% of police thought the public were not doing enough. 76.6% of people who had been to court on a charge said the general public was not doing enough to prevent crime; compared with 70.1% of those who had never been to court on a charge.

Some comments by police were:

"The public turn a blind eye most of the time."

"Too many things happen in crowded places that are not seen."

46.7% of the public thought local citizens should organise themselves into clubs to help police control crime. 38.2% of police agreed with this idea. 47.1% of people who had been to court on a charge agreed to crime clubs for citizens as did 47.4% of those who had not been to court.

Some comments by the public on this issue were:

"Crime is everybody's responsibility, not just the police."

"Everyone should do their bit."

"No vigilante clubs for Broadmeadows."

Whilst police agreed with the public in favouring an increase in public involvement with crime prevention, they resisted the notion of public involvement in crime control. In answer to the statement "A police/community involvement group is necessary in a Police Force":

83.2% of the public said the group was necessary.

64.3% of Police said the group was necessary.

Members of the public commented that:

"A P.C.I.P. groups helps police to read the pulse of things around them."

"It would create a good spirit in the community."

CRITICISM OF POLICE

Members of the public were critical of certain aspects of police work, and there was widespread criticism about insufficient number of police which led to insufficient patrol work and late attendance of police to calls from the public.

Other people mentioned that police appeared to be overworked and lacked adequate facilities: "The actual police stations must be quite inadequate. Working conditions border on pathetic." Some residents criticised police attitudes and the manner in which they went about their work: "The police treat us like second class citizens because we are only ..... housing commission riff raff". "Police appear to accept crime as just an averyday thing. No interest seems to be given to individual cases ...." One major problem expressed by the public was the lack of trust and poor communications and understanding between police and the community, particularly between youth and police: "There is .... a general distrust towards police. It is the attitude that changing not the Police Force itself." "Police are not looked on by youngsters as a friend they can go to if in trouble. Most police I've personally seen appear to try and be another father instead of listening and actually helping".

The public generally agreed that police relations with the community needed to be established in a positive manner for the prevention of crime and for the general good of the community: "(There) needs to be a better relationship between police and the community so everyone can work together to help prevent crime". Another criticism of police was that they were not doing enough about dispersing groups and gangs of youth who, it was said, roamed the streets at night. In fact, one of the greatest problems in the area as far as the public was concerned, was that of juveniles, often quite young, roaming the streets in groups, gathering outside hotels and shops at all hours of the night, abusing residents and fighting amongst themselves. Over 75% of the specific offences and nuisance behaviour listed by members of the public as being the major problems in Broadmeadows, related to juveniles.

Despite the criticism of police, 79% of the public of Broadmeadows thought police were doing a good job, although many respondents qualified this to "the best they can considering their lack of men and the high incidence of crime". Members of the public mentioned adverse public opinion, shortage of manpower, the difficult nature of police work, and the high crime rate as being obstacles to police in trying to do a "good job".

For their part, police had a great deal to say about the problems they encountered both from the public and from the police organisation itself. Police thought that the public, and youths in particular, were disrespectful of police and authority in general, and were apathetic towards their social responsibilities in relation to crime. They also thought police "were used" by the public. As one officer said: "... people in the area use police to get back at neighbours and past friends in standover type tactics". Police also said they felt they lacked the co-operation of the public and that the public gave no support to, and had no understanding of, the police or the police role.

Almost every police officer mentioned that his station was undermanned, that morale was low and that they had no time to do anything but reactive policing. In other words, they could only answer requests for assistance from the community. Another problem mentioned was that of "young police being frightened to act in many cases as B11 (the Internal Investigations Bureau) Officers and complaints worry them". There was a perceived "lack of senior police coming to us to enquire as to our problems. The local police in No. 1 Division "give" all the time but get little or no help in return".

Clearly police and the rest of the public have more in common than either group believes. In fact, both groups expressed the same opinions and attitudes on a wide variety of subjects. This is particularly so in relation to the need for the police and the community to work together and co-operate with each other to reduce and prevent crime. It is not difficult to understand why the police and other citizens sometimes misunderstand each other. Traditional solidarity and secrecy in police organisations, coupled with an increase in police mobility and sophisticated equipment, have contributed to this state of affairs, especially over the last 50 years and it has caused police to become more remote from their clientele. In addition, the media tend to overemphasise the militant aspects of police work, the crime fighting model, "police brutality" and police-public confrontations. Some police too have developed a stereotype of what a "cop" should be.

CONCLUSION

(a) The Broadmeadows study has been used as a management tool by the Police/Community Involvement Programme (P./C.I.P.) group and local police in a number of areas.

Firstly, in being able to positively identify problems in the area which relate to policing.

Knowing what crime related issues concern members of the public has enabled police to set their priorities in line with what the public wants.

For example, the problem concerning most members of the public is vandalism and juveniles roaming streets unsupervised and congregating in gangs.

Local Police have made a high priority of seeking contact with such youths, referring them to social welfare agencies and helping them to stay out of trouble. Some police members in fact are working almost as outreach workers themselves whilst at the same time the Force is submitting proposals for Social Welfare Department outreach workers to be made available to Broadmeadows. Having concrete evidence such as that contained in the Broadmeadows study, that such appointments of outreach workers is justified is adding a great deal of weight to the submissions.

