Community policing in Australia

Judy Putt (Ed)

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Foreword

The genesis of this report was a conference on policing in New Zealand in 2008, at which three of the report's contributors gave presentations. In several subsequent meetings, it was agreed that their knowledge and experience should be brought together into a compilation of chapters on different aspects of community policing. Reflecting the background and interests of the contributors, the perspectives and content of the chapters vary, but all of the contributors share one thing in common; they have all worked closely and collaboratively with police—in education and in the development of policing practice and community engagement, in policy and program management or on research projects. This experience lends itself to an appreciation and questioning of what is 'really happening' and to question and examine 'how it *should* happen'. This interest is the thread that binds together the report, despite the chapters ranging from the theoretical to the practical, with some primarily relying on, or referring to, research and academic debate and several based on applied experience. The collection is not a systematic review of literature and research, with an explicit methodology—instead, it seeks to provide an overview of what is currently known about community policing in Australia and to encourage further research and analysis of the issues and challenges highlighted in the report.

As the first chapter outlines, there is strong policy support for community policing among Australia's police services and much has been written about it here and overseas. The need to work with and for communities is integral to the ideal of a professional service. In more recent years, this central tenet has merged with crime prevention objectives and problem-oriented approaches to produce a commitment to engagement, partnerships and prevention. However, as is noted in several chapters in the report, it is currently difficult to define clearly the scope of community policing and to document its impact and it is frequently discussed in terms of local initiatives and specific programs for discreet social or neighbourhood communities.

The 'small scale' or 'local' character of community policing is a theme running throughout the chapters in the report. In the first chapter, Fleming suggests some explanations as to why it has not yet become a dominant paradigm underpinning all police operations and practice. In particular, she argues that there is an absence of policy, legislative or performance imperatives to sustain long-term and holistic community policing. In his chapter on police involvement in local crime prevention initiatives, Morgan stresses the crucial role of police in local projects, but highlights the variability in engagement and the barriers that impede or complicate local community partnerships.

Both the chapters on rural and remote policing and on local crime prevention refer to a traditional concept of community, based on a geographical location and typically involving a constellation of people who live within close proximity to each other. The chapter by Bartkowiak-Théron and Corbo Crehan considers how the concept has become more complicated and social in orientation with less emphasis on belonging to place and location. Their new typology embraces multiple forms of community, which recognises the more mobile nature of many people's lives, in terms of where they live and work, and that individuals may identify with more than one social group simultaneously. Under the different categories of communities, they provide examples of how police can interact or respond, including the well-established initiatives such as neighbourhood watch, liaison schemes, specialist positions and training.

The online environment is another key driver in how communities currently coalesce and communicate. The final chapter in this report by Choo looks at how these technologies can assist police to communicate and understand communities, and how they can act as community 'spaces' that require policing for signs of criminal activity and extremist agitation. Much of this activity is about *policing* communities, which as Bartkowiak-Théron and Corbo Crehan stress, is the not the same as *working with* communities. Being clear and transparent about the purpose of community policing and how it will operate seems especially important where there might be distrust between police and 'vulnerable' people or groups.

The chapter on policing vulnerable people is a thought-provoking challenge to the way community policing is traditionally viewed and analysed, and builds on Bartkowiak-Théron and Corbo Crehan's typologies of community. They argue that the most visible policing initiatives are those that target particular at-risk or vulnerable groups and that the defining features and characteristics of groups are found in protective and anti-discriminatory legislation and policies. Such categorisation results in protocols and operational procedures that should be followed when dealing with members of these groups and also helps shape the targeting of initiatives. Many groups are, as a population, over-represented in their contact with the criminal justice system—most notably Indigenous people and young people—and it is not surprising that the research on local community crime prevention projects found that these two groups were the most common target groups among projects with police involvement.

A recurrent theme throughout the report is how to recognise difference (and vulnerability), yet to work with and respond to these differences in a fair and just way. Over the years there has been an increase in specialist positions within policing—to deal with specific crimes or to work with specific communities or groups—and in the range of strategies to foster formal and informal ties between police and different sectors of the community. Three chapters refer to measures that have been adopted to improve relationships with migrant and Indigenous communities. However, the diversity across broad populations and changes in community composition and identity, along with the often marginal position of

liaison positions and committees, means that many initiatives require regular assessment as to whether they are appropriate and integrated within core police business. In Australia, as Joudo Larsen and Willis show in their respective chapters, this is apparent in recent reforms of various liaison schemes and the focus on improving and building connections with refugee and Indigenous communities.

Policing in Australian Indigenous communities operates in a setting that must take into account the place of Indigenous communities as both geographical and cultural entities. As a geographical entity, Indigenous communities may share urban or rural space with other Australians of different cultural backgrounds, or live in remote communities with limited services and facilities. Each present differing challenges for police who must also work within Indigenous cultural space. The two chapters on Indigenous policing document different approaches to managing these challenges, through the use of liaison officers attached to the police service and through community police drawn from local justice mechanisms.

Community members taking up various policing responsibilities is the subject of the seventh chapter on Indigenous community initiatives in the United States, Canada and Australia. The success of these initiatives is attributed by Barcham to the separation from, yet good working relationships with, police. In one sense, they have the potential to operate as more equitable partners with police and trained community members undertaking complementary roles and actions.

There is a note of cautious optimism running throughout the report. Fleming comments on the resilience of community policing and its very abstraction and elusiveness gives it a capacity to adapt as a process and as a principle in line with changes in crime and communities. Good practice principles that are articulated in most chapters are best seen implemented in local contexts, as it is more manageable to determine whether appropriate and effective forms of community partnership have occurred. Nevertheless, over time, these partnerships will erode as communities and policing change. Maintaining commitment to core principles related to partnerships, engagement and prevention, including

a willingness to be responsive and to foster trust at a local and organisational level, will no doubt lead to new strategies and approaches, or at least the re-formulation of old ones.

It is likely that local community crime prevention will continue to be the most visible form of community policing, especially now that police services in many jurisdictions are once again resuming policy leadership on crime prevention. Even more visible will be the local initiatives in rural, remote and urban 'vulnerable' neighbourhoods, along with organisational strategies or policies that guide work with vulnerable social groups. There are clear advantages to doing community policing well, most obviously because it can improve public relations and because it enables access to the kind of 'community' knowledge that informs intelligence-led or problem-oriented policing. However, its practice is currently diffuse and concrete results are difficult to document beyond statistics on public satisfaction and levels of reporting. The chapters in this report show that community policing occurs across many contexts and continues to be part of everyday policing practice, but that it is especially challenging when the community is resistant or hostile and/or there is a personal or collective history of poor relations. Community policing is fraught with politics and the skills and knowledge required to undertake it successfully should be the subject of ongoing investigation and debate and greater celebration.

Dr Judy Putt, Editor

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Acknowledgements

Community policing: The Australian connection

Jenny Fleming

Community policing has been hailed by many police organisations around the world as a major paradigm shift from the 'professional' model of policing. Traditional crime-fighting and enforcement-oriented policing with its accompanying centralised, bureaucratic command structure has apparently given way to an inclusive philosophy based on encouraging partnerships between the police and communities in a collaborative effort to solve crime and disorder (see Williamson 2008). Yet to what extent is this true in the Australian context? What do we know about community policing in the twenty-first century? How do we define it? How do we evaluate it? What do we mean by community? How embedded is the notion of community policing as an organisational philosophy in this country? Does it matter? How do we develop a more precise understanding of what community policing in Australia involves? The notion of community policing and how it is understood by police in Australia is considered in this chapter. It looks at the question of definition and provides examples of programs that have come to be acknowledged as community policing initiatives. The idea that community policing is a practice defined by geographical beats is also considered.

This chapter is not intended as an introduction to the report but as a stand-alone chapter that seeks to position the concept of community policing in Australia. Despite the fact that no Australian police jurisdiction has restructured its organisation with a view to institutionalising community policing as the dominant paradigm—community policing, however that term is viewed, is increasingly an important element of Australian policing.

For the past 25 years and in varying degrees, Australian police organisations have actively promoted community policing as a central focus of their activity. Over time, through individual annual reports and strategic plan projections, eight police jurisdictions have pledged their commitment to working with the community. Police Commissioners have emphasised the importance of policing in and through communities and have publicly committed themselves to 'actively involving the community in preventing and reducing crime' (Fleming & O'Reilly 2007: 214). Police Ministers talk about the importance of communities and 'working in partnership with communities and key stakeholders…[to] develop crime prevention and reduction strategies and initiatives' (ANZPAA 2008: 3). The commitment to 'community' is reflected across Australia as well as in official 'business' and 'strategic plans' as states and territories pledge to work with their police agencies in pursuit of community satisfaction.

Police organisational promotional materials and documentation attest to the focus on community engagement. Police websites point to initiatives such as Neighbourhood Watch, Safety House, police liaison officer teams for various communities, police in schools projects, police community consultative committees, shopfront schemes and Crime Stoppers as examples of that focus. In Canberra, the domestic arm of the Australian Federal Police refers specifically to its role as 'community policing'. Whether or not Bayley (1986: 25) was right when he suggested that police in Australia had no idea what community policing meant—'the term is used so variously that it has almost no hard content at all'—Australian police organisations clearly understand, 20 years on, the importance of being seen to be working with the community and establishing partnerships with key stakeholders (eg such as other public sector agencies, non-government agencies and the business sector) to reduce crime and develop community safety initiatives.

Despite this apparent acceptance of community policing as a workable concept by police themselves, it still requires definition. What is known about this paradigm is 'that remarkably…[it] has been raised to the level of becoming the new orthodoxy in policing styles in many countries' (Williamson 2008: xxiii). Defining community policing has generated much conceptual confusion and in spite of the term's academic popularity, there remains no agreed and consistently applied definition of the concept (Seagrave 1996) although there are several interpretations to consider. Bayley (1989) talks about the elements of community policing, citing community-based crime prevention initiatives (such as Neighbourhood Watch), the deployment of police in the community to further non-emergency interaction with the public (ie making general duties officers more available to the public on a day-to-day basis), out-reaching servicing (such as Blue Light Discos and Police Citizen Youth Clubs) and community consultative mechanisms whereby communities can provide feedback to police (eg the creation of police liaison officers).

Cordner (1999) refers to four dimensions of community policing:

- *philosophical*—encompasses the central ideas and beliefs underlying community policing that are articulated in such materials as the organisational logo, the mission statement and annual reports;
- *strategic*—the development of strategies that articulate the philosophical dimension and achieve the implementation of such strategies;
- *tactical*—translates ideas, philosophies and strategies into concrete programs, tactics, and behaviours; and
- *organisational*—the ways in which management and the structure of the organisation support community policing.

Cordner (1999) argues that each dimension needs to be considered in its entirety if the full breadth of the concept is to be realised and if it is to be accepted that an organisation does indeed practice community policing as an organisational concept. Others have sought to make sense of the concept via the origins of community policing and how it 'fits' in the evolution of policing (Mackenzie & Henry 2009). Some see community policing as originating from the Peel 'community' principles of yesteryear whereby crime prevention and the relationship between the police and the public became epitomised in the words, 'the public are the police and the police are the public' (Peak & Glensor 2002: 2). Regardless of whether or not such principles were largely the fantasy of twentieth century textbook scholars (Lentz & Chaires 2007), the principles are perennially held up as the embodiment of 'community policing'. So community policing in the twenty-first century is seen as 'a common point of reference' (Dupont cited in Brogden & Nijhar 2005: 21) and a return in many ways to the Peel principles (Peak & Glensor 2002).

In thinking about community policing as a crime prevention strategy, Sherman and Eck (2006) cite Neighbourhood Watch and community meetings as core strategies. Skogan's (1996) 'Chicago Style' project is probably the most cited piece of research and is memorable for its alibility to mobilise people from areas with high crime rates to participate in community meetings. They also include police storefront programs and door-to-door visits as examples of community policing.

Others cite the rural context whereby 'police officers often adopt a community-based model of policing in which officers become integrated into a community and establish compatible community relations' (Scott & Jobes 2007: 127; see also Falcone, Wells & Weisheit 2002) as the starting point for community policing in urban areas. A third and perhaps more orthodox view is that the changing nature of communities, public demand for accountability and a general dissatisfaction with perceived failures in traditional policing methods have all been factors in fostering an environment that was open to alternative approaches to addressing crime in the community (Brogden & Nijhar 2005; Segrave & Ratcliffe 2004; Williamson 2008). In the US context, Sherman and Eck (2006: 298) argue that community policing arose 'from the crisis of legitimacy after the urban race riots of the 1960s' and should be distinguished from the less specific 'problem-orientated policing'. In England and Wales, the need for a 'different community model of policing' was identified by John Alderson in the 1970s and later by the Scarman Report on the riots in Brixton in 1981 (Tilley 2003: 311). Whatever its origins, community policing in the twenty-first century has come to denote a contemporary policing approach that embraces problem-solving and community engagement with an emphasis on partnerships to address antisocial behaviour, crime prevention initiatives and social disorder perceptions. It is not necessarily

> a one-to-one link between the police and the public, but often involves a web of linkages between the police, various organisations and the public (Fleming & O'Reilly 2008: 140).

It is generally agreed that 'there are significant benefits to be accrued by connecting the police and communities' (Innes & Roberts 2008: 241). So, for example, engaging with the community often leads to higher levels of confidence and trust towards police in these communities (Murphy, Hinds & Fleming 2008).

Just as there has been no shortage of interpretations of what constitutes community policing, there has also been no shortage of research looking at its practice. In their study of international police research, Beckman et al. (2005) show that the substantive focus of police research is police practice

and specifically, community policing. This is particularly the case in the United States and the United Kingdom where there is a significant amount of literature around community policing (eg the Home Office website and the National Institute of Justice website are replete with reports, research publications and practitioner literature about community policing in all its forms). However, less than 20 percent of this research empirically analyses specific outcomes and there is little discussion of the quality and effectiveness of community policing. Researchers have found such initiatives notoriously difficult to confirm specific outcomes for and evaluate empirically (Bayley 1994; see also Eck & Rosenbaum 1994; Sherman & Eck 2006). This has been particularly true in the case of Australia. The lack of evaluation of community policing programs compounds the issue of definition and recognition and in some cases, hinders continued funding arrangements and the continuance of many programs and initiatives (Fleming & O'Reilly 2008).

Community policing initiatives emerge in a number of guises and reflect differences in organisational structures, existing governance structures, resource availability and geographical scope (Gianakis & Davis 1998). Such variety is particular pertinent in Australia where a single jurisdiction may encompass culturally and linguistically diverse communities in capital cities, towns, rural and remote communities over vast geographical areas (Fleming & O'Reilly 2008). Current community policing policies and initiatives discussed in this report provide examples of these variations, the diverse nature of Australian communities and the challenges they present to those committed to such initiatives. It illustrates the importance of projects being tailored to local communities and contexts.

Notwithstanding the rhetoric, many observers have noted that community policing in Australia is not a fully developed organisational concept. As Bayley (1990) observed, community policing in Australia in 1990 was a secondary policing activity rather than part of an organisation's core business; more of an 'add-on' to an organisation's crime prevention programs. Beyer (1991: 89) also noted that in Australia, the concept was essentially a local approach, 'designed to bring police into non-confrontational contact with the community in some way' rather than a 'holistic' approach that would see

an organisation restructuring their organisation with a view to institutionalising community policing as the dominant policing paradigm. Fleming and O'Reilly (2007) in their discussion about the rhetoric and reality of community policing argue that little has changed and that Australia's police organisations, at best, pursue 'small-scale' community policing initiatives. They further assert that unless police organisations adapt more fully to accommodate new ways of doing business, community policing in Australia will remain an add-on to traditional police practice rather than the dominant paradigm it is held to be (Fleming & O'Reilly 2007).

There are many explanations as to why community policing as an organising concept has not been adopted fully by Australian (and indeed other jurisdictions') police organisations. Policy transfer issues and the myth that community policing is the 'panacea for community life, independent of context and of history' (Brogden & Nijhar 2005: 60) have both been considered as barriers to institutionalising community policing as a dominant policing paradigm, as have:

- organisational and managerial factors that provide little support for such intangibles as community policing (Fleming & Scott 2008);
- police officer resistance to such activity (Smith & Natalier 2005);
- police culture (Chan 1996);
- the politically risk-adverse nature of police organisations (O'Malley 1997); and
- conflicting management styles across various governing structures (Fleming & Rhodes 2005).

Often, the absence of any sustained legislative or policy imperatives for community policing initiatives and a high-performance culture that has traditionally failed to develop appropriate mechanisms for community policing activity compound these constraints (Fleming & Scott 2008).

However, despite these somewhat discouraging reflections on the implementation of community policing in the Australian context, there are a number of successful local community policing initiatives across Australian states and territories. This chapter indeed testifies to the diverse far-reaching programs and ideals sustained by 'community policing' principles. Much of community policing is understood

as being structured around geographically-defined areas and specific responsibilities—community policing is now often considered in the context of vulnerable populations—whereby specific projects and programs are targeted at refugees, groups defined by age, gender, sexuality or ethnicity for example (Bartkowiak-Theron this volume; Campbell & Julian 2009; Wood et al. 2008).

There are a number of programs that have been formally assessed and others that have won awards. For example, the Homelands Partnership Initiative in Queensland (2001–05) targeted at Indigenous people who for various reasons had found themselves a long way from home, was formally evaluated and successfully demonstrated significant reductions in public order offences over a five year period (Fleming & O'Reilly 2007). Recognition of the success of the program was pivotal to the extended financial commitment from the Queensland Government, which included

> renewal of existing funding for Police Liaison Community [P]atrol Officers in Cairns and for newly appointed officers in other major cities in the state (Fleming & O'Reilly 2008: 145).

Similarly, the Toowoomba Beat Policing Project in Queensland increased levels of satisfaction with policing services by beat residents (although it had little effect on their feelings of safety). The project had some success in tackling problem areas on the beat and helped to contain the incidence of certain types of crime (Mazerolle et al. 2003). The six 2008 winners of the Australian Crime and Violence Prevention Awards included two examples of collaborative community policing projects that demonstrated successful outcomes (AIC 2008).

Since 2007, the Western Australian police have been working with the state's Department of Health (Drug and Alcohol), Liquor Licensing Authorities and the Department of Health and Indigenous Communities in Fitzroy Crossing in remote Western Australia to restrict the sale of packaged liquor there, with a view to addressing the significant crime and violence happening in the community. The program has achieved significant reductions in alcohol-related crime and injury, and is a continuing and now well-resourced program (GWADAO 2008)

In 2007, NT police and partner agencies began a process to develop a multi-agency response to antisocial behaviour in each of the major regions of the Northern Territory. A problem-oriented approach to these issues was taken, where a focus was placed on the underlying problems and root causes, rather than continuing to respond to the exhibited symptoms. The approach allows participants to tailor responses to identified issues, which will potentially result in measurable solutions being developed and implemented (Fleming 2008).

These and other examples of community policing initiatives can be found in local communities across the country. Indeed, Australian police are now taking their community policing skills offshore and assisting to maintain a safe, stable and secure region in the Pacific (AFP nd).

In addition, the Australian Research Council and other Australian funding bodies such as the Criminology Research Council are consistently providing funds for projects that involve police and communities working together to address antisocial behaviour, crime prevention initiatives and social disorder.

Perhaps it is irrelevant that police activity does not necessarily match up with definitions of community policing that emphasise specific dimensions and a holistic approach, or whether the initiatives are geographically precise or aimed more broadly at various populations. Perhaps what matters is that communities are, at least, relatively satisfied with police in general. This satisfaction may be, in part, related to the ways in which police are reaching out to the community and indeed, how the community are increasingly engaging the police in research projects and other activities, however, there is little evidence to support this yet.

As noted, higher levels of engagement can lead to significant increases in levels of confidence and trust. The National Survey of Community Satisfaction with Policing in 2009 indicated that, in 2007–08 the majority of people surveyed (66%) were 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with the services provided by police (SCRCSP 2009) This figure is, of course, not optimal, nor does it suggest that police do not have more to learn about working in and through

Australian communities. What it does suggest is that Australian police have come some way from the 'general unpopularity of Australia's police' which characterised much of the twentieth century (O'Brien 1960: 247) and have at the least recognised the role of the community in addressing crime and disorder issues, however 'small-scale' some of the initiatives may be. This chapter has pointed to some of the ways community engagement is happening across Australia and provides some encouragement to those who see community policing as a positive way forward for Australian police organisations and an important aspect of community attitudes to crime, disorder and safety.

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The changing nature of communities: Implications for police and community policing

Isabelle Bartkowiak-Théron
and Anna Corbo Crehan

Clearly, the concept of community is intrinsic to community policing. But few criminological or policing works go beyond recognising that communities are a complex phenomenon (or, indeed, phenomena). Little consideration is given as to how exactly communities have changed over time and how, in response, community policing has had to change and adapt. This chapter is a modest attempt at filling this gap. It will briefly survey the evolution of communities as social entities and show how their changing characteristics have impacted on police work. Building on a comprehensive and modern typology of communities, how police have adapted their understandings of community policing to recognise and work with these modern realities will be explored.

The changing nature of communities

A significant departure from the traditional understanding of 'community'

The landscape of 'communities' has significantly departed, worldwide, from its original minimalist (and sometimes romantic) meaning. From a fairly localised and geographically confined concept, communities are now understood as much more complex entities (Brogden & Nijhar 2005). The modernisation of western societies and patterns of globalisation have changed the picture of communities as traditionally known—that is, as embodied in notions of geographic cohesion (neighbourhoods, suburbs, townships etc) and the grouping of interests (castes, associations, clubs etc). Moreover, this traditional view was usually accompanied by an implicit benevolent connotation, which has now been recognised as misleading, as communities can occasionally harbour negative criminogenic components (eg see Crawford 1997 or Weatherburn & Lind 2001) or other forms of immoral or antisocial behaviour.

This physical conception of communities is not entirely lost (Flynn 1998) and still elicits strong ideological and symbolic connotations (Body-Gendrot 2000). However, it has slowly been losing importance with the appearance of a multitude of other variables, including exodus patterns, online technologies, the erosion of the social fabric,

commuting and transportation modes and ways and costs of living. These variables have made the original privileging of physical nearness redundant in many cases and opened up possibilities for defining communities around other characteristics (such as common needs). They highlight patterns of cohesion that were born of more advanced liberalisation movements (feminist, sexual, liberal, neo-liberal) and a more pragmatic acknowledgement of social diversity at political and legislative levels.

Some writers have criticised this new understanding of communities as an exclusivist view, often drawing on negative ghettoisation examples of socialisation (eg see Cunneen 1992 or Wacquant 1992). Others (usually drawing on positivism or liberal perspectives) see a benefit in acknowledging the specific needs and stories of particular categories of people (rather than focusing on geographical areas) as being a step forward in recognising other forms of social bonding. They value this as an understanding of social diversity from a more pragmatic standpoint (Arneil 2006). Further, they tend to argue that states attempt 'to meet basic social needs while addressing the question of equality of opportunity for the less well-off' (Arneil 2006: 13) and that questions of needs and opportunities do not fit neatly into geographical boundaries.

In any case, modern communities are far more complex and in many ways more coherent from a utilitarian perspective in the way that they provide very specific criteria for determining community membership. For example, while neighbourhoods might lose internal coherence due to the erosion of the social fabric (Baumgartner's concept of 'moral minimalism', Body-Gendrot, 2000), new communities can be found among people who, while they do not know each other, do know *of* each other (either as specific individuals or as a general type such as 'the other people who work in a regional university like me'), regardless of space. While the notion of local (geographical) groupings is now harder to apply, the idea of grouping people as per shared topical issues or problems is an easier way to grasp the very idea of commonality (ie what some people have in common and agree, in principle, that they have in common). It also establishes a better platform from which policymakers, professionals etc can make strategic decisions about service delivery. Nonetheless, not all ways of understanding community membership will be equally applicable (or ethically justified) in all possible circumstances.

Table 1 A new community typology

	Geographical communities	Geographical transient (transitory) communities	Communities of interest	Cultural and ethnic communities	Externally coherent (defined) communities	Occasional communities
Description	Strong association to defined place and space, often associated with a particular culture and identity, coherent and visible	Often linked to a place where people meet on a more or less regular basis, but which do not have to share the same 'permanent' geographical location	Groups of people who share of common ideas, passions, hobbies, interests, needs. They do not have to share the same geographical environment, but sometimes do	Way to identify people/groups of people who differentiate themselves from the majority, by way of language, native ways and migration status; often associated with the concept of 'minority'	Groups of people who do not need to know each other, but who can be (and often are) classed together due to characteristics identifiable by others (eg skin colour), experience, hardship	No common interest, need etc that binds people together on a regular basis
Examples of primary determining factors	• Space • Identity	• Temporal location • Activities specific to location	• Interest • Activity • Ideologies • Principles	• Nationality or language • Culture • Religion • Education or economic background	Shared experience	'One off' individual desire to join in events
Strengths and/ or weaknesses	• Social cohesion is less important, although preferable • Boundaries for membership can be clearly defined	Temporally convenient, although conflict displacement can occur (conflicts would not happen if regrouping in this space did not occur)	Usually strong sense of cohesion marked by sharing of ethical debate, risks of discrimination; 'us and them' dynamic; with exceptions relating to proximate causes of crime, rarely a source of problem for law enforcement	• Challenging in terms of ethical debate, risks of discrimination; 'us and them' dynamic • May assist with adjustment to new culture/nation	• People may not want to be 'grouped' on the basis of the characteristic that makes them externally coherent to others • Differences between individuals and others they are 'grouped with' may outweigh similarities	Usually a visible example of social cohesion
Examples	Neighbourhood, suburb, region, nation	Schools, workplaces	Sports or cultural clubs, ideological or political parties, academia, online group	Refugees, religious minorities	Homeless people, some Aboriginal people, some people belonging to sexual minorities, victimisation	Special events— guests and organisation bodies

Source: Adapted from Brogden & Nijhar 2005

The next section will examine ways of articulating types of communities so that they can be used to inform practical decisions.

As an aside to the main discussion, it is important to note that such new forms of community may give rise to a raft of ethical issues. Indeed, people can be ascribed membership in a community on the basis of characteristics they share with others—with whom, perhaps, they have nothing else in common—and this ascription may not be in their interests. May (1987: 115) has referred to groups which can be defined in this way as being 'externally coherent' groups—groups of people whose coherence is based on the 'strong identification of individual persons as group members by external observers'. Examples include women, Australian Aboriginals and young males. Members of externally coherent groups have no choice in being identified as members of these and therefore no choice in the extent to which they are prepared to share in the advantages and disadvantages of group membership. These issues are considered more fully elsewhere (Bartkowiak-Théron & Corbo Crehan 2009).

Finding the communities in the community

What the preceding discussion clearly indicates is the need for a narrative and an account of the sorts of communities now being formed. Bringing the key features of such communities to light should make it (and in some jurisdictions, already has made it) easier for specific professionals, policymakers etc to identify the type of community on which they ought to focus to best achieve their outcomes.

In this 'new age' of communities, a relatively comprehensive typology can be drawn. Table 1 introduces such a typology, strongly drawing on the list featured in Brogden and Nijhar's work (2005: 50–51) and taking into account the more refined commonality of traits that can be observed nowadays. The categories in Table 1 are to be understood as non-exclusive—membership in one does not preclude membership of others. One of the new dimensions of communities nowadays is

to accept the transient nature of 'belonging' and that depending on time, space, movement etc, one can belong to a variety of communities—possibly even all of those listed below (eg a Peruvian academic may also be a member of a sports club and might have just become an organising member of a music event in his locality). Community membership, therefore, needs to be understood as a fluid and sometimes transient concept.

Table 1 builds on commonality, either in terms of ideas, characteristic traits, time or geography as the main indicator of community cohesion and belonging (Delanty 2003). It is not claimed that this typology is exhaustive; some of the six categories identified can be further divided on the basis of finer distinctions (eg externally defined communities could be distinguished in terms of less temporally-stable factors eg 'being a young person', 'being a single mother'). Rather, it is asserted that on the basis of these six categories, policymakers, professionals etc will be better positioned to determine the best way to deliver services to respective communities and indeed, to pre-empt the need for some services. For example, the strengths and weaknesses of each type of community allow for a direct appreciation of what may or may not need police attention and monitoring. Consider a community of interest—for example a sports club which regularly engages in behaviour (excessive consumption of alcohol) which is recognised as being a proximate cause of crime. Any measures to address this causal factor will need to take into account the strong cohesion which exists between members of such communities. This will inform police about the sorts of strategies that are most likely to work (and conversely, which strategies should be avoided). However, there are limits. It is not claimed that police (or others) are not aware of the categories delineated in Table 1; as will be shown, police have been taking some of these types of communities into account in their practice of community policing. Rather, it is through a comprehensive understanding of all aspects of a particular community that policing (and other) decisions can be better informed and therefore, be better at achieving their objectives.

The resilient nature of community policing in a shifting context: The work of the police?

The importance of adapting to new operationalisation contexts is the backdrop for all community policing initiatives, worldwide. But in a new and constantly moving community landscape, community policing is, arguably, a resilient concept. Indeed, for successful policing to occur, it is essential for police to be involved and respectful of community factors, new and old, on the widely recognised grounds that policing does not happen in a vacuum and needs to be organised in conjunction with a variety of partners, including communities. Along with partnership policing, this is strongly tied to the newly emerged concept of knowledge-based policing (see Fleming 2005; Williamson 2008; Wood & Bradley 2009). In addition to the need for improved public approval rates, this highlights the importance of intelligence-led operations, more targeted and efficient practices and more focused customer service (Bartkowiak-Théron & Jaccoud 2008; Wood

Table 2 Community policing initiatives adapted to new definitions of communities

	Geographical entities	Geographical transient (transitory community)	Communities of interest	Cultural and ethnic communities	Topical or experiential communities	Occasional community
Examples	Neighbourhood, suburb, region, nation	Schools, workplaces	Sports clubs, cultural clubs, ideological or political parties, academia	Refugees, religious minorities	Homeless people, victims associations, prison	Special events guest and organisation bodies
	Target groups= localities	Target groups= related transitional place (eg:schools)	Target groups= none in particular as less of a problem	Target groups=special needs groups or target of topical issues		
Examples of initiatives	Neighbourhood watch Special indigenous constabulary (Quebec) Bobbies (UK)	School Resources Officers (US) School Liaison Police (New South Wales) Policiers référents (France)	None in particular. Follow up of issues done by general duties police, crime prevention officers; problems might be looked at and solved on a case by case basis or within the framework of problem-oriented policing	Aboriginal Liaison, Ethnic Community Liaison Officers (Australia, New South Wales) Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers (Australia, New South Wales) Domestic Violence (Liaison) Officers Specialised Youth Officers	None in particular, due to ephemeral nature of the community. While special events relating to crime awareness campaigns would see police involvement of during activities, the organisation of items is usually left to partnering agencies or private security.	
Nature of tactical changes	Special focus on local capacity and knowledge	Specialised training and powers to officers specially dedicated to schools		Provision of specialised officers Establishment of liaison schemes Minimalist component of transfer of power in the cases of indigenous policing		
Underpinning principles	Local community policing; transfer of powers in the case of indigenous policing in Quebec	'Portable' policing and mobility of hierarchy, when needed		Accompaniment and support of 'disadvantaged' groups, or other identity groups, based on needs relating to social identity, age		

& Deukmedjian 2009). Police and their partners are more and more aware that initiatives without obvious community engagement (Myhill 2009), community benefits and visible concern on the part of police are not only less successful, but also do not look good. Positive relationships need to be sustained and nurtured on an ongoing basis to improve service provision and success/impact rates, even in contexts of significant social and cultural change. It is argued that police know of these factors, but are also aware of the new community landscape.

The commitment of police worldwide to better community-based, community-run and sometimes community-owned initiatives has been ground breaking and well-documented since the end of the 1990s (eg see the works of Bayley 1986, Goldstein 1990 or Skogan 2004). The volume of literature on the matter is indicative of a wealth of initiatives, although some problems remain in the area of measurement of success and quantitative impact on targeted communities (Segrave & Ratcliffe 2004). Nonetheless, efforts to redress this deficit are becoming more and more noticeable (eg in Australia, see the work done by the Australian National University, the University of Tasmania and Charles Sturt University with, respectively, Victoria Police, Tasmania Police and the NSW Police Force).

What is more obvious, though, is the changing nature of police initiatives that (are meant to) fall under the broad umbrella of 'community policing'. After all, how could community policing be sustained without taking into consideration the changing nature of these communities? It is argued that, at some level, there has been an adaptation of police initiatives occurring in parallel to the changing nature of communities worldwide—that police have already begun engaging with these different forms of communities and that the 'faces' of community policing have been changed thereby.

While there has been, and still is, a long-standing tradition of geographically focusing police initiatives on parts of town or hotspots (Bragga, 2002; Flynn 1998; Goldstein 1990), some initiatives now also focus on a more diverse range of communities, including those indicated in the above typology. In Table 2, the sorts of initiatives police are currently undertaking are indicated and these are matched with the communities identified in the typology.

The degrees of fit which the Table demonstrates do not necessarily mean that police have consciously identified all these forms of community as such and therefore sought to adapt to them. Rather, the point is that police are engaging in a range of activities under the community policing banner which fit with the typology explicated and demonstrate that community policing has adapted to the changing conceptions of community.

The variety of initiatives that stem from an acknowledgment of diversity in communities in western societies cannot be denied. Police forces have managed to provide more or less appropriate services (their efficacy or otherwise is not discussed here) to various types of communities, thereby adapting to the erosion of traditional forms of social cohesiveness. While Australia still has to commit to community policing at more a philosophical level (Fleming, this volume; see also Fleming & O'Reilly 2009), organisational changes have already begun to occur. Importantly, they occur in ways that demonstrate engagement with modern and diverse forms of community. Evidence for these changes can be seen in the multiplication (albeit spasmodic) of specialised community officers (either 'liaison' or dedicated divisions) trained to address specific community needs (eg Domestic Violence Liaison Officers or Mental Health officers) and the systematic calling for external community resources for the handling of community problems.

Conclusion: A critical view of 'pigeon-holing' in community policing

Acknowledging diverse communities is unavoidable in modern, liberal societies. Many police jurisdictions have done so (with more or less consciousness of the groups they are dealing with constituting 'a community') and have recognised the need to adopt more community-friendly and community-focused practices, either from a strategic, tactical or public opinion image point of view. Drafting a typology of such communities will not of itself enable police to find ways of engaging with these communities, but it should allow police to identify some communities which might otherwise receive little police attention

qua community. Moreover, such a typology could pave the way for a better understanding and assessment of the community policing initiatives that have proliferated since the 1970s worldwide. The lack of rigorous evaluation has been an ongoing point of criticism of community policing; but identification of specific types of communities, however complex the exercise, arguably allows for a more exhaustive account and appraisal of initiatives (if communities can be delineated, then they can be numbered; therefore, schemes and programs directed at these communities can also be developed and properly reviewed). It will also allow police forces to demonstrate their commitment to community policing in a more assertive manner or design new initiatives to do so.

However, it is important to note that the more communities that can be listed, the more initiatives can be numbered and designed to address complex community-based problems. Not all of these, though, will be consistent with community policing principles, despite claims to the contrary (a community-based initiative is not per se a community policing initiative). For example, geographically-localised interventions, if they are essentially punitive and aggressive, would not fit the underlying principles of community policing. Also, it could hardly be argued that police programs aimed at monitoring neo-Nazi activities (which match our typology) can be deemed 'of community policing'. However, some reactive initiatives (sometimes stemming from problem-oriented strategies) might fit community policing criteria. There is a fine line to be drawn between what is 'of community policing' and what is 'of policing communities', with many police initiatives in fact fitting the latter description. The importance of these semantics cannot be overstated. Evaluations will have to pre-emptively set specific standards to strictly 'match' initiatives with the underpinnings of community policing, as presented by Fleming in the introductory chapter of this report, or by Bayley (1986) in his appraisal of community policing in Australia—partnerships, relationships, proactivity and prevention. Even though communities are complex, the essential philosophy of what could be labelled one of the most elegant policing paradigms does not have to be.

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A new movement in community policing? From community policing to vulnerable people policing

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Community policing has always fluctuated between being praised for its nature and importance in the field of policing and being looked down on for its measurement difficulties. Despite the latter, which has been one of the principal reasons for the cyclical demise of community policing from both operational and tactical perspectives, its core principles keep coming back to the forefront of the political scene and to the vanguard of policing initiatives. It is argued that in recent years, this comeback has taken a new form, with police agencies placing a different spin on their approach to community policing and particularly, on their efforts at policing communities. Indeed, it seems that in a bid to address ongoing societal concerns for professionalism and ethical conduct, police agencies have developed a new way to conceive of community policing. This new conception is based on a different understanding of community which is not only (in some cases, not at all) geographically-defined, but also determined by the shared vulnerabilities of some individuals. The coherence of such groupings is based on the 'strong identification of individual persons as group members by external observers' (May 1987: 115). Australian Aborigines, American Blacks, women, homeless people etc constitute the sorts of groups to which May is referring. So too do children, youth, many disabled people, many people from non-English speaking backgrounds and others who have been legally defined as vulnerable.

It is contended that much of the contemporary operational effort made by police agencies under the banner of community policing is focused on communities that have no geographical basis but which are coherent on the basis of perceived vulnerabilities. This paper looks at the development, rationale and logistics of this new policing movement. Some possible explanations for why this trend can be identified in Australia and internationally are discussed and the operational translation of such a trend and the potential issues it can raise is examined.

The emergence of a new trend in community policing

The evolution of community policing

The establishment of community policing as a policing paradigm is the subject of debate as to whether it is in fact no more than the nineteenth century Peelian conception of policing (the object of policing being the 'prevention of crime and preservation of public tranquillity'—Tilley cited in Skogan 2004: 165), or whether the 1970s–80s critiques of the criminal justice system precipitated the foundation of an alternative to the traditional responsive mode of policing (Bartkowiak & Jaccoud 2008; Fleming & O'Reilly 2008; Shapland 2008; Skogan 2004). Encompassing high-visibility policing with problem-solving, peacemaking, interagency work and active involvement of community members, the usual definition of community policing is wide ranging (see also Bayley 1986; Fleming this volume) and its applications are even more extensive. However, police agencies the world over have committed to the paradigm and thereby to establishing better and more inclusive forms of authority for civil society.

These new more inclusive forms of policing have 'communities' as their defining focus, with particular attention paid to the needs expressed by a variety of stakeholders, ranging from partnering government agencies (eg state-based youth services) to external stakeholders (eg pressure groups or victims' associations). For police agencies worldwide, this inclusion of stakeholders initially took the form of the latter providing feedback and views on policing initiatives. In recent years, however, new forms of inclusion have emerged, with more participation of target groups into refining initiatives, as well as into their actual design and inception (eg see Fleming & O'Reilly 2008; Morash & Ford 2002; Tilley 2008).