(b) Other programmes such as the "Police and You" secondary schools study project, have been undertaken to alleviate youth ignorance of the Police Force's role in society.

Also Victoria Police in the area have started an "Off-Road Motor-Cycle" Club to provide a recreational facility for youth in the area and give mini bike enthusiasts somewhere else to ride besides streets and residential parks. Mentioned as a problem by members of the public.

The solvent abuse problem has also been met head-on by Victoria Police. The P./C.I.P. in Broadmeadows has already had success in their approach to the manufacture of solvents and warnings are now displayed on the labels of many of these products.

Another major problem identified by the study through police members, crime statistics and members of the public, is burglary. The implementation of the "Neighbourhood Watch" programme is one of the Victoria Police's methods of attacking the number of burglaries and the fear of burglaries.

The Broadmeadows study results have highlighted and been able to identify, specific criticisms of police and their operations. In light of this, police have been able to make moves to remedy these public perceived "problems with the police", based on evidence and not "gut-feeling". eg,

Patrolling more frequently the places where youths congregate.

Increasing communication with residents and community groups.

The traditional cycle of problem invisibility was interrupted by collating tangible evidence which was documented in a variety of areas:

- Police treatment of the public.
- Attitudes and expectations regarding Police Officers.
- Public involvement in crime prevention and control.
- Views on penalties and the Criminal Justice System.
- Attitudes to laws.
- Social concerns.
- The adequacy of the existing police service.
- Police involvement in community and public affairs.

Even if police were able to apprehend and have convicted, an offender for every offence committed, it would not necessarily follow that police would enjoy high levels of public confidence and approval. Because most crime is solved through information given to police by members of the public, the benefits to be reaped from nurturing and making positive efforts to increase public approval of police should not be underestimated. A high level of public approval of co-operation is conducive to a high crime clearance rate.

An accurate measure of public approval then, is essential. In these times of increasing public scrutiny of police operations and methods, it is no longer good enough for police to rely solely on their instincts to gauge an increase or decrease in approval from the public, nor to rely exclusively on crime figures to gauge the level and nature of a community's concerns about crime problems. It is time to consult the community about its problems as the members of that community see them.

The Broadmeadows study has shown us that what many police think about the attitude of the community and what actually is the attitude of the community may be very different things.

It is not in the police interest to be out of touch with the attitudes and problems of the community they police, and programmes such as the Broadmeadows study provide an excellent means of maintaining close contact.

The last speaker in this session was Sergeant 1st Class Ross Melville who was representing Inspector Braithwaite of Queensland Police. Inspector Braithwaite was Chairman of the Education Working Committee which undertook a number of studies in a project to redefine the aims and objectives of the pre-service programmes offered by the police in the State of Queensland. The report presented by Sergeant Melville was the latest research instrument in the series and was an extensive survey of the general population

"to ascertain the public expectations of the police service and the implications for police education and training".

Sergeant 1st Class Ross Melville: Public Survey on Police Performance in Queensland

My task is to present a paper which I am not connected with. It was a research programme undertaken under the Chairmanship of Inspector Don Braithwaite who unfortunately couldn't be here today and so I was asked to present a brief summary of this survey. We have in limited numbers copies of the results of it.

The Queensland Police Department has a Standing Committee on Education and Training for its police. For both in-service and pre-service training and they have under them a Working Committee. They examine those parts of the department's policy and continually review internal education programmes. The Working Committee was charged with the responsibility of undertaking progressive inquiry and report their findings to the parent body.

It was the belief of that Working Party that if there existed any necessity for the recasting of pre-service training courses, then it should be made in an atmosphere of community participation. It was with this in mind that the working committee recommended the undertaking of the survey to ascertain public expectations of the police service and the implications of those expectations for police education and training.

There were 6,645 questionnaire booklets distributed throughout Queensland and as a result of that distribution we only received a very poor 29% response rate or 1,925. It was interesting to note that out of the 1,925 that we did get back only three of them made any negative general comments. The central theme of the survey centred around the actual course content of our pre-service training programme and accompanying questionnaire was a summary of what the actual curriculum content of the training programme for our probationaries and cadets. Questions were addressed to respondents on the minimum standard of education required for police, several questions on the police performance of their duties in Queensland, particularly in relation to country policemen. The degree of leniency which should be applied by police in their discretionary powers. Other questions put were, Are Queenslanders different? the special characteristics of Queenslanders, the functions of the Queensland police, the personal assessment of police service, positive and negative characteristics of the police, the public image of the police, efficiency of Queensland police, matters to be considered in police education and training and then in conclusion questions inviting general comment. The questionnaire actually went through a process of several drafts and after a lot of consultation with different academics from various institutions and other professional agencies it was tested and retested until finally the finished product was distributed to about 6,000 respondents. It should be clearly understood that the purpose of the survey was to gather information useful in deliberation centred upon Police education and training. It was not a general survey on the public's expectations/appreciation of the Queensland Police Department. Although in some cases the two are quite inseparable. Furthermore, in a covering letter to the recipients of the literature, the Commissioner pointed out that careful thought had been given to identify those persons and organisations from whom a useful response might be expected and who are