This type of active involvement of communities in the setting up of police responses is a tactical strategy that warrants some attention. Policing is often described (in both popular discourse as well as in many scholarly works) as a profession that tends to work with and for itself, with the overall police culture being a hindrance to progress and an impediment to external feedback (Chan 1997). Nonetheless, the initiative of those police agencies around the world that have chosen to involve some relevant communities in the actual creation of new targeted operations should be saluted. From the provision of insight training of police officers to structural design of initiatives, many community members or community specialists have contributed to the enhancement of police work, which is then often rewarded by better satisfaction rates and more successful operations (Reising & Giacomazzi 2000).

How did these successful initiatives work? How were police forces around the world able to adopt innovative and better targeted community-oriented views of their profession? When dissecting most initiatives worldwide, it can be observed that the most successful of these are far from being generic initiatives, aimed at those hard-to-define communities highlighted in the previous chapter. On the contrary, the most successful initiatives, or—at least—the ones with the most visible impact, are those that target particular groups, defined according to criteria such as age group, ethnicity and gender, levels of risk and familiarity with and experience of crime (eg see Wood et al. 2008). An inventory of the relevant characteristics would be extensive and unlikely to be exhaustive. However, a great many of the groups that have been targeted by police agencies worldwide are to be found under one overarching umbrella—that of 'vulnerable people'.

Rebuilding community policing initiatives: Enter communities of vulnerable people

The particular attention to 'at risk' populations or 'vulnerable people' is far from being a new phenomenon in policing. The need to focus on populations that are in peril in specific sorts of ways or that present or face a particular hazard is now seen as rather mainstream in the profession.

However, the place of vulnerable populations in community policing has not yet been identified as a clear pattern within the generic community policing paradigm. This is attempted in this chapter.

Populations that are socially considered to be vulnerable, or 'at risk' as they are sometimes also called, have been identified through social research, political inquiries and protective legislation implemented at state and/or Commonwealth levels. In socio-legal studies, the categorisation of people as members of 'vulnerable populations' is an easy way to point to particular social pockets of people that are more predisposed than others to becoming victims or offenders (Bartkowiak-Théron & Corbo Crehan 2009; Bartkowiak-Théron & Lee 2006). Broadly, from a normative point of view, there are two types of vulnerable people. There are those who are listed in legislation (at both local and international levels, such as the NSW *Law Enforcement (Powers and Responsibilities) Act 2002* and Regulation 2005, or the UK's *Human Rights Act 1998*); and there are those who are not listed in legislation and policies, but are recognised as socially disadvantaged in the face of potential risks (most people in these groups would usually fall under anti-discrimination policies). Vulnerable people from either normative group are usually listed as follows—youth, Indigenous people, the mentally ill and otherwise disabled, the elderly, sexual minorities, victims of crime, homeless people, people with various types of addiction and people with a different language-speaking background to the country they live in.

This enumeration fits in with community policing in two ways. First of all, the legal categorisation of vulnerable people is always accompanied by a series of protocols and operational procedures that police have to follow when dealing with a member of these groups. Put another way, the legal categorisation of people as vulnerable brings with it specific demands on police, some of which can be seen as forms of community policing. From providing legal advice and support to contacting liaison persons, these not only ensure a respectful processing of the person in the gateway stages of the criminal justice system, these procedures also contribute towards guaranteeing the acceptability of evidence at court (Bartkowiak-Théron & Lee 2006).

Second, the identification of people as vulnerable allows police to target initiatives at specific needs rather than generic ones. Having a set of specific needs makes for relatively well-delineated populations and therefore, for relatively well-focused and directed efforts by police. Thus, the external coherence of groups of vulnerable people gives police a much more practical and convenient approach to the operational management of community policing, since police know exactly who they are working with and at least some of the key community needs they will have to take into account.

Community policing initiatives aimed at a specific category of vulnerable people have therefore been blossoming in areas where a 'community of traits' can drive more meaningful actions for groups of individuals. While these people may not interact with each other, nor even know each other, they will know of each other, if not as individuals then as people with whom they share a specific vulnerability, face common threats and share concerns generated by these commonalities. Depending on the visibility of these people's vulnerability and the extent of corresponding risks, these (albeit in some ways artificial) groupings present a robust platform for police action and for community policing in particular (see the point though, in the previous chapter, in the careful labelling of initiatives as community policing ones).

Vulnerable people policing: Case studies and examples of initiatives

Illustrations of a full-fledged form of community policing, though not of course the only form (this will be argued further in the next section of this paper), can be found worldwide. Initiatives targeting youth are the most visible example of 'vulnerable people policing' the world over. Young people have been a particular target of police initiatives and many initiatives directed at young people can be enumerated here. Police in schools or police–youth liaison schemes are the most obvious ones—they have been employed to educate youth on criminal matters, raise awareness about societal dangers (such as D.A.R.E. on drug and alcohol consumption,

driver-awareness programs, stranger-danger matters etc), as well as to monitor problematic youth in school settings. While some of these schemes include reactive and punitive elements that exclude them from falling under a 'community policing' label (eg the US police-in-school interventions that monitor weapons at the entrance of establishments or the new search powers allocated to policiers référents in France), many do not. Most of these latter are the ones at the forefront of police inventiveness and creativity and include room for actively involving youth at the core of these initiatives.

The Nexus Policing Youth Show the Way initiative in Australia is an example of the empowerment of this aforementioned 'vulnerable' population (Bartkowiak-Théron 2006; Marks & Wood 2008), along with the Taking Young People Seriously initiative developed in 2003 by the Department of Victorian Communities. They are among the many that use the expression 'youth citizenship' as their point of rationale (Marks & Wood 2008). Editorial limits prevents discussion the diverse natures of these initiatives. But the mere fact of their existence acknowledges them as a fundamental aspect of the new trend being depicted.

While youth was the population of choice to make the point of vulnerable people becoming a new trend in community policing, other examples are to be found for other types of populations. Table 1 is an introductory cataloguing of how policing initiatives focusing on vulnerable people fit community policing principles. It also shows how some initiatives worldwide seem to follow this new branch of the paradigm. While some initiatives are generalisable as international trends, some are limited to geopolitical and social circumstances of overseas countries. The Table also highlights pitfalls potentially embedded in the structural or organisational design of initiatives.

One issue that this Table does not make clear is that some categories of vulnerable people are less visible and therefore less likely to be the focus of community policing initiatives. Relevant groups here are those that have the least external coherence, that is, those made up of individuals who do not 'look like' members of a relevant vulnerable group. Examples include those who have an Indigenous background but who do not 'look Indigenous', those with disabilities that are not easily seen by others (eg

Table 1 Vulnerable people policing: Examples of initiatives

	Youth	Victims of crime	Indigenous communities	Elderly	Homeless	Mentally ill and otherwise disabled	Sexual minorities	Linguistic and cultural minorities or refugees
Program types	Youth or school liaison officer School resource officer Education of police (recruit and corporate levels) Diversionary plan	Domestic violence officer Education of police at recruit and corporate levels Special victims unit (recruit and corporate levels) Multi-agency approach	Indigenous liaison officer Recruitment programs Education of police (recruit and corporate levels)	Elder affairs officer Senior liaison officer Targeted collaboration with senior citizens to prevent victimisation	Outreach programs Homeward bound schemes	Mental health officer Specialised training of police at recruit and corporate levels Education of police at recruit and corporate levels	Liaison officer Domestic violence officer Education of police at recruit and corporate levels Specialised training of police at corporate levels Recruitment programs	Multi-lingual officer Liaison officers and spokes persons Communication and awareness schemes Education of police at recruit and corporate levels
Underlying principles	Education and awareness Implementation of diversionary schemes High-visibility policing Provision of legal advice and immediate resources for all	Advocacy of rights and care due to victims and underlying trauma	Occasional transfer of powers (special constabulary in Canada) Implementation of diversionary schemes Recognition of past wrongs and reconciliation Inclusion	Education and awareness Implementation of diversionary schemes Inclusion	Education and awareness Breaking the cycle of homelessness Provision of advice and resources (health, shelter, drug and alcohol) Wish to understand behavioural causes	Provision of awareness and education to police forces Specialised training Wish to understand behavioural causes Wish to address non-reporting problem	Address former discriminatory process and behaviour Awareness and education to police Wish to address non-reporting problem	Inclusion Democratic and diversity program Positive discrimination and provision of smoother transition in new home country
Caveats	Careful attention is due to the technicalities of individual initiatives, as some might be more punitive than other and might not fall under the 'community policing' umbrella Investigative practices may undermine fundamental community policing principles Intelligence gathering vs community policing		Recognition of local capacities and agency 'White Justice' v traditional justice debate Paternalistic caveat	Careful identification of types of engagement need to be highlighted	Crisis intervention teams and the like, due to their highly reactive nature rarely fall under community policing	Investigative practices can undermine fundamental community policing principles	Investigative practices may undermine fundamental community policing principles Lingering of negative attitudes toward sexual minorities	Some cultural minorities (eg religious) not recognised yet
Locations	Worldwide, with variable factors	Worldwide with variable factors	Countries with histories of colonisation	Worldwide, with variable factors	United States, Canada, Australia	Worldwide, with variable factors	Worldwide with variable factors where sexual minority rights have been recognised	Western countries

deafness) and those who are homeless but do not fit stereotypes of homeless people. The possibility of these groups missing out on community policing initiatives does not in any way weaken the argument that vulnerable people are becoming a new focus of community policing. In fact, the possible existence of such excluded (or omitted) groups goes no small way towards confirming the view that the external coherence of vulnerable groups is the focus for community policing initiatives. Rather, with vulnerable people policing becoming a new and more documented trend in community policing, it is likely that these will become targets of additional initiatives in the future.

Community policing and the emergence of vulnerable people: A discussion of pros and cons

While vulnerable people policing has a number of advantages for police, there are also possible disadvantages too, many of which will impact on vulnerable people themselves.

Policing and democratic benefits and challenges

The recognition of vulnerable people categories— both per se and in the context of community policing initiatives—presents democratic and ethical challenges; yet such categories are recognised by lobbies and political commentators as a step in the right direction in terms of strengthening anti-discrimination policies, recognising special needs in communities and in furthering more visible democratic modes of policing (Arneil 2006). However, there are inherent risks and issues in 'branding' groups or individuals according to pre-determined and relatively narrow categories. One of these is that not all people who are actually vulnerable will fit into the finite number of categories which legislators and social policymakers settle on. Gaps will always remain and some people will not get the police attention and assistance they need. Another related issue stems from the fact that individuals might not identify with a particular category to which external observers want to

consign them. For example, many people from non-English speaking backgrounds are very good English speakers and cannot identify with the needs of those who struggle with the nuances of the language. Furthermore, in an attempt to be considered part of the 'mainstream' population, people might refuse to belong to a particular category. Many so-called 'disabled' people, for instance, prefer to identify as 'differently abled' and find the 'disabled' label offensive and an oppressive means of excluding them from active participation in society.

An additional difficulty stems from the delicate task of focusing initiatives towards a particular population without marginalising them from the mainstream population. That is, such initiatives should not be directed at stigmatising vulnerable populations even more than many of them already are. Rather, they should aim at embracing diversity and applying policing principles in an equitable way to this diversity, thus avoiding the target people being seen as 'outcast' from mainstream processes. To allow the latter to occur would be to fall foul of many of the basic concepts of democratic policing itself, much less community policing more specifically.

A final problem stems from the possibility of cross-sectional identities, that is, of situations where a person can be considered a 'member' of more than one vulnerable group (eg a female refugee who becomes a victim of crime or an Indigenous young offender with substance abuse and mental health issues). These situations call for a juxtaposition of protocols and precautions, but are themselves resistant to a complex single set of such protocols. That is, where more than one vulnerability factor is in play, no two situations will be alike and so no algorithm can be provided for prioritising the unfolding of the various protocols. In the example of the young Indigenous offender, the protocols related to having an Indigenous person in custody and those related to having a person with an addiction in custody might have to 'wait' until protocols related to his mental illness have been complied with if he is mentally unwell when arrested by police. Conversely, if his mental illness is stable, but he has taken an overdose of illegal drugs, protocols relating to the latter will need to be given priority. In any case, the point is simply that in cases of multiple vulnerability factors, there needs to be some way of ensuring that all relevant protocols and precautions are undertaken.

Research and evidence-based benefits and challenges

As noted earlier, it is accepted that the oft-made claim that community policing is often derided for its apparent failure to be 'measureable', either as a paradigm or as a multiplicity of initiatives. While the point of qualitative and quantitative evaluation has been debated elsewhere, the fundamental problem in this regard lies in a failure to properly deal with the concept of community. It is agreed that this particular concept is hard to define and that any definition would have to take into account the possibility of considerable flux. Happily, the current trend towards compartmentalising some communities into 'sub-communities' of vulnerable people lends itself to a clearer identification of community policing endeavours and of local initiatives. In this case, the 'measurement' of community policing just obeys a simple exercise in logic—vulnerable populations are (arguably) easily identified and therefore numbered. All initiatives that target them can therefore be recorded and 'mapped'. Then, once specific attributes corresponding to the main principles of community policing are allocated (or not—see the caveats featured in Table 1) to policing initiatives that target vulnerable people, these initiatives can be evaluated at micro and macro levels (see Arnstein cited in Myhill 2006; Carter & Sapp 2000).

This presents a significant breakthrough for scholars who aim at measuring and proving the effectiveness, 'success' or impact of community policing initiatives (Bartkowiak-Théron 2009). However, this is also a significant progressive point of argument for law enforcement agencies, as it gives them a new way to demonstrate and provide evidence of their commitment to community policing initiatives. It is argued that starting afresh in considering communities from a more delineated point of view (which is quite possible in terms of communities defined by vulnerability) significantly downplays the debate and considerably eases technical measurement challenges.

Social capital benefits and challenges

As previously mentioned, the identification of vulnerable people as 'privileged' target groups

of policing initiatives is, according to some social commentators, a step in the right direction if it consists in the recognition of diverse perspectives and skills (Arneill 2006; Delanty 2003). It also presents police with a threefold benefit—an opportunity to embed those differences in skill and perspective within their own policies, an opportunity to harness and use specific skills and knowledge for their own initiatives and deeper insights into the needs of these specific populations at given times and in local circumstances. Verging on the concepts of local-capacity building, local knowledge and knowledge-based policing, initiatives that encompass all three can present the police with the advantage of tailor-made operations. These have the potential to satisfy public opinion, target specific demands and implement community-friendly and inclusive solutions to problems identified at grass-root levels.

A long-term consequence of such enterprises would hopefully be a diminishing of the gap that has been documented between police and communities, with an expected 'return on investment' as a re-strengthening of social capital and of the social fabric more generally. They could also contribute to an extension of the community policing paradigm that could then reach out into other modes of policing where community engagement is sometimes lacking but considered important (eg in the fight against illicit organisations, counter-terrorism etc; Innes 2006). In turn, this should also contribute significantly to improving crime prevention mechanisms, with more proactive intelligence transferred early to police. Nonetheless, these claims are made cautiously—as pointed out earlier, the targeting of vulnerable communities can serve merely to further stigmatise them and entrench their problems.

Conclusion

While some might criticise vulnerable people policing as a never-ending cycle of demand and supply that keeps shifting with time, it is argued that from an operational perspective, this is far from being a new trend and that police have been engaged in this process for many years (even though it has not been, until now, formally observed and recognised as a conceptual policing pattern). The policing of

vulnerable populations is documented worldwide, although not as a cohesive and logical whole. It has been argued that organising the colourful patchwork of initiatives into a complex yet organised puzzle highlights a systematic concern for the disadvantaged, premised on seeing those people as members of distinct communities. In initiatives at the fore of the policing, it also points at a systemic inclusion of vulnerable people's perspectives, insight, advice and expertise in problem-solving. In at least some cases, these initiatives have conformed to the principles of community policing and thus reflect the changing ways in which community can be defined.

Vulnerable people policing presents complex operational and conceptual challenges in three areas—the democratisation of policing, the labelling of individuals and the degree of fit some initiatives will have with the overall paradigm of community policing. However, vulnerable people policing also presents itself as a source of significant potential for law enforcement professions and academics alike. It eases the process of targeting special needs, while contributing to micro and macro evaluations of initiatives worldwide. Clearly, with its geographical community policing sibling, vulnerable people policing is one of the ways forward for community policing generally.

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Community policing in culturally and linguistically diverse communities

Jacqueline Joudo Larsen

Migration is a highly politicised issue and its impact on the economy, crime rates and in recent years, national security, in receiving countries has been widely discussed. Across the globe, high levels of migration are reshaping populations that were once homogenous (McDonald 2003). An estimated 191 million people, representing three percent of the global population, migrated across the globe in 2005 (IOM 2006). Increased heterogeneity is said to lead to higher levels of conflict among groups (Blau 1977), which poses risks to both local and national security because disaffected migrant populations who don't see themselves as protected by the criminal justice system may follow their own 'internal' and 'unregulated' system of laws, resulting in further alienation from mainstream society. Such mistrust also acts to prevent migrant groups from accessing police services. Both these outcomes can be a product of, or result from, poor relationships between police and ethnic communities.

Policing in culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities is a significant issue given the high proportion of migrants and their offspring in Australia. CALD refers to the wide range of cultural groups and individuals in Australia who differ according to religion, race, language and ethnicity, except those whose ancestry is Anglo-Saxon, Anglo Celtic, Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander. Migrants to Australia come from over 200 countries, introducing a great deal of ethnic and cultural diversity into the Australian population (ABS 2006). According to the 2006 national census, almost one-quarter of the Australian population was born overseas (ABS 2008). Second generation immigrants accounted for 20 percent of the Australian population during the same period. For many (43%), both parents were born overseas; for 35 percent their father was born overseas and 22 percent had mothers born outside of Australia (ABS 2008).

The high levels of migration are in part due to the Australian Government's commitment to increasing the intake of refugees from regions where the need is greatest (DIMIA 2003) and over time, the demographic has changed considerably (see Table 1). In line with regional priorities recommended by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), trends in grants for refugee and humanitarian entrants indicate that from 2003–04 to 2006–07, people from the African region comprised the majority of refugees granted visas to Australia. In recent years, people from the Middle East and southwest Asia comprised the largest proportion of visas granted under the humanitarian program. In 2008–09, 33.46 percent of total offshore visas granted were from these regions; 33.24 from Africa and 33.09 from Asia and the Pacific region. Specifically, Chinese, Vietnamese and Lebanese-born migrants represent a large proportion of the CALD population in Australia (ABS 2006). The substantial increase in migrants from Sudan in recent years (ABS 2006) is a direct result of Australia's regional humanitarian priorities. This focus on re-settling individuals for whom the risks of persecution are highest has led to 'a dramatic increase in the proportion of refugees with experiences of trauma' (Campbell 2007: 3).

The different religions, practices, beliefs and languages that all migrants bring with them, coupled with experiences of war and existing distrust of authorities in their home country and diverse language and support needs, presents a significant challenge for traditional policing practices. This chapter examines some key factors affecting the relationship between migrant communities and police, and recent experiences of community policing in migrant communities in Australia. It also considers strategies to encourage greater levels of trust and improve the relationship between migrant and refugee communities and police.