representative of the general public. The first question we will address is the emphasis placed by our Department upon the number of hours devoted to instruction of the nominated subjects forming part of the pre-service training courses for probationers and cadets. The public indicated that the hours they thought the officer should spend on administrative matters, the time they spent on sport, physical education, seminars, community service, field craft, Queensland Police Administration, Forensic science, human relations, effective communications, typing, law and duties. People really felt that we underemphasised training, particularly in the area of community service, administration came over very strong, the human relations aspect and they particularly thought we should spend a lot more time on effective communications. Interesting to note that most of the public think we spend far too much time on typing and learning to type, they think that should be done by other people and not by police officers.

There was no criticism that we spent too much time on actual training of law. On the standard of education, it was reasonably conclusive that police should have a year 12 education, ie, University Entrance or matriculation level, 257 felt less was required and only 16 felt there was a requirement for tertiary education.

Those important aspects of policing were listed and a graduated response from excellent to poorly and from a five to one rating scale were invited to indicate the assessment performance. Unmistakably the respondents have indicated that in the emergency immediate response type situation, Queensland police officers perform credibly. Just as unmistakably they have expressed dissatisfaction with the manner in which officers handle persons with different racial origins. From the numerous written comments this refers to aboriginal people. It is interesting to note the people think the police seem to handle everyday problems ok, they think we do pretty good on providing emergency services, but when we look at public ability to relate to people of other races they don't think we handle that one well at all.

We then go on to how well do the police officers adapt to the needs of country policing? "Are you able to identify particular needs of country people" that should be considered in police educational training programmes according to the survey? On the average they seem to think we don't do too bad, but however, we've got 7% in the not very well and 2% in the poorly, which I suppose really represents about one in 15 and this is certainly something worthy of consideration. Some of the general comments that the country people made particularly in respect to country policing were that office hours don't suit the country people. Structural hours of duty are certainly not very suitable in the country. Other points that people made in reference made to

country policing problems were a willingness to become involved in the various aspects of community life they felt that was particularly important for country police. The public had to have a great deal of understanding of other administrative matters in government forms and somewhere where the police officer could be so that they could go to them with problems of their own not just police problems but the type of things considered necessary for referral service. They felt there were great problems with people understanding everyday problems. The problems associated with distance, stock, alcohol, racial tension and youth unemployment in the country were important. That there was a great need to foster human relationships, better human understanding, a police officer must be able to interact more effectively with the broad cross-section of people who make up the country's population.

The next issue was on police discretionary powers and in our State the Commissioner has issued certain instructions which give our police officers some guidelines so that they can use discretionary powers, particularly in respect to minor traffic matters, shoplifters for people aged over the age of 60, the first time offenders over the age of 60, and our juvenile offenders. What officers are required to do is set out a broad policy from which the individual police officer is able to operate. It is very interesting to note that 33% of the people strongly agree with the policy of our Department and the Government, while 50% agree and there is only 3% that strongly disagree that police can have that discretionary power in respect to that type of policing.

The distinctive lifestyle of Queensland was subject to questions. "Do you agree that Queenslanders have a distinctive lifestyle do you feel that this has an influence on policing?" I think that is reasonably self explanatory that most of us Queenslanders think we are a little bit distinctive. 45% believe so anyway and 12% strongly agree and that does have an effect on policing. Some of the written comments were interesting. Most of the respondents simply listed the climate, the climate is the most obvious factor identifying the distinctive lifestyle in Queensland, but however, a number of them also focused their attentions on geographic spread. 'Unlike other States Queensland is a great deal less centralised in that while Brisbane is large there are district areas and several large cities which to some extent have their own individualities. Queenslanders have developed a casual lifestyle while maintaining a conservative outlook on most matters' some of you may well agree with that. 'Queenslanders generally have a carefree lifestyle, sun, beer and having a good time quickly appeals to us, overindulging often leads to trouble'.

The next issue refers to 'What do you consider in order of importance to be the functions of the Queensland Police?' In the preamble to this question an attempt was made to explain very briefly some of the changes that have occurred in the functioning of Police services in our changing democratic society. There are a great many functions listed by the respondents some of course only with one proposal. But the vast majority identified the following duties as significant areas of responsibility:

(1) Protection of Life and Property;

(2) Prevention and Detection of Crime;

(3) The bringing to justice of offenders;

(4) The maintenance of law and order;

(5) The preservation of peace; and

(6) The control of traffic.

These are the sorts of things I think we'd expect to receive but there was a lot of others that come very strongly, that focused around to provide a community service:

(7) Practice good human relations;

(8) Communicate well with the public;

(9) Act courteously provide counselling services;

(10) Give everyone a fair go; and

(11) Set a good example.

As people were not required to identify a response on the return survey, the first part of this item simply asks "Have you had contact of an official nature with police over the last five years?" 1,644 or 85% answered in the affirmative but gave no indication of the nature of that official contact. 15% or one client in seven finds the service unsatisfactory, this position is certainly a matter of concern but being unable to identify the nature of the service, eg, a traffic offence notice, a minor charge, domestic conflict etc. The 15% minority must be offset by the 85% expressing satisfaction.

The items asked the public to indicate the most desirable and undesirable characteristics to be found in persons providing public service. It is perfectly clear that recruiting and educational training and development programmes can be geared to

satisfy well defined public expectations of police officers. Lets look at the positive and negative characteristics and how they rate them. In the negative comments one of the answers to it was "our police officers don't always address the public in the manner that they should. A typical sort of response when addressing a police officer was "what's your problem fella". There seems to be something that comes out very strongly. We've got to concentrate on the way we approach the public, particularly in respect of the opening statements.

The respondent was also asked to tick one of the five nominated categories which they perceive to be the public image of the Queensland Police Force at that particular time. The obvious features to note are while the 66% of the respondents with personal experience with police assess the performance as good or very good, and only 33% believe that the public image of the Police is equally high and similarly while 15% are personally dissatisfied with the service received twice as many 32% believe the public are dissatisfied. Some of the comments were very good. One of the good ones: "Three times in five years I've been involved, twice in traffic offences. Officers were courteous and firm the other time was when one of my children was abudcted the police were absolutely expert in the handling of that incident". The "satisfactory" response: "The public does not appreciate the work of the police. Their satisfactory image should be very good but people don't see the work they do". One of the "not satisfactory" comments: "Too many beer guts and officers drinking free in country pubs". One other comment made in the negative: "Negative media reporting of the police and in fact all public instrumentalities is also very damaging".

There were 1829 people who indicated a fairly normal response to "efficiency of police" question. It was interesting to note that about half the respondents being most generous in their praise and or most damaging in criticism based their response on personal experience. The message coming from this clearly indicates that what police have to do is generally acceptable, but the way in which they do it is often unacceptable.

Future training questions "Are there any other matters which you believe need to be considered in Police education and training to equip police officers to carry out their duties and responsibilities?" 1004 or 52.2% of the 1925 respondents commented on this item. Of these the vast majority or 396, 39% directed their remarks to the area of interpersonal relationships variously described as human relationships, social psychology, sociology, psychology, public relations, community understanding, community involvement, counselling skills, effective communication, leadership and man management. It is particularly significant that although the survey provided several opportunities in earlier items for the respondents to

make specific comments regarding attitudes and interpersonal relations in general, such an overwhelming proportion of the comments should also be directed to these areas. This is especially so as the inclusion of these questions was carefully considered primarily to accomodate other matters which may not have been adequately covered in earlier items and which in public opinion were perceived to be of considerable importance for police educators when assessing the implications of the survey for future courses.

Another open ended question which received 947 or 49% comments from the 1925 respondents was "Are there any final comments that you or the organisation you represent would like to make about any aspects of police/policing in Queensland?" The responses to this question were grouped in broad categories to indicate the aspects of policing most frequently commented on. The ones that were most frequently commented on were: Favourable image, understaffing, 103 quoted understaffing. Areas for improvement, general criticism 82, improvement of public relations 65, more visibility of foot patrols and beat police 41, civilian clerks to do the paperwork 39, improved education and training 39, better service to the public 38, the avoidance of political influence 29, weed out the bad apples 28, and it goes on.

A further question was included as an optional question from which we might have been able to gather information to validate statements made in the anticipation of responses. It is far from a little surprising then that 1853 of the respondents volunteered their age, 1855 their place of residence and 1828 their occupation.

There is, of course, more detailed data available. This is just an overview and time precludes me from going into more detail.

A general discussion followed the presentation of the previous three papers. Most of that discussion centred around the problems of sample size, response rates, methodology, validity and relevance, and that larger problem of bias where police become closely involved in surveys on public attitudes towards the police. There were reservations on the validity of the Queensland programme because of the selection, distribution and response rate. The issue of bias was raised with the Broadmeadows Study which was countered by the fact that the study was not a scientific experiment. There would be more or less bias in any survey what analysts had to do was be aware of it and make allowances for it. Of particular interest to the police employee organisation was the omission of surveys concerned with the police officer's family

as part of the community. It was generally agreed that there was a need for research in this particular area. Several things seem to come out of the various reports on surveys. One is that such global studies are looking at fairly broad attitudes, and it is certainly of value to see how police are regarded, but the problems arise when trying to interpret in a more localised area. A more dynamic approach may be desirable.

On the afternoon of the second day an open forum was held. The previous speakers held the stage and the floor was invited to address any questions to the speakers. There was concern about the possible commercialisation of Neighbourhood Watch which so far had been averted in Australia and New Zealand, where the problem was dealt with by way of copyright. Of some concern also were the proposals of putting less emphasis on response times. As the protection of life and property are the major aims of the police it was considered that for the police to keep faith with the public, the police must do their best to provide quick response times. The speakers were reassuring in that they considered to emphasise should be on the proper utilisation of resources. There should be prioritising of response times so that those matters which are really important are dealt with while other calls are queued. It was considered better to be honest with the public than to hold out an implied promise, that cannot ordinarily be fulfilled, that the call for service will receive priority attention. Screening of calls for service has to be introduced if Police Departments are not to be swamped by the sheer volume.