Table 1 Proportion of grants under the humanitarian program by region						
	2003–04	2004–05	2005–06	2006–07	2007–08	2008–09
Africa	70.6	70.2	55.7	50.9	30.5	33.2
Middle East and southwest Asia	24.4	26.2	34.0	28.0	35.3	33.5
Asia and the Pacific[a]	1.9	3.4	9.9	20.7	33.7	33.1
Europe and Americas	3.6	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.2

a: Pacific included in 2006–07 and 2007–08 DIAC annual reports

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship Annual Reports 2004–09

Policing and migrant communities in Australia

Police officers are often referred to as gatekeepers of the criminal justice system, as the overwhelming majority of those who come into contact with the system do so through contact with law enforcement agencies (Erez, Finckenauer & Ibarra 2003). This role is important due to the power police officers have to influence attitudes and opinions about the fairness, legitimacy and accountability of the criminal justice system as a whole. These issues are particularly significant for CALD communities that are often reluctant to interact with police (James 2005). A lack of trust and negative attitudes towards the police undermine confidence in police services (Sivasubramaniam & Goodman-Delahunty 2008). Race has been identified as the strongest determinant of negative attitudes toward police (Sivasubramaniam & Goodman-Delahunty 2008), with Australian research into perceptions of police showing that both ethnic and non-ethnic youths believe police unfairly target certain ethnic groups (Collins et al. 2002; Sivasubramaniam & Goodman-Delahunty 2008; White et al. 1999).

Two central issues have been identified in relation to the policing of migrant and refugee communities, that is, that such communities are either over- or under-policed (Ben-Porat 2008). The arrival of new migrant groups often brings with it conflict regarding the appropriateness of beliefs and cultural practices which are not considered 'normal' by the population of the destination country (Erez, Finckenauer & Ibarra 2003). Lack of familiarity with Australian laws among migrant groups and misunderstanding of foreign cultural practices among police officers can influence the use of discriminatory practices such as racial profiling or excessive use of stop and search, leading to disproportionate arrest rates and over-policing (Ben-Porat 2008). The feeling among migrant groups that they are unfairly targeted exacerbates any existing distrust of law enforcement and leads to a reluctance to report crimes to police (Chan 2007; James 2005; NSWPLC 2001).

Under-policing (ie the neglect of minority groups), also undermines the perceived credibility and legitimacy of police and trust in the criminal justice system more broadly. Minority groups can be neglected through a lack of responsive policing which includes not treating reports from minorities of harassment or violence seriously, attempting to keep crime within a neighbourhood rather than addressing it and not addressing problems such as familial violence due to a belief such behaviour is a cultural norm (Brunson & Miller 2006).

Visible minorities, such as recent African and Middle Eastern migrants in Australia, can find they are both under-policed within their own neighbourhood and over-policed outside of it (Ben-Porat 2008). Migrant and refugee arrivals are often perceived as perpetrators of crime despite a lack of statistics indicating high levels of crime among these groups (Collins 2005). The Dovey Reports, presented to the Australian Government in 1952, 1955 and 1957 by a committee established to examine the conduct of migrants, found that in each time period examined, the incidence of serious crime was lower among migrants than among the wider community (Immigration Advisory Council 1957, 1955, 1952). Later Australian research examining imprisonment statistics by country of birth showed that some ethnic groups were over-represented while others were under-represented (Mukherjee 1999). Those born in Lebanon, Vietnam and New Zealand were over-represented in imprisonment statistics while those born in Italy, Greece and the United Kingdom were under-represented when compared with people born in Australia. Where higher rates of criminality are found among certain ethnic groups, it is more likely that this is linked with socioeconomic disadvantage rather than race itself (Collins 2005). The moral panic generated around immigrants and their inherent criminality has caused this to be overlooked, although the impact on policy is significant.

Despite a lack of strong empirical evidence, a growing criminalisation of ethnic groups is apparent in the discourses in this area (Bowling & Phillips 2002; Collins 2005; Collins & Reid 2009; Tonry 1997). Research has noted the growing moral panic around ethnic crime, driven by racialised media reports. When considering offending, public debate tends to treat ethnicity as a casual factor, that is, that there is something inherent in a person's ethnic and cultural background that renders them predisposed to offending. 'Immigrant' has become increasingly synonymous with 'criminal'. The impact of this is

evident in media coverage of 'youth gangs' which often emphasises the racial background of alleged gang members and in doing so attributes criminality to 'cultural factors', rendering 'the criminality of a few…as the criminality of a culture' (Collins 2005: 23; Collins et al. 2000; White et al. 1999). The result is that 'young Lebanese' or 'young Vietnamese' is equated with being a 'gang member' or inherently criminal (White 2007, 2006).

More recently, this cultural criminalisation has been experienced by African refugees, particularly the Sudanese, upon moving to Australia. Again, despite media reports to the contrary, there is no empirical evidence that indicates disproportionately high levels of crime in these communities. In a recent review of African humanitarian settlement by the Community Relations Commission (CRC) for a multicultural New South Wales, police statistics did not indicate an over-representation of African migrants in relation to the rest of the population (CRC 2006). The review *did* find that relationships between migrant and refugee communities and police agencies were strained due to a range of factors including misunderstanding around cultural practices and approaches, fear of police, over-policing, lack of familiarity with Australian laws and negative experiences with police in the migrants' home country (CRC 2006).

Research in this area calls for a greater level of understanding of cultural approaches and accepted interactions in certain situations. For example, a submission to the CRC investigation of an African settlement in New South Wales sought to clarify the perceived aggressiveness of African migrants. The submission explained that it is a cultural norm within the community, especially within some refugee camps, to 'treat fire with fire' to resolve issues and that African migrants are likely to respond to harassment or bullying in a similar manner (CRC 2006: 140). In Australia, such a response would generally be seen as inappropriate and aggressive and likely to draw the attention of authorities.

Lack of familiarity with Australian laws also causes tension among police and migrant communities. Issues raised in the CRC review of the African settlement indicated a lack of awareness of Australia's stance on child protection, domestic and family violence (CRC 2006). Further to this, many do not

understand the role of the police and are wary of anyone in uniform as a result of negative experiences with police in their home country. It is important to note that some of the migrants to Australia, particularly those entering under the humanitarian program, have originated from countries where there are different types of police, including paramilitary police who are more a 'force' than a 'service'. Personal experiences of persecution and torture at the hands of people in uniform within their home country can strongly shape migrants' attitudes towards police in Australia and exacerbate the tension between recent refugee arrivals and Australian authorities (CRC 2006). In recent times, counter-terrorism policing has caused much tension between Muslim communities and police due to feelings of being unfairly targeted, however, strategies such as appointing Muslim liaison officers as a way to heal this rift seem to be having some success as demonstrated in the United Kingdom (Thornton & Mason 2007).

The role of community policing

While an accepted definition of community policing remains elusive, the central premise is that of police engagement with the community (Segrave & Ratcliffe 2004). This shift in police practice first emerged in the early 1980s in response to criticism of existing police practices which were increasingly seen as ineffective, as well as a recognition that public support was a critical factor in improving police effectiveness (Segrave & Ratcliffe 2004; Sherman & Eck 2006).

In examining the American experience of policing multi-ethnic communities, McDonald (2003: 233) wrote that

> the challenge for police in multiethnic, liberal, democratic societies is to find the correct balance...[between enforcing] the law but also maintain[ing] racial and ethnic peace.

He notes that the two goals are somewhat incompatible and cites racial profiling as an example of the tension between these two goals. Police are known to use racial/ethnic stereotyping in the conduct of their duties, including the linking of

particular groups and crimes (Collins et al. 2000; Sharp & Atherton 2007) and it has been a point of contention leading to disrupted interactions with CALD communities both in Australia and overseas. Allegations that Asian youths were unfairly targeted by police in attempts to address drug-related problems were identified in the NSW Parliamentary Inquiry into policing in Cabramatta as one of the key issues leading to the deterioration in interactions between police and the community (NSWPLC 2001). Similar experiences of increased police surveillance have been reported by Muslim communities, particularly in Sydney (Collins et al. 2000). While this tension between intelligence gathering and community engagement presents a formidable obstacle, working with communities while also scrutinising suspects from within the same communities presents a difficult scenario. Strengthened community relationships are critical in providing police with the information required to effectively pursue offenders and prevent crimes.

Community policing is seen as a way to improve engagement between police and CALD communities and it is particularly important that evaluations of community policing (while limited in number) have shown that a focus on improving perceived legitimacy of police practices may be one of the more effective long-term crime prevention strategies (Sherman & Eck 2006). A range of programs and practices relevant to engaging CALD communities are considered to fall under the community policing umbrella, including:

- the recruitment of ethnically and culturally diverse liaison and police officers;
- enhanced cultural awareness training for police officers;
- establishment of community consultative committees; and
- the use of community meetings to discuss local crime problems and identify (together with the community) ways of addressing these issues (Bayley 1999; Ben-Porat 2008 Casey & Pike 2009).

Community engagement strategies for improving policing in migrant and refugee communities and the challenges faced by police in doing so are discussed below.

Strategies for improving policing in migrant and refugee communities

Mazerolle (2001: 2) identified several deficits of policing in Australia, the first being 'an unhealthy social distance between police and the communities they serve'. This social distance is particularly pertinent for the policing of migrant communities as it entrenches existing barriers between these communities and police agencies. Community policing holds considerable potential as an effective tool that can be used to encourage and develop trust and improve relationships with migrant and refugee communities, thereby addressing existing barriers and supporting successful settlement (Campbell 2007). It is ideally suited to addressing three key challenges for policing multicultural communities—'recruitment and training, practices and community involvement' (Ben-Porat 2008: 411).

A key challenge for police agencies remains in the recruitment and retention of CALD persons into the workforce. Sir Robert Peel's assertion in 1829 (New Westminster Police Service nd: np) that

> police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police

still is true today, particularly in relation to the need for police services to reflect the diversity of the community they serve (Voyez 2007). The active recruitment of bilingual and/or bicultural personnel is evident across most Australian jurisdictions.

In addition to the recruitment of ethnically-diverse groups into the police service, strategies have also focused on the need for cultural-awareness training. The development of understanding, knowledge and skills in this area can only improve communication between police and ethnic communities (Clements 2006). Specifically, police may become more responsive to the needs of particular communities which will impact on those communities' perceptions of police legitimacy and where positive, lead to stronger relationships between police and ethnic communities.

Police services across Australia have recognised the need for greater engagement with migrant and refugee communities—a quick review of police service websites reveals numerous references to multicultural advisory units, community diversity officers, ethnic community liaison officers, ethnic/multicultural liaison officers, cultural advisory units and police ethnic advisory groups—all of which seek to ensure accessible and equitable services to migrant groups. The role of these units and/or officers is much like that of Aboriginal Liaison Officers as described by Willis (this volume) although there is some variation between jurisdictions. The core functions include:

- building and maintaining good communication and relations between police and CALD communities;

- consulting with the community to identify local crime problems to ensure specific community needs are met;

- providing information to people from CALD communities regarding the role of the police and the service they provide;

- building greater confidence in police among CALD communities and encouraging CALD communities to discuss crime problems with police; and

- providing information, support and training regarding cultural diversity issues to police officers.

The creation of specialist positions and/or units which focus on community engagement and identifying barriers to accessing police services among culturally diverse groups is an important tool in improving relations between police and migrant communities. These positions go beyond task-specific improvements such as higher rates of reporting among migrant groups; they play a significant role in improving the perceptions of police among migrant communities. More positive perceptions of police among these groups are critical for long-term improvements in the relationship between police and ethnic communities in Australia (Cherney & Chui 2009).

Police services in New South Wales have been acknowledged as having been responsive to the need to build trust with African communities in Blacktown, Auburn and Fairfield (CRC 2006). Police

services in these areas have been proactive in building relationships with the African community through the dissemination of information about the role of police and participation in community events. A submission to the CRC review acknowledged that the success of this approach is due to lessons learned from the settlement of migrants and refugees from the Middle East and southeast Asia (CRC 2006). The experience of the NSW police service with the Vietnamese and Chinese communities in Cabramatta, that is, poor perceptions of the police, lack of confidence in their ability to protect the community and claims that Asian youth were unfairly targeted (NSWPLC 2001), provided important lessons regarding the value of the strategies outlined in this chapter. Similarly, the Queensland Police Liaison Officer Program, first implemented following the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody and having since been expanded to include numerous other CALD groups, has improved the capacity of the Queensland Police Service to engage with CALD communities (QPS 2006).

Conclusion

Increasingly, cultural diversity in the Australian population is changing the nature of policing. Police services must adapt practices to cater for increased contact with migrants who may find it difficult to communicate in English, may hold beliefs and maintain cultural practices which are not in keeping with Australian norms and who may be suspicious of the police due to negative experiences with authorities in their home country. In many respects, the inclusive philosophy on which community policing is based (Fleming, this volume) is ideally suited to policing migrant and refugee communities.

There is a very real need for increasing the awareness and understanding of Australian law and criminal justice players and processes among migrants, particularly those arriving under the humanitarian program as they are most likely to have experienced high levels of trauma and strong distrust of authorities. Furthermore, increasing the level of awareness among police regarding those factors which make settlement of CALD migrants in Australia difficult is also critical for effective policing.

Strategies, such as those outlined in this chapter, may lead to improved understanding of the specific needs of migrants, the stressors which influence their settlement in Australia and the origin of often negative attitudes to law enforcement.

In a world that has experienced 11 September 2001 and the Bali and London bombings, ethnic, religious and geopolitical conflicts have led to the 'other' becoming an object of fear and their presence a threat, particularly if they are visible such as Middle Eastern or African groups. It is important for research to examine the impact this has on migrants in Australia, their ability to settle in the country and the overarching goal of social cohesion. It is a complicated issue which is mediated by past and current experiences of authorities and prevailing attitudes towards the criminal justice system. Settlement issues for emerging communities, particularly, contact with the criminal justice system, hold significant implications for the broader government agenda relating to social inclusion, immigration policy and national security. The relationship between migrant communities and the police will remain a critical factor in this area, with important implications for contact with first generation migrants as well. Among the challenges faced by community policing in this space is the need to move from targeted community-level programs and practices to an organisational-wide priority to engage CALD communities.

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Community policing in rural and remote Australia

Judy Putt

Despite limited research on the topic, it appears there are quite distinct practices and strategies related to police work in smaller rural communities and in remote locations in Australia. Community policing has been characterised as the core and defining component of rural policing in contrast to the operationally-focused policing in city contexts (Scott & Jobes 2007). This paper outlines the reasons for this, including the type of crimes and communities found in non-urban environments and how community policing may differ in urban, rural and remote locations. It concludes by considering challenges associated with effective community policing and the implications of current trends for community policing in rural and remote Australia.

Communities in rural and remote Australia

Australia is a large island nation of over 7.6 million square kilometres but over 70 percent of the population live in major cities and more than 85 percent in coastal locations (ABS 2008b). In nearly half of the country, agriculture is the main economic activity and there are more densely-concentrated patterns of country towns in the more intensively farmed areas of southeast and southwest areas of the continent and along coastal strips. Tourism and fishing also support settlements around the edge of Australia. In central and northern parts of Australia, there are fewer towns and many small settlements and camps—some are there because of transport routes and to provide services to the pastoral sector or the mining industry and some were originally established as missions or government settlements to help 'settle' the Indigenous people of Australia. Broadly speaking, to use the distinction employed by Carcach (2000) of metropolitan versus non-metropolitan areas, communities outside the major cities are either likely to be there because of its primary industry base or because of its administrative role/service delivery to a wider region.

Compared with cities, there is a more pronounced sense of geographical boundaries to rural communities and regions, especially where there are considerable distances between towns or settlements. This does mean that residents or visitors to these communities are not affiliated or part of other communities—such as communities of interest or externally-defined communities—but the most common way to distinguish rural and remote communities is in terms of population density and 'distance'. For example, the Australian Standard Geographic Classification has four categories—major urban areas with 100,000 people or more, other urban area of between 1,000 and 99,999 people, rural localities (places with 200–299 people) and rural balance areas (the rural remainder; ABS 2009). Under the ABS Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA) remoteness is measured in terms of access along road networks to service centres (a hierarchy of urban centres with populations of 5,000 or more; ABS 2000). An Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) map of Australia shows that the highly and moderately accessible areas are almost entirely within the southwest and southeast corners and along the length of the eastern coastal fringe (ABS 2000).

As the main patterns of land use and the main land transport routes across the hinterland were established by the beginning of the twentieth century, many regional centres, farming and fishing communities have been around for at least 100 years. There is a more pronounced sense of place and a sense of continuity in such contexts, where the landscape is essentially unchanged (unlike the built environment of the city) and there has been a relatively long tradition (by non-Indigenous standards) of human activity and occupation. More recent economic and social trends have altered some regions, in terms of population density and the socio-demographic characteristics of people living in these regions, including the overall decline in the number of people involved in farming and living in farming towns and the often rapid rise and decline of mining communities in various locations. Certain places have also grown because of tourism or because of people relocating to non-urban locations as part of sea-and green-change movements and in many remote areas there has been (since the 1970s) a proliferation of very small settlements as part of what has been termed the outstation movement of Indigenous people. However, the principal contours of service delivery—where service centres were located—has remained largely unchanged for the past 100 years, although the communities and the number of people they service has changed over time.

Although there is stability over time in the spatial distribution of most towns and settlements, the temporal dimensions to population density are increasingly important. Some parts of Australia have long-standing seasonal variations in people movement and population density—for example, because of wet seasons in the tropical north or because of the need for agricultural labour during harvest periods—but these patterns of movement are being superseded by more general trends of an increased frequency with which people change their residential addresses and their location of work, which has implications for local social relations, individuals' sense of 'community' identity and their willingness to engage in community building and development (ABS 2008c). Census data shows that a growing proportion of the population have changed their residential address in the past five years and that a growing number of people have multiple residences, as demonstrated by the recent rapid expansion of fly-in/fly-out arrangements for mining workforces where many individuals reside for some of the year in remote settlements but see their main place of residence as a regional centre or capital city (ABS 2008c).

Crime in rural and remote Australia

It is hardly surprising that criminologists have focused their attention on the urban environment. After all, it is where the overwhelming majority of people live and where the disproportionate bulk of interpersonal and property crime occurs. However, compared with the urban environment, there are several significant structural indicators that would suggest there are geographical locations and (social) communities vulnerable to crime. Overall, in 1996, there was an over-representation of people living in the most relatively socioeconomically disadvantaged census districts in smaller towns and localities (ABS 2000). On a number of measures, the most disadvantaged census districts in major urban areas and in remote/very remote areas were similar, with below average weekly household incomes, disproportionate numbers renting from a government authority (about one-fifth) and about one-quarter of the population employed in low-

skilled occupations. However, the major urban areas contain relatively high proportions of migrants from countries other than English-speaking counties (26% of people in these districts) and higher unemployment rates (18%), while remote/very remote areas had low school retention rates (59% of 16 year olds were still at school), a more youthful population (28% were aged under 15 years) and more Indigenous people (33%; ABS 2000).

Moving out of the city into regional and remote areas increases the likelihood of living in areas where there are more males than females, there are families with more children aged under 10 years, there are fewer young adults, more Indigenous people and fewer migrants (ABS 2003). Although, in general, household incomes are on average lower, with major cities seven percent higher than the national average in contrast to outer regional areas which are 16 percent lower than the average weekly equivalised gross household incomes, remote areas were higher than average in 2001, which is attributed to the number of people employed in mining in these areas. The highest disparities in income within an area, as measured by the Gini coefficient, were in these same remote areas (ABS 2003). There is a regional concentration in the location of these mining communities, with all but 12 of the mining towns that experienced high-growth between 1991 and 2006 located in the Pilbara region of Western Australia or the Bowen Basin area in Queensland (ABS 2008a).