The issues of auxiliary police civilian volunteers civilianisation, aboriginal policing, native policing in North America were also canvassed. This issue was so wide and diverse that definitive opinions were difficult to determine. As a suggestion, perhaps these issues could be covered more fully in future seminars.

At the conclusion of the forum the final speaker of the seminar was introduced by Mr Colin Bevan. The speaker would be Professor Duncan Chappell who has been a longstanding supporter of the Institute. Professor Chappell occupies the Chair of Criminology at Simon Fraser University. He obtained his LL.B with first class honours at University of Tasmania, a Ph.D at Cambridge in 1965. He has held academic posts in Australia, United States, United Kingdom and Canada. For the past 20 years he has been consultant to governments of the above countries in wide areas of policing, prisons, health, welfare and mental health. He is a member of many criminological societies and associations including the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police. He is widely published and is in a very good position to summarise the seminar proceedings.

Professor Duncan Chappell
Simon Fraser University
Canada

IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY POLICING IN AUSTRALIA

I have been very much struck on this visit to the Southern Hemisphere by the major expansion which seems to have occurred, both within this country and New Zealand, in police research activity. I see the conduct of police research and the publication of its results as one of the very important parts of the accountability process that Philip Stenning has talked about during this seminar. It is also only through the critical testing and evaluation of existing and new approaches to policing that we can begin to make intelligent choices about the future of law enforcement in Australia and New Zealand.

It is very obvious from this meeting that many police officers are now actively engaged in research and doing some very exciting things. For once it is not just a bunch of academics who are here assailing you with their research findings and glazing your eyes. Some of your own police colleagues can do both of these things very capably! I enjoyed Inspector David Smith's presentation of the work you have been doing in Victoria where you are actually undertaking controlled experiments to test what types of community policing policies you wish to implement. Superintendent Morgan from New Zealand also impressed me with his array of survey information about police and public attitudes towards one another. The surveys brought back memories of the work Paul Wilson and I did long ago for our book, The Police and Public in Australia and New Zealand. It is nice to see that similar types of surveys are still being done within the police service and with the help of academics.

I was intrigued by Superintendent Morgan's comment about the academics involved suffering some adverse feedback from their colleagues about collaborating with police research activities. I cannot help observing as an academic that some of the people within police agencies who do research may have equal problems with their colleagues. I know that some of my students who are in police departments at times feel that they are no longer viewed as real cops, by their fellow officers. But overall these are good trends, and very interesting ones, which are obviously causing some healthy ferment within the police community.

I should also mention in this context the establishment of the National Police Research Unit (NPRU) which seems to me to be a very important development in Australia policing. I had a chance to make a brief visit to the NPRU in Adelaide last week and I was very impressed by the list of projects that the unit already has under way. Many of them are obviously applied forensic science types of projects that are very necessary in any police arena - such things as the invention of a new drug exhibit bag which can be monitored by computer. I understand this bag could well be patented and sold overseas so that for once we would be exporting some of our forensic technology. Another project is concerned with the 'furniture' on top of police cars, examining the effects of drag and methods of producing more fuel efficient police cars. There is also a project on community policing. All of the projects are being conducted with a qualified full time staff, assisted by serving police officers seconded to the NPRU from around the nation.

The NPRU's research will be of enormous benefit and assistance to the Australian police community at large. I might add that in a country as large as ours but with a small population of qualified police researchers, we cannot afford to have competition. I therefore very much hope that there will be a maximum of collaboration between these researchers whether they be here in the Institute of Criminology or at the NPRU.

The Institute of Criminology which has a well established commitment to police research, and the NPRU which is still in its infancy, are both well placed to facilitate the sort of interaction with overseas institutions and people we have enjoyed here in this last two days. We have been stimulated by Professor David Bayley from Denver, Colorado, via Japan, Singapore, India and all the other countries that I know David visits and works in, and also by my Canadian friend and colleague, Professor Philip Stenning who commutes regularly to Perth from Toronto.

Well, in about 15 minutes I want to try and sum up two days of absorbing dialogue. I am going to do this under three main headings. First, it seems to me that there has been quite a deal of speculation about why it is we are now involved in a debate about community policing. Secondly, we have discussed at some length what community policing is really about. Thirdly, we have reviewed what is probably the most criticial question for all of us in an Australian context, namely what are the prospects for community policing in this country?

The Community Policing Dialogue

So why now? Well, it has been made quite apparent by a number of people who have spoken that we are not alone in engaging in this dialogue about community policing. The seeds of change are not only blowing in our direction from Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. They are also blowing from our Asian neighbours to the north.

The reasons we are having this dialogue were nicely summarised by Professor Richard Harding in his lucid opening comments when he said, that among other things, Australia is now a more difficult place to police than it was 20 years ago. I think exactly the same thing could be said about Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States, and probably Japan and Singapore. In the case of Australia, Richard identified three key factors that seemed to be affecting the complexity of the law enforcement task in this country. Although not necessarily listed in their order of priority, these factors were unemployment, urbanisation and multi-culturalism.