Based on his analysis of recorded crime data of local government areas, Carcach (2000) concluded that the economic and social processes that influence crime may vary depending on the population size and accessibility of an area. Analysis of statewide data in New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia shows some rural settings can have disproportionately high rates of certain kinds of reported offences (Ferrante et al. 1996; Gale, Bailey-Harris & Wundersitz 1990; Jobes et al. 2004). The NSW study compared the incidence of recorded crime across local government areas and similar to Carcach (2000), concluded that the size of the town is important, with smaller rural settlements tending to have lower rates of crime than larger rural centres (Jobes et al. 2004). The general conclusion that smaller rural towns tend to have lower rates of recorded crime conceals some significant differences, as small communities in mining regions and/or

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander settlements can have very high rates of reported crime. Jobes et al. (2004) stressed that the effect of size was clearly modified by other factors, especially population heterogeneity, population movement and family instability. As a result, Delahunty and Putt (2006a) argue that the main aspects of rural and remote towns and regions that influence volume and types of crime include the:

- size of the town and regional patterns of residence (small isolated communities versus greater population density such as in rural Victoria);
- main economic activity (eg farming, mining, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander settlement); and
- population heterogeneity, including proportion of population that is Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, and mobility.

Recorded crime rates are also affected by local levels of reporting of crime to police and by police responses to criminal activity either to matters that they see, or to matters they are told about. On the one hand, national and statewide surveys of farmers indicate that much property crime on or from farms is not reported (Anderson & McCall 2005; Barclay & Donnermeyer 2002). Conversely, the 'visibility' of certain people and certain activities have been used to explain relatively high rates of recorded assault and public order offences in specific rural areas (Carrington et al. 1996).

In addition to structural factors, the social composition and relations within a community influence actual crime, reporting of it and police responses to criminal activity. A number of community studies undertaken in non-metropolitan Australia highlight how communities can be variably constituted across Australia. They also discuss the implications of this in terms of the visibility of certain groups and activities and the reporting of different kinds of crime. One of the few specific community studies of rural crime, focusing on a small town in the New England region of New South Wales, found that the overall crime rates were on par with the national average, but there was little evidence of serious crime (O'Connor & Gray 1989).

Although many rural communities may have relatively low recorded crime rates, Hogg and Carrington (1998) point out that small group solidarities or

hierarchical social relations within a local community may create high intolerance of strangers, migrants, outsiders and non-members. They observe that there can be a higher threshold of tolerance for various kinds of interpersonal violence and incivility (sexual, domestic, intra-male, homophobic and racial) which is more likely to go unreported and which police may not be aware of. Certain behaviours, especially by certain people, may be condoned in small communities where everyone knows or knows of everyone and although still able to access public information through the internet and other media, individuals' perceptions and attitudes will be influenced by the information they receive from frequent and ongoing personal contacts (Barclay & Donnermeyer 2007). Although strong ties, social cohesion and informal controls may contribute to lower official crime rates, this is not always a benign mix as the same social characteristics can also influence what crimes and which offenders are reported and they underpin social relations though which criminal behaviour is learned and reinforced (Barclay & Donnermeyer 2007).

In small towns and regional centres, Indigenous people can be very visible, especially if they are involved in certain forms of behaviour considered to be antisocial or uncivil by non-Indigenous residents. Studies of country towns with a visible minority of Aboriginal residents have highlighted how Indigenous people are more likely to be engaged in public activities that attract the attention of police (Cowlishaw 1988; Hutchings 1993; Merlan 1998). A statewide study found that many areas in New South Wales with relatively high Indigenous populations had relatively high rates of recorded assault, break and enter and public order offences, but there were also areas with below average or average crime rates (Hogg & Carrington 1998). Even though it is well-documented that Indigenous people are over-represented in the criminal justice system as victims and offenders (Bryant & Willis 2008; Wundersitz 2010), the importance of place and localised histories and contemporary race relations have to be considered rather than attributing crime solely to the presence of Indigenous people in a town or local area.

The under-reporting of certain crimes, in particular interpersonal violence, by victims and witnesses and the geographic concentration of recorded violence in

rural and remote 'hot spots' has not been subject to much analysis, but have been linked to broad cultural traditions associated with rural and remote Australia and related to gender, class and race. Despite being somewhat dated now, the depiction of family relations in a coal mining town (Williams 1981) and of social stratification within a small Victorian community (Dempsey 1990) give some indication as to why women may not report domestic violence and why there may be no public profile given to such crime within local rural settings. Styles of drinking and fighting by men in rural and remote Australia have been associated with the 'frontier' or 'bush' tradition and to rural labouring lifestyles and masculine identities (Carrington & Scott 2008), and in the anthropological literature, to Indigenous subcultures of resistance (Cowlishaw 1988; Hutchings 1993; Sackett 1988) and to continuities and transformations in traditional Indigenous practices and values (eg Martin 2009).

Policing localities and communities

As noted earlier, the spatial distribution and location of key services in non-metropolitan Australia were established many years ago and in large part remain to this day. Police stations are found in many rural towns and increasingly in remote Indigenous communities and, arguably, the police along with community health services provide the best physical geographic coverage of any government service in Australia. Increasingly, small towns are serviced by contracted 'agents' and outreach intermittent visits from representatives of government departments from regional centres, while in contrast, the police not only have a very tangible presence (station, personnel in uniforms, marked cars) but also have a tradition of 'patrolling' the surrounding region and roads.

The less populated states of Australia have more operational police per 100,000 of the population, as Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia and the Northern Territory were above the 2007–08 national average of 295 police, with the Northern Territory having the highest of 673 (AGPC 2009). In Western Australia, for example, the most recent

annual report of the police service indicates that outside of Perth, there are 123 stations within a total area of 2.5 million square kilometres (WA Police 2009). The ratio of operational police to the local area population is much higher outside of Perth (one officer for every 400 residents compared with 1:638 for north metropolitan Perth and 1:734 for south metropolitan Perth). It could be argued that rural and remote communities are therefore 'over-policed' but such a view needs to be balanced by an appreciation of how police work operationally and recognition that individual officers are known and more 'visible' in country settings, which in a sense, makes them more accountable or at least responsive to local communities.

From the limited evidence available, it seems that rural and remote policing is distinctly different from policing in cities, with less emphasis on operational matters and the investigation of serious crime. The police in the NSW rural town of Walcha claimed there was plenty of work but the focus was on community relations and maintaining public order, with the station acting as an information and social centre as well as a motor registry. In terms of crime, there was close monitoring of cannabis use, recreational or 'spotlight' shooting and driving offences (O'Connor & Gray 1989). Other community studies and several surveys of police indicate that police working in rural and remote locations value the opportunity to form closer relationships with the local community and to make a difference at a local level. Having more autonomy and financial benefits are also seen as positive aspects to rural and remote placements, but common negative attributes include isolation from friends and family, community politics and community expectations of police, which can be even more pronounced in remote Indigenous settlements (Delahunty & Putt 2006a, Jobes 2002). There can also be dissatisfaction with what has been termed 'welfare work', rather than dealing with serious crime or criminals (Edmunds 1989). In a survey of NSW rural police, the theme of distance emerged as a factor adversely affecting work and family life, and the challenges of patrol work and living in remote Indigenous communities were raised by police in remote Australia as part of a study on policing illicit drugs in rural and remote Indigenous communities (Delahunty & Putt 2006a).

Table 1 Attributes of rural and remote policing	
Types of crime	Disorderly conduct, usually linked to drinking
	Less sophisticated personal and household crime
	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander family violence
Police practice	Generalists, with specialists attached to regional centres
	Patrolling large geographic areas
	More autonomy
	Civil work eg licences
	Prevention
Community relations	Greater local knowledge of and among police
	More complex social relationships with local residents
	Greater visibility and accountability to community
	Status and influence in local context
	Cross-cultural complexities
Police resources	Coverage of large geographic areas
	Greater number of police per head of population
	More resources required for communication and travel

Source: Delahunty & Putt 2006a: 66–67

Attributes that commonly arise when discussing rural and remote policing are summarised in Table 1. Such general characteristics, however, have to be considered within the context of specific communities. In terms of the 'communities' to be found outside of major cities, it is important to recognise their diversity, depending on their history, location, economic activities in the area and the socio-demographic characteristics of residents and visitors to the area. This involves distinguishing key differences between communities and within communities, to identify salient factors relevant to policing a specific community. For example, the probability and manner in which police endeavour to work in partnership or complement local law enforcement or community safety efforts, such as Indigenous night patrols or mining company provisions for property security and monitoring employees, will be much influenced by the type and location of their town and surrounding region. The same factors—such as location, community size, population heterogeneity and mobility, along with socioeconomic change—that effect crime and its reporting, also influence the forms of policing that exist in rural and remote Australia.

It can be argued that community policing is integral to police work in rural and remote areas, and that positive community engagement and involvement

will contribute to job satisfaction (Jobes 2002, O'Connor & Gray 1989). Being stationed in a particular locality means that new officers must build community networks and local knowledge within a relatively short period of time in order to engender respect for being well-informed and acting fairly and appropriately, which entails 'learning on the job' and from colleagues (Delahunty & Putt 2006b). There is, however, a real tension between wanting to engage with the community and feeling more accountable to the local community, yet at the same time wanting to deliver core police functions that accord with organisational goals. Discretion is fundamental to police work but is more likely to be exercised in rural and remote settings in ways that are influenced by local knowledge and how an officer is part of the local community. There is the risk that problem-solving approaches adopted as part of community engagement may have the unintended consequence of exacerbating divisions and conflicting interests within communities (Myhill 2006).

Not only is the police officer often an 'outsider' and perceived as a temporary visitor in a rural or remote community, he or she has to frequently perform what has been characterised as the competing roles of law enforcer and local resident (Scott & Jobes 2007). Policing particular events, activities or behaviours may have weak or ambivalent support

from the community and what Scott and Jobes (2007: 133) describe as a 'localistic' model of policing does not automatically translate into an idealised form of community policing as police may be influenced by local perceptions of trouble and troublemakers. Within the local context, broad social categories of 'vulnerable communities' are further re-interpreted and localised as problematic groups (such as transients, visitors, drinkers, young people) or problematic individuals or families. There can be both gendered and racial nuances that influence the singling out of discrete groups and individuals, and how police discretion is exercised when matters are reported or how matters are proactively addressed will be shaped by the police officer's degree of integration and standing within the community context.

Conclusion

Given the specific attributes of rural and remote policing, good practice involves developing a good understanding of the local community through formal and informal interactions, and developing productive relationships with local service providers as well as leaders and brokers, but at the same time endeavouring to be, and being perceived as, professional and impartial (Edwards 2005). There are challenges to engaging with the local community to support and participate in community policing and implementing initiatives and responding to community concerns, which will involve navigating the often complex environments of local politics and divisions. As Bull (2007) notes, developing and implementing community crime prevention in rural and remote contexts is often a challenging business because of the tyranny of distance and the likelihood of community partnerships being forged with groups that represent conservative values or interests. Local government is more likely to be a crucial broker of community crime prevention partnerships in rural and increasingly in remote, Australia, but the composition of local councils and the attendant administration of local government may clearly represent the sectional interests of particular groups within a region or community. There can be significant pressure on local police even in areas of relatively low crime, as law and often is often an

important political issue in rural Australia (Barclay & Donnermeyer 2007). As recent research on policing in remote Indigenous communities has highlighted (Allen Consulting Group 2010; Pilkington 2009), more expertise on community engagement and partnership approaches in such contexts needs to be developed. Existing typologies of community engagement (such as Myhill 2006) and accounts of implementation challenges do not explicitly and systematically consider small rural or remote Indigenous communities where police and their families are local residents and 'part' of the community.

Community policing as a concept is difficult to translate into practice, especially where communities are fragmented, divided or antagonistic to police (Findlay 2004). Studies have indicated that it is not uncommon for police to perceive community policing as not 'real' policing and it may be difficult to maintain satisfaction and enthusiasm of officers for community policing over the long term (Sarre 1997). However, effective community policing seems fundamental in any rural and remote setting, especially where there is a significant Aboriginal presence, given the history of sometimes strained relations between Aboriginal people and police, and the level and type of offending that come to police attention. Key areas of particular relevance to the practice of community policing in rural and remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities are effective partnerships—including collaboration, communication and liaison—and cultural competence (Delahunty & Putt 2006a, 2006b). Fostering good community policing practice entails both organisational and local community support, as well as more explicit recognition of what is being done, to whom and for what purpose.

More broadly, from a local and regional perspective, developing an explicit community policing plan should clearly articulate priorities and resource implications, based on an appreciation of local conditions and capacities. This appreciation needs to be informed by an understanding of the macro-trends outlined earlier—including the likelihood of few long-term residents, weaker community ties, pockets of poverty and increasing income disparities within communities etc. Other challenges may relate to the need to respond to emerging crime such as high-tech facilitated fraud or environmental crime, or

more serious or systematic crime not typically found in the past in certain rural areas, such as organised drug distribution and natural resource crime.

In the past, non-metropolitan police have largely been generalists, except for special units to tackle fish or livestock theft and regionally-based serious crime investigators, but there may be the need to reassess the need for other forms of specialist skills or expertise and how this may impact on community policing. It seems probable that drawing on and supporting rural traditions of self-help may become increasingly central to community policing in rural and remote contexts, as the overall decline in the proportion of the population living in inland Australia will surely result in at least some diminution in personnel and resources for many rural and remote locations. More innovative approaches may be required to work with social groups through communities of interest and facilitated by new communication tools.

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Aboriginal liaison officers in community policing

Matthew Willis

In 1986, four Aboriginal people were appointed as Aboriginal Community Liaison Officers (ACLOs) in northwest New South Wales. Providing a link between the police and Aboriginal communities, their appointment marked an important development in police relations with Indigenous communities. While certainly not the first initiative to engage Indigenous people as part of the police service, the ACLOs represented a very different approach from bodies such as the Native Police, established in the mid-nineteenth century as a coercive body designed to control and disperse Aboriginal people in the pursuit of white pastoral interests (Kamira 2001). Through liaison, police sought to work better with Indigenous communities by fostering mutual understanding and respect, increasing the likelihood that the community would work cooperatively with police in identifying crime issues and providing operationally-beneficial information and support.

Police services in all Australian states and territories have roles dedicated to working with Indigenous communities, including liaison officers (see Table 1).

Role

The role of liaison officers varies across jurisdictions, but core functions are similar:

- building good communication and relations between police and Indigenous communities;
- resolving disputes between police and Indigenous people;
- improving understanding within communities about the role of police and encouraging Indigenous people to discuss crime problems with police;
- helping police and Indigenous communities work together on crime prevention solutions;
- identifying local crime problems and other issues impacting on police relations with the community; and
- educating police to increase cultural awareness (AFP nd; NSW Police Force 2007; Queensland Police Service nd; Tasmania Police nd; The Anangu Lands Paper Tracker 2008).

Liaison officers are typically involved in community events and work closely with community

organisations. They may provide direct support to Indigenous offenders during interviews and while in custody, as well as to victims and their families. In some cases, they advise Indigenous people on basic legal issues and justice processes and may contribute to government policy development.

Liaison officers are unsworn employees, without police powers such as arrest, search or use of force. In some jurisdictions, liaison officers are able to exercise some powers, under the direction of a police officer, in certain circumstances. For instance, Queensland Police Liaison Officers (PLOs) may:

- perform traffic control duty in emergency situations;
- assist police in escort or guarding responsibilities where the PLO's presence may prevent or reduce violent behaviour; and
- search or photograph prisoners where the prisoner refuses to cooperate with police but consents to cooperate with a PLO (Cunneen, Collings & Ralph 2005).

The role and function of liaison officers is distinct from other Indigenous-specific police roles, such as community constables or Aboriginal community police officers. Jurisdictions with remote Indigenous communities have tended to establish specialist Indigenous police roles for these communities. Community constables in South Australia and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Police in Queensland are sworn 'special constables' with some or all of the powers of general constables. The Northern Territory, with its large Indigenous population, does not have liaison officers, instead developing Aboriginal Community Police Officers (ACPOs), funded jointly by police and communities. ACPOs perform many of the roles of a general constable, working alongside other police members to provide liaison and law enforcement functions. In other jurisdictions, such as Queensland, Aboriginal community police are employed by community councils and derive their powers from Aboriginal Council by-laws.

In Western Australia, the Aboriginal Police Liaison Officer (APLO) scheme is being phased out. In 2005, APLOs who wished to transition to sworn constables were given the opportunity to do so (WA Police Service nd a). Some chose not to do so and a small number of APLOs retained their role and employment

status under transitional arrangements, although no new APLOs will be appointed. The move away from APLOs received criticism. Several APLOs reportedly resigned because they did not want the responsibilities of a constable and were concerned that their work was becoming devalued and no longer assisted Indigenous communities (Vivian 2009). However, an earlier survey of Indigenous community members in a Western Australian regional city found that with no Indigenous police officers in the area, and APLOs having no police powers, Indigenous people in the police force were seen to be in noticeably less powerful positions than non-Indigenous people (Eversole, Routh & Ridgeway 2004).

Challenges

At the heart of the liaison officer role is an effort to build bridges between two groups whose relations, historically and contemporaneously, have often been fractious and marked by power imbalances and distrust. The troubled past of police–Aboriginal relations is implicitly and, in some cases, explicitly recognised through the existence of policing strategies and policies. The Western Australia strategic policy on police and Aboriginal people clearly states the police service acknowledgement of the historical problems in the policing of Aboriginal people:

> In the past, circumstances have resulted in Aboriginal people not being accorded their full rights of access for a variety of reasons, including racism, remoteness, discriminatory government policy and legislation and at times a reluctance by police officers to enact their role (WA Police Service nd b: 5).

Occupying a space between the police service and Indigenous communities creates unique challenges for liaison officers. In exercising a responsibility to both the police service and the community, the liaison officer risks being seen by each group as an agent of the other, potentially being alienated and rejected by both. This dilemma has been most clearly illustrated in those areas and situations where tensions between police and Indigenous communities have been greatest, at times escalating into violent conflict. Relations between police and the Aboriginal

communities in inner-city Redfern, Sydney and Palm Island, Queensland provide cases in point.

The relationship between police and the Indigenous community in the Redfern area has long been negative, impacted to a large extent by the police force's role as the visible agent of a non-Indigenous government, tasked with executing past policies of control and suppression, fuelling distrust and resentment (Legislative Council of New South Wales 2004). For police, operating in a sometimes hostile community troubled by violence, alcohol misuse and the increasing presence of illicit drugs has been challenging. Efforts by police and community leaders to improve relations, including through the use of PLOs, have at times broken down following violent disturbances. The death of a local Aboriginal teenager who fell off his bicycle in February 2004 while being followed by a police vehicle sparked a violent disturbance that the media called 'one of Australia's worst race riots' (Donald 2004: np). Whether or not the extent of the violent disturbance justified this rather hyperbolic description, it garnered attention on the issue of police and Aboriginal community relations in Redfern and highlighted the difficult ground trod by liaison officers.

In the aftermath to the disturbance, two Redfern ACLOs told a parliamentary inquiry that police had covered up the circumstances of the teenagers' death, that police command had ignored their warnings of trouble brewing in the community the day before the disturbance and that there was a racist element among the Redfern police ('Impaled Redfern teen "rammed"' *news.com.au* 24 September 2004). One ACLO said his house had been burned down since the disturbance and he had received death threats from police who told him not to give evidence. The inquiry also heard evidence that police were sceptical about the role of ACLOs, although it was noted that this seemed to be improving and that training for ACLOs was limited (Legislative Council of New South Wales 2004). One ACLO described his role as being 'the meat in the sandwich', distrusted by some in the community and being seen by both the community and the police as working for the other (Legislative Council of New South Wales 2004: 28). Other witnesses said ACLOs seen to be working with the police were considered 'dogs', while another said that ACLOs:

are in perhaps the most difficult position of any police officers. There is the potential to be seen as a traitor by the community or by other police or both (Legislative Council of New South Wales 2004: 29).

Another high-profile case further highlighted the difficulties faced by liaison officers. Palm Island, off the coast of Queensland, is home to an Indigenous community that has also long been troubled by difficult relations with police and violent offending. Palm Island's problems are linked to its post-colonisation history and its establishment as a reserve used to isolate Aboriginal and Islander people, from many different cultural, linguistic and family groups, considered by the non-Indigenous mainstream government to be problematic or uncontrollable (FAIRA Aboriginal Corporation 1999; Palm Island Aboriginal Shire Council nd; Watson 1993). In November 2004, a Queensland PLO was in attendance when a sworn Queensland police officer was in the process of arresting a Palm Island resident in relation to a number of assault offences (Clements 2006). Another resident, Mulrunji, was walking past at the time and made comments challenging the PLO as to why he was helping to lock up his own people. Mulrunji was then arrested by the police officer and later died in police custody following a struggle with the arresting officer. These events also led to violent confrontations between police and the Indigenous community.

The Palm Island incident further highlighted the challenges faced by some liaison officers. The coronial inquest into Mulrunji's death found that the police officer's unwarranted arrest of Mulrunji was in pursuit of a

> need to exert his authority, ostensibly on behalf of the Police Liaison Officer who did not have direct authority to do more than warn Mulrunji (Clements 2006: 3).

The PLO had been challenged in his role by a member of the community and the police officer felt the need to act in defence of that role. The PLO's role had become the direct focus of tensions between police and the community. The PLO told the inquest his positioning between police and

community left him feeling powerless to do anything following the struggle that led to Mulrunji's death:

> I just stood there because I was thinking...if I see something I might get into trouble myself or something. The family might harass me or something... (Bengaroo cited in Clements 2006: 5).

The Coroner, apparently perplexed by the failure of investigating police to explore these issues, also highlighted the fundamental difficulties of the PLO's role:

> I feel some sympathy for Mr Bengaroo whose role was menial and without authority or apparent respect from either his own community or the Senior Officer in Charge on the island. Indeed, Senior Sergeant Hurley's own evidence was somewhat disparaging of Lloyd...The reality was that Police Liaison Officer Bengaroo was isolated from the police service and his own community both of whom, I have no doubt, he was trying to serve. However, torn between the two in an impossible role, he was emasculated and powerless to exert influence on the unfolding tragedy (Clements 2006: 5)

The fact that Queensland PLOs wear essentially the same uniforms as sworn police, despite not having police powers, may make them suspect in situations where police are perceived to be acting against the community's interests, despite having no real influence over policing decisions (Weber 2007). This can create 'an unenviable combination of responsibility…in the absence of effective power' (Weber 2007: 237).

The Redfern and Palm Island examples represent quite extreme situations and are environments in which the difficulties facing liaison officers are likely to be thrown sharply into focus. There are few Indigenous communities that have experienced the same depth or longevity of police-community conflict, social problems and pressures as these examples. Nor do police in most other communities face the same challenges to legitimacy, allowing them to police with consent rather than authority. Many of Palm Island's problems result from internal divisions between different tribal groups forced to live together away from their home country. It is a

community in a geographical sense, but not in other senses:

> The recent history of Palm Island challenges the first assumption of community policing—that is, that there is a recognisable and relatively homogenous community to police (Weber 2007: 237).

A much more positive example of the value of liaison officers is found in a report by a NSW police officer who led an investigation into child sexual abuse allegations in New South Wales and Queensland (Owen 2006). The ACLO's ability to provide insights into the workings and dynamics of communities, family ties and groups and the most appropriate ways of initiating contact with victims was considered invaluable to the investigation. Many of the victims were located 'by a network of word of mouth and family links accessible only through the ACLO' (Owen 2006: 6). Importantly, the ACLO was considered a 'valuable member of the investigation team while still maintaining his autonomy, independence and credibility within the Aboriginal community' (Owen 2006: 6). The NSW Ombudsman case-studied one ACLO, said to be supporting police and his community well through early intervention strategies for young people and helping adults in police custody (NSW Ombudsman 2005). The Victorian Parliament has also highlighted the success of a particular liaison officer, while also commenting on other officers who had very little contact with their community (Parliament of Victoria Law Reform Committee 2001). As noted by the Victorian Parliament, the commitment of individual liaison officers is vitally important. This, in turn, creates a risk, as the liaison function in a given community strongly depends on the efforts of one individual and their ability to enthusiastically engage with, and be accepted by, the local community.

At the same time, the challenges for ACLOs and for the police in making effective use of them are not isolated to Redfern or Palm Island in 2004. The National Inquiry into Racist Violence found that ACLOs had their advice ignored and were not informed of major policing operations in places like Redfern, while submissions by Aboriginal groups to the inquiry cited problems with approaches to recruitment, lack of training and lack of

accountability to the communities they were expected to liaise with (Cunneen 2001).

The later Ombudsman's audit into implementation of the NSW Police Aboriginal Strategic Direction (2003–2006) noted the ACLO's role as a difficult one, with both police colleagues and members of their own community treating them as if they worked for the other side (NSW Ombudsman 2005). There was a lack of understanding in communities about the ACLO role and limited understanding by police about how to make use of ACLOs to build relationships and support operational policing. The Ombudsman found ACLOs were often under-utilised, had their skills wasted and were left to develop their own duties, which left them in turn feeling isolated and despondent (NSW Ombudsman 2005). The audit also found that NSW Police needed to be more proactive in filling long-term vacant ACLO positions and in engaging more female ACLOs, while also noting the lack of an obvious career path for ACLOs. The Ombudsman found improvements in management and tasking over the course of the audits and noted the good work of many skilled and well-performing ACLOs. At the same time, the Ombudsman noted the lack of proper performance assessment and the need for communities to be consulted about the ACLO's performance and whether their needs were being met.

In the end, how police view the Indigenous liaison role and how they seek to work with liaison officers will be determined by a set of highly variable factors arising out of the circumstances of the environment in which the liaison officer is operating. Indigenous communities are heterogeneous, showing diversity across many dimensions such as culture and traditional law, post-colonisation experiences, governance, social structure, familial connectedness, extent of social problems and approaches to solving them, and the impacts of positive and negative influences from non-Indigenous society (see Anderson-Smith 2008; NIPAAC nd; Victoria Human Rights & Equal Opportunity Commission 2006; Walter 2008). The nature of Aboriginal community policing in a jurisdiction like Tasmania, where the Aboriginal population tends not to live separately from other groups and presents policing issues

largely the same as for the non-Indigenous population, will be very different from policing in remote communities in the north of Australia.

Many of these factors will be variable, not only across communities, but across time within communities. To an extent, similar levels of diversity exist across local police commands. While bound by the structures, laws and policies governing all police in the jurisdiction, local commands may vary in the

strategies, emphases and personalities they bring to dealing with the community. All these variable factors act to shape, and in turn are shaped by, the nature and quality of police-community relations.

Both beyond and within these community-level factors are the personal balances to be struck for individual liaison officers. Many Aboriginal communities, particularly in remote communities, are tight-knit with extended and, at least from a

Table 1 Indigenous community policing arrangements by jurisdiction

Jurisdiction	Designation	Sworn or unsworn	Policing powers
ACT[a]	Indigenous Community Liaison Officer	Unsworn	None
NSW[b]	ACLO	Unsworn	None
NT[c]	ACPO—jointly funded partnership between NT Police and Aboriginal communities	Sworn	Varies between communities—many carry out police role
QLD[d]	PLO Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Police—being phased out in favour of sworn officers working with PLOs	Unsworn	No—may assist police officers with law enforcement tasks in certain circumstances
SA[e]	APLO—established on a trial basis in the APY Lands, funded by SA Police	Unsworn	None
	Community constables	Sworn	Extent of powers varies on an individual basis dependent on training
TAS[f]	District Aboriginal Liaison Officers	Sworn—liaison functions are performed by nominated officers in each region as part of general duties policing role	Full police powers
VIC[g]	Police Aboriginal Liaison Officer (PALO)	Sworn—liaison functions are performed by nominated officers, as part of their policing role, in areas where there are a significant number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people residing and coming into police contact	Full police powers
	ACLO	Unsworn—ACLOs are full-time employees who are members of the Aboriginal community elected by a panel	None
WA[h]	APLO—no new APLOs, replaced by sworn police. A small number of APLOs retain their role and status	Unsworn	None—can arrest under direction of a sworn officer

a: AFP nd

b: NSW Police Force 2007

c: NTPFES 2008

d: Queensland Police Service 2008; Queensland Government 2006

e: South Australian Police community constable coordinator, personal communication, 6 May 2009; *Police Act 1998* (SA) s 30

f: Tasmania Police State Aboriginal liaison coordinator, personal communication, 23 October 2009

g: Victoria Police 2008

h: WA Police Service nd b

Western perspective, complex family and social structures. A liaison officer working in his or her home community or country may face pressures and cultural obligations to support kin who become the subject of police activities. Responding to the needs and interests of policing may be in direct conflict with the interests or wishes of those in the community the liaison officer is connected to, exacerbating the already present risk of alienating both police and the community. Cultural obligations and connections for any individual liaison officer may extend across many communities and groups within communities. Execution of the liaison officer's role may create intra-familial conflict or place the officer at the juncture of inter-familial rivalries. A liaison officer working outside his or her community or country, or with another language group, may escape these challenges, but at the expense of legitimacy and acceptance.

Liaison officers occupy a space at the multiple intersections of these factors, a space that shifts across the dimensions of place and time. If their contribution to positive community policing is to be maximised, they need to have the capacity and support to identify the needs of the community and the police, needs that will differ between communities and situations. The extent to which the role of the liaison officer is to educate the police or educate the community, to build bridges or to maintain them, will vary. How closely the liaison officer works in and with the community and to what extent the officer can gain the trust of the community to come forward with information or participate in crime prevention activities, will vary. How much the role is about policing *of* the community and how much it is about policing *with* the community, will also vary. Ultimately, viewing Indigenous liaison officers and their roles as homogenous is perhaps no less erroneous than failing to recognise the diversity of Indigenous communities.

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Indigenous community policing: Building strength from within

Manuhuia Barcham

Community policing provides a mechanism through which more formal aspects of the law and justice sector can engage more effectively with communities. In an attempt to offer a more culturally-appropriate service to the members of their communities, Indigenous community groups around the world are beginning to police themselves in an effort to divert their members away from the formal law and justice sector. This paper looks briefly at the experiences of three quite different community policing initiatives— the Māori Wardens in New Zealand, the Squamish Nation North Shore Peacekeepers in Vancouver, British Columbia and the Nyoongar Patrol in Perth, Western Australia in order to explore this process. This paper then concludes by discussing how issues of cultural legitimacy, appropriateness and trust mean that these organisations are able to provide a service which successfully acts to divert members of particular cultural communities away from the formal law and justice sector while also providing a useful point of articulation with that system.

Community policing

In the vast majority of the literature, community policing is seen as a form of joint effort between formal policing organisations and communities (Cordner & Perkins 2005). This collaboration is designed to foster beneficial ties between police and community members in order to provide more robust and sustainable solutions to problems of crime and disorder. Part of the rationale for this form of policing is to improve the responsiveness of policing agencies to particular law and justice issues faced by communities (Weisheit, Wells & Falcone 1994). It does this by providing a form of contextual interface between the community and formal policing agencies. In doing so, one of the key aims of this form of policing is also to increase levels of trust between the community and the police—especially in communities where trust of police is historically low. Flowing on from these two issues of responsiveness and trust, community policing is also seen as a way in which policing agencies can more appropriately deal with the issue of cultural difference. While recent years have seen police agencies around the world become more culturally and ethnically diverse workplaces, the issue of culturally appropriate policing is still high on the list of issues to be dealt with by these agencies. All of these issues are

heightened in countries like Australia, Canada and New Zealand where their respective Indigenous populations have incarceration rates much higher than other groups in the general population. While community policing as described above is practiced in these countries, other forms of community policing (some with very long-standing records) are gaining credence as credible and alternative parts of these countries' law and justice systems.

Other forms of community policing

While community policing has been a relative success, measured at the very least by the degree to which community policing programs have been adopted around the world, this is not the only way in which communities are engaging in policing activities. In the wake of sustained high levels of contact between Indigenous groups and the law and justice sector, Indigenous communities in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, as well as Indigenous communities in countries as diverse as Papua New Guinea and South Africa, are working in partnership with government agencies and other community groups to establish and run their own community policing initiatives.

These community policing initiatives come in a variety of forms. As well as providing early street-level interventions to reduce the number of Indigenous people entering the criminal justice system, these groups are also providing interventions to address social and welfare issues of at-risk Indigenous people across a range of issues including alcohol and substance abuse, family violence, parenting skills, homelessness and truancy. In looking to describe the services that these groups provide, it is useful to use the term 'policing' in the broader way in which Bayley and Shearing (1996: 592) use it to describe approaches based on 'anticipatory regulation and amelioration' rather than the reactive approaches generally used by formal policing agencies. In exploring the role that these organisations can play in community policing, this paper will look briefly at three quite different initiatives—the Māori Wardens in New Zealand, the Squamish Nation North Shore Peacekeepers in Vancouver, British Columbia and the Nyoongar Patrol in Perth, Western Australia.

Māori wardens

Established under the *Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945*, Māori Wardens were formed in an effort to help Māori communities police themselves. Created as a volunteer organisation (although with some recurrent funding being provided for administrative matters by the central government) with 17 districts spread across New Zealand that aligned with the boundaries of the Māori District Councils, Māori Wardens were empowered under the Act to provide the following services:

- prevention of riotous behaviour;
- prevention of drunkenness;
- ordering Māori to leave a hotel if they exhibit disorderly behaviour;
- prevention of disorderly behaviour at Māori gatherings;
- confiscation of car keys; and
- imposition of penalties as ordered by the local Māori Committee.

Alongside these formal roles, with their minimum powers of sanction, Wardens also acted to provide order at Tangihanga (funerals), Hui (gatherings) and local and national Māori events, as well as patrol streets in a number of towns and cities around New Zealand. In addition, they have historically acted to provide advice to families on issues as diverse as truancy, parenting skills, family violence and budgeting. In recent years, they have been especially active in preventative programs for alcohol and substance abuse. These roles are all carried out under their broad organisational mandate of 'the advancement of Māori well being'—or in Māori 'aroha ki te tangata (compassion and care for people)'. As such, the Māori Warden organisation's structural values are heavily dependent on key Māori values of aroha (compassion), manaakitanga (caring and sharing) and whanaungatanga (relationships). Created in an era of rapid urbanisation and an associated process of de-tribalisation in a government environment of assimilation, Māori Wardens have struggled in recent years to attract new members. From a peak of over 1,100 standing Wardens in the early 1970s, the national Māori Wardens Association's membership is now around the 600 mark. In addition, a Māori social and cultural renaissance in the last 20 years and the associated process of re-tribalisation has seen the importance of the Māori District

Councils (to which Māori Warden Associations were aligned), decrease in prestige and standing in the Māori community. However, despite a decrease in the standing of the Māori District Councils, the Māori Wardens Association still manage to garner a high degree of support and trust within the broader Māori community.

Nyoongar patrol

The Nyoongar Patrol System was established in April 1998 after the Aboriginal Advancement Council, in collaboration with government and non-government agencies, to provide a service for Indigenous youth frequenting Northbridge (a suburb in central Perth) who were at high risk of engaging in antisocial and criminal behaviour. Staffed initially by Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) participants, Nyoongar Patrol was designed to provide street-level interventions in the central business district, parks and reserves in order to minimise Indigenous people committing unlawful offences or people becoming victims of crime. The CDEP program is an Australian Government-funded initiative for unemployed Indigenous people outside of major urban and regional centres. It provides activities that develop participants' skills to assist them to move into employment outside the CDEP organisation. Initially providing services only in Northbridge, Nyoongar Patrol became an incorporated society in 2001 and expanded its services to three other localities around the city. Nyoongar Patrol now provides services in the following areas in the broader Perth metropolitan area that have high levels of activity by at-risk Indigenous individuals:

- parks and reserves in the City of Perth;
- the town of Vincent;
- the business centre of Midland (City of Swan); and
- Fremantle (City of Fremantle).

While having no powers of official sanction, the patrol members work with the local community to prevent public drunkenness, homelessness, antisocial behaviour and alcohol-related family violence in the parks and reserves around the central business district. The patrol basically functions to provide an alternative diversionary mechanism to detect and provide early intervention to Indigenous people who are at risk of self-harming, family violence, homelessness and substance misuse on the streets,

parks and business centres of certain parts of the Perth metropolitan area. Nyoongar Patrol has two levels of community participation in its organisational structure. The Executive Management Committee members are made up of Indigenous people elected by the Nyoongar community throughout the four Perth regions in which the Patrol is active, as well as an Advisory Committee which draws its membership from government and non-government agencies in the Perth metropolitan area. While the Advisory Committee provides monthly feedback on the performance of the patrol and identifies hot spots for interventions to curb crime in their localities, the Executive Management Committee (and particularly the elders who sit on that Committee), provide cultural input for the delivery of culturally appropriate forms of intervention and strategic advice. Funding for Nyoongar Patrol is provided by state government agencies, local governments and the local business sector. This funding is on a year-to-year basis and there is no assured continuity which means that much of the organisation's administrative time is spent sourcing revenue. Nyoongar Patrol is not unique. A number of other Indigenous communities in Western Australia and around Australia as a whole have created similar night patrols. The point to note with Nyoongar Patrol is its longevity compared with other patrols established around the country and the fact that all of the members of its patrols are now paid employees.

Squamish Nation North Shore peacekeepers

The Squamish Nation North Shore Peacekeepers was founded officially in 2004. A similar initiative had been created in 1988 but ceased to function in 1994 due to internal conflict. The creation of the modern group was a result of the murder of an ethnically Lebanese individual by a Squamish youth. Afraid of retribution by certain elements within the Vancouver Lebanese community, the Squamish nation started regular security patrols of the entrances to their reserve (in North Vancouver) by Squamish Nation members. As the fear of retribution faded, the regular patrols were noted by many Squamish members as having a positive impact on the community—especially in terms of regulating antisocial behaviour such as public drinking. This impact led to members of the Squamish community calling for the patrols to become a regular feature of on-reserve life.

The Peacekeepers official mandate (through the Nation's Ruling Council) is to:

• observe;

• record; and

• report to the appropriate authority.

They have no punitive authority and their key role is to act as a point of mediation and liaison between community members in conflict and/or community members and the local police force (the North Shore Reserve is within the jurisdictional boundaries of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the West Vancouver Police Force). The peacekeepers do almost all of their work on the Squamish reserves, although they do work with Squamish Nation members off reserve as well.

The peacekeepers' membership is drawn from both Squamish Nation and non-Nation members (although the non-Nation members generally have links of some kind with the Nation—often through marriage). While they are a purely volunteer force, the Squamish Nation government provides some petrol money, as well as uniforms and radios. They hold regular weekly meetings as a group, with representatives from the two local police forces in attendance. The meeting provides an environment for a free and frank exchange of information between all attending parties on both activities within the reserve over the previous week that were of concern to the peacekeepers and also broader shifts in the policing environment in the local region. In their work, the peacekeepers provide a valuable role as a key mediation and liaison point between Squamish Nation members, Departments of the Squamish Nation (and so indirectly through to Provincial Social Services) and local police forces.

Discussion

In many respects, the three organisations discussed above are quite different in a number of ways including their formal organisational structure and the range of their service delivery. However, despite these differences, these organisations are similar at base level in that their approach is based on 'anticipatory regulation and amelioration' rather than the reactive approaches generally used by formal policing agencies. In other words, these community policing organisations include aspects of what is

commonly identified as *community development* in their work. The success of these approaches is evidenced by a number of factors of which the most important is the high degree of support they attract in their respective Indigenous communities.