Unemployment, particularly among the young, is a very worrying development for the community at large, and not merely for policing. I was talking the other day to a friend from the University of Oregon, Professor Ken Polk, who is currently visiting the University of Melbourne about youth unemployment. Professor Polk, who has been looking at youth unemployment in Holland, the United States and Australia, painted a very gloomy picture. In each of these countries there are 'disconnected youth', as he calls them, who will never have full time employment. There are, he claims, kids going through schools, or who have gone through school, who can never expect to get a job for a variety of convincing reasons. I asked Ken Polk what is going to happen in the future to this pool of disconnected kids, particularly from the viewpoint of policing. His reply was not an optimistic one. Obviously out there in the commmunity in Australia and other developed nations, we are going to be facing very real problems in this one area alone, quite apart from the others Richard Harding mentioned which make policing such a difficult business in contemporary society. As Police Minister Anderson said so eloquently in his address to the seminar, it is no longer possible to deal with problems of this type by simply adding personnel and other resources to the police forces of this country. I would like to remind you of what Police Minister Anderson said because I though it was very apposite to much of the discussion we have had at this seminar. He said:

> There is still, in my view, a very strongly held belief amongst many police, and some in the community, that the answer to such problems as escalating crime rates and increasing social problems, is found in increasing manpower and by using bigger and better weapons and ultimately riot shields, batons and mace. For too long the public have been fed cliches and shibboleths about policing. We now have to ask why? The answer is simple - it means that the difficult questions about the quality of policing could be avoided.

I think we are now at last beginning to tackle those difficult questions by engaging in dialogue about community policing, a dialogue which involves examining the quality of law enforcement we receive. For as Richard Harding said in his opening remarks, the pertinent debate is not whether the number of police personnel per head of populatin should be 1 per 400 or 1 per 200, but whether there is 'optimum utilization of existing resources, the resources that the police already have'. That is what I think makes the debate about police community involvement so timely today - it is a debate focused around problems which seem largely insoluble using traditional law enforcement techniques. It is a search for new methods of coping and a questioning of existing methods of policing. It is also a questioning of the cost of policing.

I can speak now with some feeling as a tax-payer in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia. Each year my itemised tax bill tells me how much my municipal government is spending on each of a number of services. The Vancouver Police Department takes roughly 25 per cent of my tax dollars, which is by far the largest component of any of the services the city provides me - through the range of education, garbage collection or whatever else. Perhaps if you were able to see what state policing was costing you, in this way, and you each had to pay separately for this service, you might begin to wonder whether you were getting value for your money. These are the sort of hard economic realities that are making many tax payers like me in North America look more critically at their local police.

What is Community Policing?

So what is community policing? I sense from our discussions at this seminar that we are probably clearer about what it is not, rather than about what it is. Both David and Philip seem to agree that it is not public relations; it is not a panacea for budget cut-backs; it is not (as David nicely said) a philosophers stone; it is not vigilantism; and it is not a new idea. The old Anglo-Saxon's thought about it first, or at least that is as far back as we have traced the notion. I am sure the

Roman's and the Greek's could be proven to have had some of these ideas as well. And if that is what it is not, then what is it?

Well, I thought that David Bayley very succinctly summarised the four elements that are involved in community policing. I am not going to repeat all that he said about those four elements but I will refresh your memories about them. First, he said community policing involved community crime prevention, and went on to describe a range of projects in a number of countries that fell within the rubric of community policing efforts. Many of the projects he referred to have their counterparts in Australia. Secondly, he said, community policing involved the deployment of patrol resources, and how you managed your patrol services. Patrol, as we know, represents by far the largest commitment of personnel in major police agencies, and how you manage that patrol service very much affects the way in which you deal with the community.

Thirdly, said David Bayley, the concept of community policing involves active solicitation of public interaction with police. We have heard at this meeting how in North American settings, in Japan and Singapore, and now in Australia this solicitation is being conducted.

The fourth and final element mentioned by David Bayley was the provision of opportunities for feedback on the part of the public to the police about the way in which these new policing ideas are working. David described a number of mechanisms for providing that feedback. I think we have also been provided with examples over the last two days of feedback being received about community policing experiments in Australia.

Prospects for Community Policing in Australia

We seem to have been able to identify at least a number of the key factors which appear to be associated with the general concept of community policing - a concept which is now proclaimed by some to be alive, presumably well, and growing rapidly in Australia. This leads me to consider the question, what are the prospects for community policing in Australia? It is a question which, it seemed to me, raised the most controversy and disagreement between the perspectives offered by David Bayley and Philip Stenning.

Philip presented this morning a quite superbly reasoned statement about why in an Australian setting and I presume he would add New Zealand, it is likely to be a formidable challenge to implement community policing - a challenge which is much greater than in the United States where you have a far more

decentralised policing system and in Canada where policing is also more diversified. However, on the Canadian front when you are dealing with a policy agency the size of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police which is just discovering the concept of community policing - an agency with a long and honourable tradition but one which is trained very much along military lines with everything flowing down from Ottawa - I think it may be an even more formidable task to introduce this concept than it is in the smaller state and federal departments in this country.