Despite the increasing number of Māori and Indigenous Australians and Canadians in their countries' respective police forces and the existence of other quasi-community initiatives such as the Aboriginal Police Liaison Officer's (APLOs) in Western Australia, all three of the community policing organisations play a valuable complementary role to the services provided by these other agencies. These initiatives are characterised by both their distance (but not separation) from the formal policing sector and other aspects of the formal law and justice sector. This distance from the formal sector provides these organisations with an ability to be more flexible with the approach they utilise in their delivery of service, as well as helping to increase their level of trust within their respective communities who have an historic distrust of the formal policing sector.

While these organisations are characterised by their distance from the formal law and justice sector, they are nonetheless connected to it. Therefore, Nyoongar Patrol have a formal Partnering Understanding with the WA Police Service which helps provide a structure for information sharing between the two agencies in order to help the two organisations fulfil their respective mandates effectively as possible. A similar relationship exists between Nyoongar Patrol and a range of other government and non-government agencies involved in the formal law and justice sector. This is also the case with Māori Wardens and the Squamish Nation North Shore Peacekeepers.

These organisations provide not only a valuable mechanism to divert Indigenous individuals from the formal law and justice sector, but also act as a point of articulation with this formal system. They act to provide a linkage between the formal and community systems of policing which is something that more traditional forms of community policing have not been able to achieve effectively over time. They are able to do this through their strong links to the local community—as they are that community. The ownership of these initiatives that flows on from these linkages leads to high levels of trust and sustainability which in turn helps with their effectiveness in providing a complementary service to that provided by formal state policing agencies

and other organisations involved in the state law and justice sector. A note of caution flows on from this in that given that this level of distance may be a key factor behind their success, reformers need to be aware from the possible problems that might flow from trying to bring these forms of organisations too closely in line with formal policing agencies.

Conclusion

The success of Māori Wardens in New Zealand, the Squamish Nation North Shore Peacekeepers in Vancouver, British Columbia and the Nyoongar Patrol in Perth, Western Australia provide an interesting lens to explore the role that Indigenous community policing organisations around the world are playing in policing themselves in an attempt to divert their members away from the formal law and justice sector. Part of this success can be traced back to issues of cultural legitimacy, appropriateness and trust. However, as has also been shown, part of this success could be traced back to the degree in which they are seen by the community as being distant (but not necessarily separate) from the formal policing sector and other aspects of the formal law and justice sector. This distance from the formal sector provides these organisations with an ability to be more flexible with the approach they utilise in their delivery of services, as well as helping to increase their level of trust within their respective communities that have a historic distrust of the formal policing sector. In doing this, these organisations are able to effectively mediate between the formal and informal aspects of policing in order to provide a service that successfully acts to divert their members away from the formal law and justice sector while also providing a useful point of articulation with that system.

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Police and crime prevention: Partnering with the community

Anthony Morgan

Working in partnership with the local community to address crime and antisocial behaviour problems is a defining feature of contemporary community policing (Fleming, this volume). Collaboration is also frequently promoted as a key feature of effective crime prevention programs (Homel 2009a). In Australia, commitment to a community-based model of crime prevention has meant that police are frequently called upon to collaborate with local authorities and community organisations in the planning, implementation and review of crime prevention activity. While they are an important component of community policing in practice, these partnerships (particularly where they involve community organisations) have received considerably less attention than other aspects, such as community engagement and local problem solving (Peaslee 2009). Recent Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) research, presented in this chapter of the report, demonstrates the important role of police in community-based crime prevention in Australia and highlights a number of strategies aimed at further improving the contribution police make to local crime prevention efforts.

Crime prevention in Australia

Crime prevention refers to the range of strategies that are implemented by individuals, communities, businesses, non-government organisations and all levels of government to target the various social and environmental factors that increase the risk of crime, disorder and victimisation (AIC 2003; ECOSOC 2002; IPC nd; Van Dijk & de Waard 1991). This includes attempts to modify the physical environment to reduce the opportunities for crime to occur (environmental approaches) and strategies which focus on the underlying social and economic causes of crime and limiting the supply of motivated offenders (social approaches; Crawford 1998; Hughes 2007; Sutton, Cherney & White 2008; Weatherburn 2004).

In Australia, crime prevention has most commonly been delivered through a community-based approach. This approach has been reflected in both national and state and territory crime prevention strategies (past and present) across a

number of jurisdictions (Cherney & Sutton 2007; Crime Prevention Queensland 1999; Homel 2005; Homel et al. 2007; NSW Department of Premier and Cabinet 2008; Office of Crime Prevention 2004). Community-based crime prevention builds on the expertise, capacity and commitment of people or organisations operating at the community level to deliver interventions that aim to modify the social or environmental conditions that promote or sustain crime (ECOSOC 2002). Underpinning this approach is the philosophy that the most effective preventive action empowers local communities to develop local solutions for local problems, with the support of a central body (Homel et al. 2007). In practice, this model has involved national and state or territory government agencies providing short-term funding, support or establishing partnerships with regional branches of government authorities, local government and non-government organisations to plan and deliver crime prevention initiatives.

Contemporary crime prevention has generally embraced the value of partnerships and collaborative policy development and program delivery, in recognition that the causes of crime are wide ranging and complex, related to a range of social and economic conditions beyond the control of criminal justice agencies and often require a coordinated response (Homel 2009a; Hughes 2007). Police are frequently called upon to participate in these partnership arrangements, working with various government and non-government agencies, community and business groups who are able to address the multiple risk factors for local crime problems (Bodson et al. 2008; ICPC nd). Various government agencies outside the criminal justice system (including health, family and community, education and housing departments), local government and community-based organisations have been entrusted with an increasing level of responsibility for the development and implementation of crime prevention strategies. This has, in turn, led to increasing demands being placed on police to collaborate with these agencies and to participate in some form of partnership arrangement in which they are not the lead agency (Brereton 2000; Fleming & O'Reilly 2007; Ransley & Mazzerole 2007).

Crime prevention partnerships and police

There are a number of reasons that police have a primary role in the prevention of crime and can make a significant contribution to the effective delivery of community-driven initiatives:

- police provide a strong presence on the ground in most communities across Australia;

- police act as gatekeepers to the criminal justice system and therefore represent an important juncture between primary prevention efforts and the criminal justice system;

- police officers deal with crime and its impact on a daily basis and therefore have considerable interest in reducing local crime problems;

- police agencies comprise a large and highly skilled workforce, with specialist skills, knowledge and experience in problem solving and partnership working and as such, represent a valuable resource upon which communities may draw to address local crime problems (Bodson et al. 2008; Cameron & Laycock 2002; CMC 2009; Homel et al. 2007).

There is high-level commitment to the involvement of police in whole of government crime prevention initiatives and at the local level, partnerships with community-based organisations. Australian and New Zealand police ministers have recognised and acknowledged the important role of police in crime prevention (ANZPAA 2008). However, a number of challenges have limited the capacity of police to make a more significant contribution to collaborative efforts to prevent crime. Much like community policing more broadly, involvement in crime prevention partnerships has remained a secondary policing activity, rather than becoming part of core police business, due to a variety of reasons, including:

- the absence of a clearly defined role for police in the implementation of crime prevention programs developed at the national or state and territory level;

- an organisational structure and culture that is not conducive to supporting the non-authoritarian and problem solving approach of local crime prevention efforts;

- varying degrees of commitment among senior police to participation in crime prevention partnerships;

- limited evidence as to the effectiveness of the range of initiatives that have been delivered at the community level with the support and involvement of police;

- recruitment and training practices that do not support the development of a workforce with problem solving, networking and interpersonal skills critical to effective partnership work;

- organisational and individual performance measures that do not reflect role of police in crime prevention partnerships;

- community expectations regarding the role of police;

- a tendency to focus on crisis management and to prioritise reactive policing efforts (responding and investigating offences and apprehending offenders); and

- limited capacity within current funding arrangements to dedicate resources to collaborative activity, including limited access to long-term funding for crime prevention (Brereton 2000; Cameron & Laycock 2002; CMC 2009; Fleming & O'Reilly 2007; MacRae et al. 2005; Sarre 1997).

Crime prevention projects involving police

Despite these challenges, police in Australia have become increasingly involved in local problem solving, entering into partnerships with community-based organisations and contributing to local programs to address crime and social disorder issues (Fleming & O'Reilly 2007). This is consistent with trends internationally (Capobianco 2007; MacRae et al. 2005; Peaslee 2009). While not necessarily representative of the full spectrum of community activity in crime prevention, the findings presented below are helpful in understanding the role of police in community-based approaches. In 2007–08, the AIC undertook a review of a national crime prevention program that provided funding to community groups, local government and non-government organisations to develop and implement

crime prevention projects in their local communities. This included an analysis of funded projects using project data collected according to a comprehensive classification scheme and a qualitative survey that was distributed to project managers addressing aspects of project design, implementation and review.

Of the 229 projects examined for the purposes of this paper, 27 percent of projects were delivered by local government. The remaining 73 percent of projects were delivered by community-based, non-government organisations. This included organisations such as community service organisations, charities, welfare agencies, community health organisations, sporting organisations, media associations, youth service providers, and business and community groups. Police, as a state government agency, were ineligible to receive funding, however, there was invariably a high level of demand for police involvement in

projects. More than two-thirds of funding recipients (69%) listed police in project documentation as a key stakeholder. This was more than any other single stakeholder group. The rate of police involvement was consistent across projects delivered in metropolitan, regional/rural and remote communities.

Police were involved in a broad array of different intervention types. As a proportion of all projects involving police, police were most frequently involved in projects that incorporated some element of education (45% of all projects involving police), personal development (such as life or social skills training; 45%) and community development (41%; Table 1). At least one in five projects involving police also involved some form of awareness campaign, diversionary activities, support services and/or CCTV or street lighting. Four out of five projects (82%) incorporated multiple intervention types to achieve their objectives. Police were involved in three-quarters of all projects implementing some type

Table 1 Police involvement in crime prevention projects, by intervention type

	All projects		Projects involving police	
	n	%	n	%
Education-type project	112	49	71	45
Personal development	103	45	71	45
Community involvement or engagement project	90	39	64	41
Awareness campaign/marketing	75	33	54	34
Diversionary activities	64	28	46	29
Support service	70	31	43	27
Security related infrastructure (access control, lighting and CCTV)	43	19	35	22
Service coordination	41	18	30	19
Mentoring	33	14	23	15
Arts development	28	12	21	13
Employment	29	13	19	12
Community patrol	9	4	8	5
Target hardening	9	4	5	3
Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED)	8	3	6	4
Other intervention type	12	5	9	6
Total	229	–	158	–

Note: Projects may involve more than one intervention type

Source: AIC crime prevention project database [computer file]

of environmental crime prevention measure and two-thirds of those projects with some type of social approach to crime prevention.

Most projects targeted certain groups within the community, either as beneficiaries or clients of project activities, although some also had a more general focus. Projects involving police were most frequently focused towards working with young people (66%) and Indigenous communities (49%). These projects were also more likely to have a specific focus on at risk groups (44%), rather than a universal focus (29%). The full list of target populations and projects involving police are summarised in Table 2.

The contribution of police

There was considerable variation in terms of the level and nature of police involvement in activities managed by the community-based organisations examined as part of this research. Feedback from project managers and a more detailed analysis of a number of case studies, indicated that police made important contributions to the planning, implementation and review of community-driven initiatives (Table 3).

The role of police varied from being listed as a stakeholder or as part of a reference group to add legitimacy to a proposed project, acting in an

Table 2 Police involvement in crime prevention projects, by target group				
	All projects		Projects involving police	
	n	%	n	%
Young people	149	65	104	66
Indigenous communities	120	52	78	49
People who are considered at risk of becoming an offender (or reoffending) or a victim of crime	103	45	70	44
General population	59	26	46	29
Families	49	21	32	20
People who are socioeconomically disadvantaged	34	15	25	16
Victims of crime	30	13	24	15
Non English speaking background (NESB) and culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities	31	14	23	15
Community groups	34	15	23	15
People affected by alcohol abuse	25	11	20	13
Women	32	14	19	12
People affected by drug abuse	24	10	18	11
Men	15	7	14	9
Older people	16	7	11	7
Small business	10	4	9	6
Homeless people	7	3	3	2
People affected by mental illness	6	3	6	4
People affected by disability (other than mental illness)	6	3	5	3
Gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender (GLBT)	2	1	2	1
Total	229	–	158	–

Note: Projects may target more than one group

Source: AIC crime prevention project database [computer file]

Table 3 Police contribution to community-driven initiatives		
Planning	**Implementation**	**Review**
Providing and demonstrating support for projects, adding credibility and/or legitimacy to proposed intervention, particularly in funding applications but also in promoting the project to the broader community.	Providing information and advice to individuals, businesses and communities on personal safety and security.	Project management and oversight, sometimes including a role in monitoring and evaluation, commonly as a member of a project steering committee.
Providing information and advice to project managers and partners on the nature of local crime problems, police action to address these issues and advice regarding possible preventative options.	Identifying and referring potential project participants to community-based organisations, such as victims of domestic violence or juvenile offenders.	Providing local crime data, often with some level of analysis and reporting, for the purposes of evaluation
Providing local crime data (often with some level of analysis and reporting) for the purposes of project planning.	Providing officers as project staff who are involved in the delivery of the project activities, particularly in youth-focused programs (eg mentoring and recreational programs).	
Assisting with community consultation and engaging the community in planning, to assist other agencies in identifying local concerns relating to crime, safety and service delivery.	Developing and implementing proactive and problem-oriented policing initiatives and coordinating these activities with project partners to complement other community-driven preventative action	
Actively contributing to the planning and the development of specific initiatives to be delivered at the local level.		
Encouraging or persuading third parties to become involved in taking action or contributing to strategies to address local crime problems		

advisory capacity such as providing local crime data and advice on possible preventive strategies, to actively participating in the delivery of project activities. These functions were performed by local general duties officers, dedicated crime prevention officers or more senior police managers (at the station or district level). The contribution made by police depended on a number of factors, including:

- the perceived value or benefit associated with engaging police in the project;

- the relationship between the organisation leading the project and police, including whether there is a history of collaboration;

- whether there was a specific role that could be performed by police (and whether this role could only be performed by police);

- the availability of police resources to contribute to the project, and the capacity of the local police to perform the function required; and

- whether police were willing to become involved in the project and in what capacity.

Challenges encountered in working with police

Qualitative interviews with project managers demonstrated that police were generally supportive of local crime prevention projects, but that police participation in crime prevention activities was often constrained by limited resources. Project managers identified a number of additional challenges related to working with police and other government agencies, including:

- partnerships requiring considerable time and effort to establish and maintain—time which was often unaccounted for, or not included, in project timeframes or budgets;

- difficulties in obtaining ongoing support and commitment and transforming 'paper partnerships' into meaningful and active partnerships;

- issues associated with continuity in personnel and the constant changeover of police staff, both among dedicated crime prevention officers and local police districts and stations;

- a lack of membership stability within committees and the limited capacity of police officers that attend these committees to make decisions necessary to support certain strategies or initiatives;

- different organisational structures and philosophies regarding crime prevention, including conflicting views regarding the causes of local crime problems and appropriate solutions;

- competing priorities and the fact that participation in community-based crime prevention activity was not identified by senior police as one of their high-level priorities;

- issues related to accessing local data on crime problems from police in a format or on a regular basis that enabled comprehensive, systematic and routine problem analysis and project monitoring; and

- a decline in the number of dedicated crime prevention or community policing officers.

These challenges are not unique to these projects, local crime prevention, or to partnerships involving police. Moreover, despite these challenges, collaborative arrangements with other agencies, including police, were highly valued among grant recipients. Project managers reported numerous benefits, including the pooling of skills, knowledge, experience and resources which helped to increase the capacity of community-based organisations and foster innovative approaches to address local crime problems.

However, one of the major limitations of community crime prevention programs, whether they involve grant funding or supporting local crime prevention planning processes, is that there is often a lack of a coordinated approach to engaging police in project delivery and limited attempts to establish mechanisms to support their involvement. Instead, the involvement of police is frequently ad hoc, locally driven and the responsibility of the organisation seeking, or managing, the funding. Similarly, the willingness of police to engage in many projects and then to have

an ongoing role, is individually or locally managed by police at the community level—be it local crime prevention officers or the officer in charge of the local district or station. This is important, insofar as it allows individuals to establish rapport and to develop meaningful relationships between key individuals and between police and agencies operating in the local area (Jacobs et al. 2007). However, the degree of support and involvement may not necessarily be sustained unless there is clear leadership, guidance or an organisational structure that supports local decision-making, or the capacity (in terms of resources and skill base) for local police to make long-term commitments to partnership arrangements.

Improving the contribution of police

It is clear from this brief overview of recent experience in crime prevention across Australia that police play a significant role in a diverse range of projects delivered in communities with the primary goal of reducing crime and antisocial behaviour or increasing community safety. However, while significant efforts have been made to enhance the contribution made by police to crime prevention in different communities (CMC 2009), the results have been modest (Bodson et al. 2008) and the challenges identified by organisations working with police indicate that there is still room for improvement. The findings presented in this chapter demonstrate that the effectiveness of crime prevention programs and projects involving police would be enhanced by:

- more clearly defining the role of police in crime prevention;

- building the capacity of police to support local crime prevention;

- a systematic approach to deciding which initiatives to support and how;

- better information sharing arrangements; and

- improved evaluation of projects involving partnerships.

Defining the role of police

Despite frequently being identified as key partners in the delivery of crime prevention policy, including as part of initiatives for which they are not the lead agency, the role of police in relation to these partnerships has rarely been clearly defined (Bodson et al. 2008; Cameron & Laycock 2002). This is in contrast with other jurisdictions, such as England and Wales, where there are legislative provisions enacted through the *Crime and Disorder Act 1998* and more recently the *Police and Justice Act 2006*, which requires police to work with other agencies in the development and implementation of a strategy to address crime and disorder in their local areas and outlines the processes that these agencies must have in place in developing these strategies (Home Office 2007).

This brief review has highlighted the wide-ranging roles fulfilled by police working in partnership with community-based organisations. It also demonstrates the breadth of crime prevention approaches that involve police and the variety of groups within the community with whom police have contact as part of these projects. Participation in these community-driven initiatives represents just one component of the police role in crime prevention, along with the routine crime prevention activity undertaken by police (eg disseminating crime prevention information and conducting safety audits), providing a visible presence, intelligence-led policing of crime hotspots, problem-oriented policing strategies (often police-led partnerships to address specific problems) and other community policing strategies (eg Neighbourhood Watch; Capobianco 2007).

Taken as a whole, this activity is not well focused. There is a clear need for greater acknowledgement of, and specification as to, the role of police in the development of crime prevention policy and programs. The capacity of local police to contribute to community-driven initiatives would almost certainly be greater if there was clear policy framework, leadership and direction from a central body and agreement among key partners as to the general scope of police involvement, supported by the decentralisation of decision-making to local managers. The precise nature of this contribution would best be determined through a process of

negotiation and dialogue between central and local partners (Cherney & Sutton 2007). It would then be possible to adequately resource police to perform this function, either through greater investment in prevention and partnership work, or through redistribution of existing funding from reactive policing (Brereton 2000; Fleming & O'Reilly 2007). This would also help to manage the expectations of key partners regarding the contribution of police.

Building the capacity of police to support crime prevention

Recent Australian experience has highlighted the need to direct more focused attention and resources to the task of improving the skill base and access to appropriate resources for those engaged in crime prevention action, including police (Homel 2009b). There are a number of key competencies critical to effective collaborative crime prevention, such as problem solving and analytic skills, project management and evaluation, cultural competency, interpersonal and networking skills, an understanding of the various causes of crime and knowledge of both social and environmental approaches to crime prevention (Peaslee 2009). Police involved in cooperative approaches to crime prevention also need an understanding of local crime trends and the nature of local crime problems, the conditions that lead to crime and strategies that have been successful elsewhere in dealing with these problems (Edwards 1999). The variety of roles fulfilled by police and the range of interventions and groups engaged in projects involving police, means that officers need to be familiar with, or have access to information and training on, the range of approaches to preventing crime and ways of working with diverse groups.