I have sat in a number of meetings over the last couple of years in which the Mounties have been thrashing around questions very similar to those raised in this seminar, and they have all voiced the same anxieties and nervousness about community policing. I am sure the greatest nervousness comes from Ottawa who see community policing as an ogre which will loosen their control over the troups in the field. Community policing is provoking the possibility of a very real power shake-up at the moment as far as the Mounties are concerned, so there is a challenge elsewhere as well.

While I am very sympathetic to the logic and the theory expounded by Philip Stenning concerning the difficulties of providing citizen accountability and control over what is done under the name of community policing in Australia and New Zealand, I do believe that good common sense of both the Aussie and Kiwi varieties is resulting in the introduction of the concepts of community policing here. We are bringing about change in the ways in which our citizens are being policed although perhaps we are not really fully aware of this development. This change may be a little difficult to measure at present but it is still extremely significant, and is occurring despite the fact that we have a much more centralised legal and political environment in which to work than is the case especially, in North America.

Let me now return briefly to David Bayley's comments about what makes community policing succeed in order to illustrate why I think there are already changes occurring here, and also to point to some of the dilemmas that lie ahead for us. First, said David Bayley, the burden and the opportunity of introducing community policing rests with police. I think there might be disagreement on this point between David and Philip but it is obvious that the major initiatives for the introduction of community policing elements have come from the police - we have heard specific examples on this from Victoria, Queensland, New Zealand and I think South Australia. Thus in regard to the first element for success, initiatives are being taken now by police in Australia and New Zealand.

Secondly, said David Bayley, you must have an abiding commitment from the top to change the standard operating procedures. I believe that is probably the most important element of all and I think that is why it has been so difficult for the Mounties in Canada to move into community policing until very recently. I have a good friend who is an ex-Mountie who was one of the pioneers in trying to bring community policing concepts to Vancouver and to British Columbia back in the early 1970s. I think it would not be unfair to say that as a police administrator committed to change, his life was made impossible by a lack of commitment from the top. He ultimately left the RCMP in sheer frustration. I hope that does not happen here to the initiators of community policing.

Things are going to be changed eventually I suspect. You clearly do have some pretty powerful support from the top. You have Police Minister Anderson in New South Wales who has expressed the clearest support for these developments at this seminar. You also have the newly appointed Commissioner of Police in New South Wales, John Avery, and I am sure there are other Commissioners who are supporters but whose names are not familiar to me. But there is always going to be that feeling at the top that we are 'loosing control'. I suspect that over the next year or so, the fighting about the introduction of community policing is going to be within police agencies rather than outside them.

The third thing mentioned by David was that all levels of the force have to be committed to the concept of community policing. That means the rank and file and, especially, the police unions who have already voiced one or two very real concerns here over the last couple of days about what this all means for them. I think myself that the answers to their concerns can be worked out in consultations with the management. I would hate to see this become an adversary relationship, because community policing concepts will not work if they are imposed from the top. I might also add, although I do not think this issue was raised by anyone at the seminar, that as well as saying that all levels of a police force have to be committed to the concept of community policing, it is extremely important in the first place that the police force's own composition reflects the structure and values of the community it serves. And that very much means increasing dramatically the proportion of women and other minority groups in police agencies in both Australia and New Zealand through affirmative action programs. This is, I recognise, a controversial issue which we could debate for days but it is a matter which will have to be addressed as part of any community policing program.

Fourthly, said David Bayley, you have to protect community policing innovations from immediate demands made upon them by politicians or by other administrators. This seems a fairly self evident point. How you protect a particular program is obviously going to depend on the police agency concerned, and who is in command at the top. One would assume that with the support of the Chief you are not going to have this as a problem.

Next, according to David, you have to feed information regularly back to the troops to prove that performance is meeting the claims that are originally set for the programs that you introduce. Again, I would suggest that you are already seeing that type of feedback occurring in the project that we have had described to us. In Victoria, for example, in the Neighbourhood Watch Program there is feedback being provided inside and outside the police force.

Finally, and I think I have now covered all of the elements that David raised about the success or failure of community policing, you have got to have community support, otherwise you can go whistle in the wind. Further, and this is an area where controversy is going to be raised, I would concur with Philip Stenning's position that it is the community who ultimately have to control these programs - this is not and should not be a police responsibility. I know you are going to be haunted by the vision of vigilantism but I am sure this is not a real or immediate danger in Australia or New Zealand.

Another possible danger that was not mentioned I believe, in any of our discussions, is the risk of community policing innovations becoming politicised. A trend which I think is happening in the United States, and to a lesser degree in Canada, that I do not like is the linking of some of these policing activities with moves to try and oust particular judges who may be seen to be too lenient in their sentencing and to put pressures on courts and prosecutors to impose more severe punishments and the like. Some of these developments are also linked to a Victim Rights Movement which is now very influential in the United States and Canada. I personally do not believe that the answer to our crime problems is to be found in a return to savage sanctions. Indeed, if we want to mention research again I think research findings are fairly convincing that the severity of punishment is not such a key issue as the certainty of punishment. If you need evidence of this I suspect the recent breathalyzer experience in Australia is a good illustration of this principle.

So there are dangers with community policing which you are going to have to tackle but I think you are sensitive to them already. These are all real challenges for you, including in a multi-cultural society like Australia the need to recognise ethnic

and cultural factors in the structure and style of policing provided to the community.

Well, I want to end on a positive note because I think that all of the speakers were, in essence, positive when it came down to the final assessment. Community policing is not a new concept but in a democratic society like our own it remains a very vital concept which offers some exciting and extremely timely opportunities for change. For us not to take full advantage of this opportunity for change could result in a weakening of our democratic institutions because the alternative to community policing concepts seems to me, if we look further into the future, to be what I would call state policing or policing by the agencies of the state in a repressive manner. This is a type of policing which I am certain all of us abhor but which regrettably already exists in numerous dictatorships which tend to litter the international community of nations. So, go out there and meet this challenge. Good luck and thank you.

APPENDIX I

Seminar Program

TP.49/1/5

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

COMMUNITY POLICING

2-3 August 1984

THURSDAY 2 AUGUST

10.00-10.30	Morning Tea	
10.30-11.00	Welcome and Introduction	Professor Richard Harding Director Australian Institute of Criminology
	Opening	The Hon. Peter T. Anderson Minister for Police and Emergency Services New South Wales
11.00-12.30	Community Policing in Japan and Singapore	Professor David H. Bayley University of Denver U.S.A.
12.30- 1.45	Lunch	
1.45- 2.45	Community Policing in New Zealand	Superintendent Jim Morgan New Zealand Police
2.45- 3.45	Police/Community Involvement: A Planned Approach to Effective Crime Control Part 1	Inspector David J. Smith Victoria Police
3.45- 4.00	Afternoon Tea	
4.00- 5.00	Police/Community Involvement: A Planned Approach to Effective Crime Control Part 2	Inspector David J. Smith Victoria Police

FRIDAY 3 AUGUST

9.30-10.30	Community Policing - Who's in Control?	Dr Philip Stenning University of Western Australia
10.30-10.45	Morning Tea	
10.45-12.45	Community Perspectives:	
	Public Perspectives of Police Contacts	Dr Lynne Foreman Ministry of Police and Emergency Services Victoria
	Police Community Relations in an Outer Suburban Working Class Area	P.W. Constable Lorraine Beyer Victoria Police
	Public Survey on Police Performance in Queensland	Sergeant 1/c Ross Melville Queensland Police
12.45- 2.00	Lunch	
2.00- 2.45	Forum	
2.45- 3.45	Implications for Community Policing in Australia	Professor Duncan Chappell Simon Fraser University Canada
3.45- 4.00	Afternoon Tea	
4.00	Bus leave for Airport	

APPENDIX II

Participants List

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

COMMUNITY POLICING

2-3 August 1984

PARTICIPANTS

The Honourable Peter Anderson	Minister for Police & Emergency Services, Chief Secretaries Building, 121 Macquarie Street, SYDNEY N.S.W. 2000
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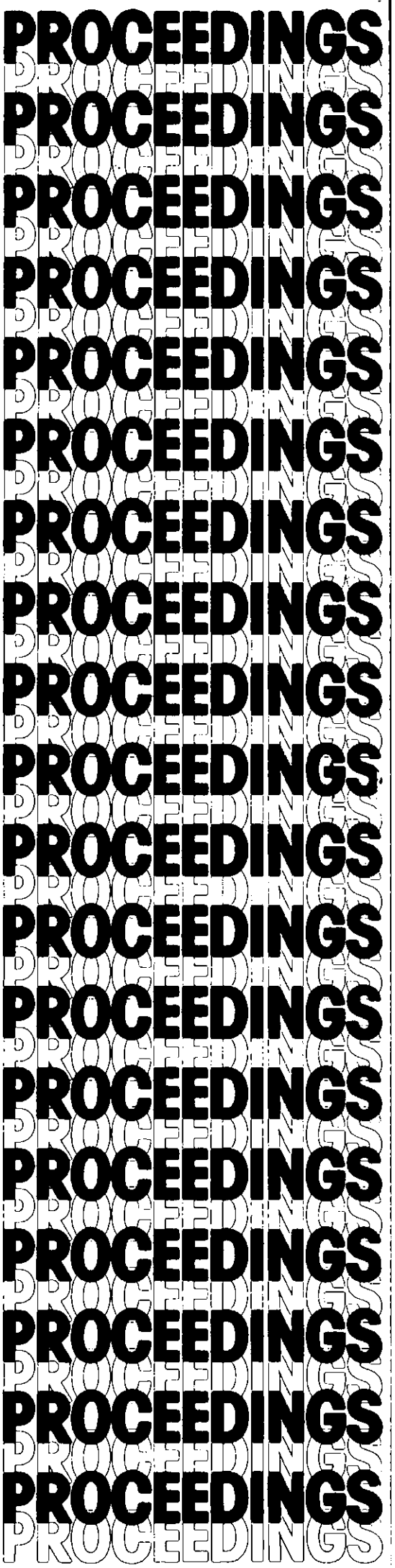
PROCEEDINGS