Police should also be familiar with what is now an extensive literature on effective partnerships when working in crime prevention (Bodson et al. 2008; Gilling 2005; Jacobs et al. 2007). The reality of partnership work is that it is complex, and while there are a number of characteristics of effective partnerships, there is no single best approach to working with other agencies (including police) to prevent crime (Crawford 1998; Gilling 2005). Research has shown that effective partnerships require significant upfront and long-term investment of time and resources, shared goals and objectives,

high levels of trust and communication and joint accountability (Brinkerhoff 2002; Crawford 1998; Gilling 2005; Jacobs et al. 2007). They also require careful consideration of the specific circumstances and context in which they are applied, including whether there are issues to contend with such as differential power relations between partners or local politics (Crawford 1998; Gilling 2005). Officers involved in partnership work need to be aware of the lessons learned from past experience, as well as contemporary examples of good practice, so that they are aware of how best to approach working with other agencies.

While there is a strong case for training specialist crime prevention officers to work within crime prevention units, the responsibility for managing police involvement in crime prevention partnerships does not always rest with dedicated or specialised crime prevention or community policing officers. This is particularly true in regional and remote communities. Professional development opportunities should be extended to all police involved in crime prevention. It is also important for there to be adequate support and recognition for those officers involved in crime prevention and collaborative arrangements—including arrangements whereby a central crime prevention unit is available to provide information and advice to local officers. Lastly, police should attempt to transfer these skills and knowledge to the community—working with organisations to build their capacity to deliver key crime prevention activities and reduce their reliance upon police.

The AIC is currently exploring opportunities to create a capacity-building program that would provide education, training and support to police and other agencies that will be, or are, working in community policing and crime prevention. The objective is to develop knowledge and skills in crime prevention that could be applied locally, regionally or whole-of-state in partnership with local agencies and communities. The intention is to incorporate training on the measurement or evaluation of programs into the capacity-building program in order to ensure the lessons of 'what works' from initiatives and principles of good practice relating to their implementation, can be learned and disseminated to the wider field.

A decision-making framework

The reality of modern policing is that there are considerable demands placed on police to work with various sections of the community. It is often expressed that the police do not have enough resources to participate in crime prevention activities (Anderson & Homel 2005; Anderson & Tresidder 2008) and partnerships work most effectively when all parties are willing and able to remain committed. There is a need to adopt a systematic approach through which local police decide which projects to support and what contribution they can make. Key considerations in this decision-making framework may include:

- who is responsible or has authority for making the decision?
- on what basis is the decision to contribute to a project made?
- how will the project benefit police?
- what are the current priorities for local police?
- what are the likely resource implications for police and are the resources to enable police to commit fully to the project available?
- has there been a comprehensive analysis of the problem being addressed?
- what evidence is there that the proposed intervention will be effective?
- what other factors might impact upon the implementation of the proposed project?
- what expectations are there within the community that police will be involved?
- what are the likely consequences if police elect not to become involved?

While the development of a decision-making tool for police would provide useful guidance, ultimately the decision to engage in projects is most frequently made by local police. This requires greater level of flexibility within police structures to find a balance between centralised decision making and local discretion, and the devolution of decision making to officers actively involved in problem solving and partnership working (Brereton 2000; Edwards 1999; Peaslee 2009). There have been attempts, both in Australia and overseas, to empower local police managers with greater flexibility to make decisions regarding local policing priorities, partnership

arrangements and actions, with varying degrees of success (Casey & Pike 2008; Myhill 2006; Peaslee 2009; Quinton & Morris 2008). Undertaking the necessary levels of organisational and cultural change to enable local police to exercise the level of flexibility required as part of community-based crime prevention remains a significant challenge.

Information sharing and community engagement

Police are an important source of information to assist community organisations to plan crime prevention projects (Bodson et al. 2008; Capobianco 2007). This was evident among the projects examined as part of this research, where grant recipients frequently cited police statistics to demonstrate the need or underlying evidence for their project. It is therefore important that information on local crime problems be made available and accessible to community-based organisations to assist in planning processes. However, an over-reliance on police data for both problem analysis and evaluation can be limiting. Assessments of local crime problems need to be based on information from multiple sources, not just police data, to ensure that a complete picture regarding the nature and scope of a problem is formed and so the causes of that problem may be understood.

For effective interagency partnerships, information sharing should be reciprocal (MacRae et al. 2005). While police may be required to provide information and data to those delivering crime prevention strategies, crime prevention partnerships represent a valuable source of information for police regarding local problems and community priorities. This should be recognised as a key feature of partnership arrangements and reflected in protocols for information sharing. Establishing processes to share information can be time consuming and often require considerable negotiation. Experience has shown that to enable information sharing, partnerships often require appropriate governance structures, creative funding arrangements and some form of oversight or ongoing management processes (Capobianco 2007). Nevertheless, it is important that adequate time and energy is invested in establishing these arrangements.

Related to this issue is community engagement, which is fundamental to effective crime prevention and community policing (Myhill 2006). It is important that police become involved in and maximise the benefits from the various consultative mechanisms established to inform, manage and monitor community-based crime prevention projects, such as local safety committees facilitated by local government. These represent an important mechanism through which police may engage and consult with the community and with various government and non-government agencies (Casey & Pike 2008). Many community-based organisations also have established networks and contact with a range of marginalised communities, particularly those groups within the community that Bartkowiak-Theron and Corbo Crehan (this volume) describe as 'vulnerable people' and with whom police often encounter difficulties engaging (Sarre 1997). Police should endeavour to capitalise on opportunities to benefit from these existing networks and established consultative mechanisms, especially given the numerous reported benefits associated with effective community engagement (Myhill 2006).

Evaluation and performance measurement

There is a considerable body of knowledge surrounding the impact of policing strategies in terms of their capacity to prevent crime (Sherman & Eck 2006). There is strong support for problem-oriented policing and for some aspects of community policing. However, there is comparatively little support for community-based approaches to crime prevention or evidence demonstrating the effectiveness of partnerships between police and community-based organisations (Sherman & Eck 2006; Welsh & Hoshi 2006). Initiatives that engage police in community development projects, such as recreational programs for young people, have been subjected to little or no rigorous evaluation (Sherman & Eck 2006). Given the importance that is placed on the commitment to evidence-based policy and practice, convincing senior police to invest resources (and redirect resources from reactive policing), or to undertake the necessary organisational change to support community partnerships and projects in the absence of a strong body of evidence, represents a significant challenge.

Consistent with a community-based approach, much of the responsibility for evaluation in crime prevention has been devolved to local agencies (Homel & Morgan 2008). Experience from both national and state and territory crime prevention programs suggest that this approach has been largely unsuccessful in terms of generating high-quality evaluations (Anderson & Tressider 2008; Homel et al. 2007; Homel & Morgan 2008; Weatherburn 2004). This is for a variety of reasons, but frequently results in a self-assessment of performance, largely focused on outputs rather than outcomes and which is rarely objective or critical (Homel et al. 2007).

A relatively small number of projects examined as part of this research had been evaluated. Completed evaluations more commonly provided evidence relating to project outputs, such as the establishment or extension of an existing project, or the increased use of an organisation's services. Where evidence of outcomes was documented, this 'evidence' was often anecdotal and involved feedback (rarely collected using systematic or rigorous qualitative methods) from project staff, stakeholders and participants on their perceived impact of project activities. Many project evaluations failed to distinguish between short, medium or long-term outcomes and therefore either focused entirely on outputs or made unsupported assertions about the impact of their work.

Strategies to improve the quality of evaluation and performance measurement are therefore required. A decision as to the most appropriate mechanism for supporting evaluation work as part of local crime prevention programs requires an assessment of the existing capacity and potential needs of those likely to be entrusted with the responsibility for evaluation (Morgan & Homel 2008). Nevertheless, there are several practical measures through which the evaluation of crime prevention initiatives involving police could be improved, including:

- providing training to build the capacity of police officers (particularly those working in crime prevention) so they can contribute to evaluations and determining the effectiveness of cooperative endeavours and the benefits of police involvement in crime prevention, as well as important considerations for those attempting similar initiatives in the future. The AIC has an interest in providing training and education to build this capacity;

- investing in external evaluation (external to the organisation or through a dedicated research and evaluation unit) for more complex and/or multiple initiatives (Weatherburn 2004);

- developing and implementing a standard performance measurement and reporting framework and recording system that would allow for ongoing monitoring (using both qualitative and quantitative data) of crime prevention outcomes from small-scale projects;

- establishing mechanisms to measure the ongoing effectiveness of partnership arrangements, including the integration of performance measures relevant to participation in crime prevention programs into organisational reporting within police agencies (Fleming & O'Reilly 2007; Peaslee 2009); and

- negotiating with local organisations to ensure that the interests of police are reflected in project objectives, monitoring and evaluation of community-based initiatives, particularly where police are not the lead agency but make a significant contribution to project design and/or delivery.

Conclusion

It appears that considerable progress has been made by police organisations across Australia to improve their contribution to community-based crime prevention strategies. Recent experience demonstrates that police invest considerable effort in crime prevention activity at the community level and perform a number of important functions. However, the manner in which this is happening appears largely ad hoc and locally driven. The commitment to community-based crime prevention in Australia is likely to continue, as it is a common feature of many government strategies across a range of sectors (Homel 2005; Johnson, Headey & Jensen 2005). Therefore, it is important that police agencies continue to enhance their preventive capabilities and ensure that organisational structure, culture and practice is conducive to this function.

There is scope for cautious optimism. The primary responsibility for crime prevention policy and program delivery in Australia has, for many years,

rested with dedicated crime prevention agencies outside of police, usually located with Attorney-General, Justice or Premiers Departments (Brereton 2000; Cameron & Laycock 2002). While there is good reason for this (Weatherburn 2004), police have been marginal players in terms of developing the crime prevention agenda. In more recent years, a number of crime prevention agencies have moved into police departments and the size and scope of crime prevention units in other states has diminished significantly. A commitment to crime prevention and partnerships with local government and other community-based organisations is reflected in the strategic plans from a number of policing jurisdictions (eg ANZPAA 2008; South Australia Police 2007; Victoria Police 2008; Western Australia Police 2009). The important contribution of police in crime prevention has been recognised most recently by the CMC (2009), who highlighted the importance of police crime prevention efforts in addressing Indigenous over-representation in the criminal justice system. This represents a significant opportunity for police organisations to have a greater say in terms of developing crime prevention policy and in determining how best they can contribute. It also serves as a reminder as to the importance of ensuring that police organisations are adequately resourced and have the capacity to make a significant contribution to crime prevention programs.

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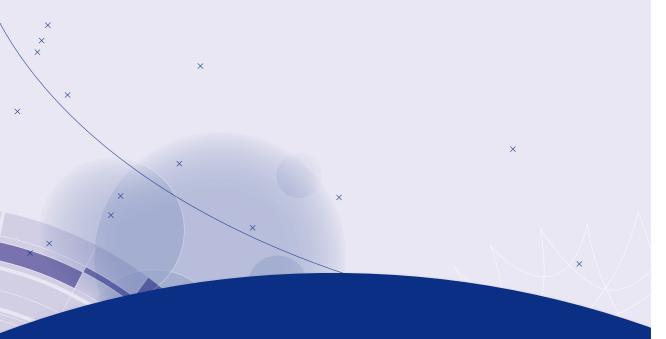
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Harnessing information and communications technologies in community policing

Kim-Kwang Raymond Choo

Information and communications technologies (ICT), including the new media channels (eg social networking sites and blogs), have become an important element in our day-to-day activities and facilitate interaction, collaboration and knowledge sharing among participants from all over the world. This creates benefits for the community as well as socioeconomic challenges and risks of criminal exploitation of ICT, also known as cybercriminal activities. The new media channels, for example, allow individuals to voice their opinions easily, without the need to go through intermediaries (eg printed media) and to play a more active role in shaping the societal and political landscapes online. On the other hand, minority views such as extremist and subversive views that might not have been heard in the past are more able to receive exposure. Suriakumari Sidambaram (2000: 303), District Judge of Singapore's Subordinate Courts, explained that

> [w]e live in a world of constant change. Trade and technology interact to accelerate the rate of change. Science and technology of today may become history tomorrow, while the knowledge and skills we acquire now may fast become obsolete. As a result, the current operations in an ever-changing environment are constantly faced with new challenges. With the arrival of the information age, complex crimes such as computer crimes, phone cloning and other high-technology crimes have emerged. White collar crimes would consequently increase. Constant training and upgrading to tie in with the overall social and economic advancement is the only way to adapt to changes very quickly.

ICT permeates all societal layers. In an increasingly digitalised environment, 'policing will be carried out over a borderless community, rather than within the confines of national boundaries' (Sim 2000: 116). New forms of policing will become essential as cybercrime often transcends national frontiers. In traditional criminal cases, for example, international cooperation typically occurs at the end of the law enforcement and judicial process where charges have been formally laid and the accused persons are ready for extradition; however, for cybercrime, international cooperation is usually required at the beginning of the investigation process. To keep pace with the needs and preferences of society, law enforcement agencies 'should be able to anticipate what the community's security preferences are' (Grabosky 2009: 95); and in an increasingly

interconnected and ICT-conducive environment, law enforcement agencies need to reassess policing roles and techniques in order to better attune the delivery of community policing to the needs, wants and expectations of the community.

Community policing, when reduced to its fundamentals, entails determining the legitimate security needs of the public and co-producing public security, either through partnerships with individuals, interests or institutions outside of the law enforcement agency (Grabosky 2009). Interactive and collaborative partnerships with relevant stakeholders within the community are, therefore, essential in community policing. Besides community partnerships, the US Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) (USDJ: nd) outlines two other broad components of community policing:

- *organisational transformation*—the alignment of organisational management, structure, personnel and information systems to support community partnerships and proactive problem-solving efforts; and
- *problem solving*—the process of engaging in the proactive and systematic examination of identified problems to develop effective responses that are rigorously evaluated.

ICT has changed the dynamics of public-private interaction by providing a new vehicle for government and law enforcement agencies to reach out to the community. A key question to be discussed in this chapter is *how can ICT be harnessed to facilitate an effective community policing that enhances and supports community partnerships and problem-solving efforts?*

Enhancing and supporting community partnerships

As ICT uses increasingly crosses national boundaries, Nuth (2008: 444) questioned whether law enforcement agencies and policymakers are able to keep pace with ICT advances and remarked that '[t]he law making process is usually long...[and] it is not surprising that the laws are often behind the technological inventions'. When looking at how government and law enforcement agencies could leverage ICT to engage the community, especially online, Singapore's Minister for Community

Development, Youth and Sports at the Community Leaders' Conference in February 2009 commented:

> The new media presents a vast potential to initiate civic engagement. We can engage our peers, residents, neighbours and the community as a whole in nurturing a civic conscious society. This could be done by setting up blogs to discuss ideas, and share experiences, opening facebook accounts to connect with your friends, residents, and community groups or post community events on YouTube. We should take advantage of the viral nature of the new media, its ability to narrow cast and select topics to discuss on issues that are of interest to a particular group. (Balakrishnan 2009: np)

A 2008 report published by Singapore's Advisory Council on the Impact of New Media on Society suggested that:

> [n]ew media technology enables people to search and find new sources of information, news and views beyond Singapore's shores. The Internet has become a significant platform for people who seek alternative views...With the Internet at their fingertips, individuals can challenge, rightly or wrongly, any interpretation of events' (AIMS 2008: 12).

Noting the benefits of engaging the community in cyberspace, the report recommended that the Singapore Government enhance the e-engagement initiatives and 'continue to invest in research and learn from countries which have started the process of e-engagement' (AIMS 2008: 14). Rather than viewing the new media channel as a threat or just another vehicle to push messages, it should be viewed as an opportunity to convey ideas and engage people. It allows governments and law enforcement agencies to gather useful information about sentiments within communities. For example, the Singapore Government launched the REACH (Reaching Everyone for Active Citizenry@Home) in October 2006 to encourage and promote an active citizenry through citizen participation and involvement (Khor cited in Wong 2009). More recently in May 2009, the UK Cabinet Office announced that Andrew Stott had been appointed to the new role of Director of Digital Engagement, a position created to take forward the Power of Information agenda. A key role of this newly established position is to 'work across Government departments to encourage, support and challenge them in moving from communicating

to citizens on the web to communicating with citizens through digital technology' (United Kingdom Cabinet Office 2009: np). Such moves emphasise the importance placed on engaging the community in cyberspace by the Singapore and UK Governments. Effective use of the new media channels could contribute to formulating policies that truly address people's concerns.

It is in the interest of law enforcement agencies to engage the community 'to take preventive action against situations and conditions that facilitate [cyber] criminal opportunities' (Cherney 2008: 634), particularly in the changed security environment post-11 September. Hanniman (2008: 281), for example, observed that 'Canadian law enforcement agencies responsible for National Security have realized that there is a potential benefit from the use of community policing in terrorism prevention through the increased interaction with the community'. In the context of countering home-grown radicalisation, Klausen (2009: 403) explained how '[t]he application of community-policing principles [can help to] bridge steep trade-offs between effective prevention and the social and political integration of Britain's Muslims'.

It is widely reported that the internet has been, and will continue to be, used as a medium for propaganda (eg publishing doctrines such as *The Global Islamic Resistance Call* on the internet and the website of the 'Reformation and Jihad Front' insurgent group), recruitment and training of potential terrorists, and transferring information. A study by Gerstenfeld, Grant and Chiang (2003) revealed that extremists' and supremacists' networking sites often contain external links to other sites of similar nature and materials or publications inciting extremist activities. Such sites are often an effective means of reaching an international audience, soliciting funding and also in recruiting new members; allowing cybercriminals to coordinate their activities and to distribute propaganda. In October 2010, for example, the terrorist group Al Qaeda reportedly released the second edition of its English language online magazine entitled *Inspire*. A spokeswoman for the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation indicated in an interview that such magazines aim 'to radicalise and mobilise disaffected individuals in Western countries' (Maley 2010: 13).

A 2007 report by the New York City Police Department described how the internet is used

by terrorists in the (internet-driven) radicalisation process targeting the digital generation—often the young and the internet-aware.

1) Self-Identification phase: The internet and the new media channels are mainly used as a source of information about the religion and a venue to meet other like-minded individuals (seekers) online.

2) Indoctrination phase: Those undergoing this self-imposed brainwashing devote their time in... cyberspace to the extremist sites and chat rooms, which allows them to tap into virtual networks of like-minded individuals around the world who reinforce the individual's beliefs and commitment and further legitimise them. The internet and the new media channels become a virtual 'echo chamber'—acting as a radicalisation accelerant while creating the path for the ultimate stage of Jihadisation.

3) Jihadisation phase: Radicalised individuals challenge and encourage each other to take certain action(s). The internet and the new media channels are now tactical resources for obtaining instructions on constructing weapons, gathering information on potential targets, and providing spiritual justification for a physical attack (Silber & Bhatt 2007: 37).

Young people and those who are internet-aware are heavy users of the internet and tend to have higher self-reported levels of internet skill, as illustrated in an ACMA study (ACMA 2009). This particular group is, however, at a greater risk of being misled by the propaganda posted on radical sites and forums particularly during the early stages of radicalisation due to their impressionability and possible lack of understanding of religion. In April 2010, a full-time National Serviceman in the army was arrested in Singapore under the *Internal Security Act*. According to the media release from Singapore's Ministry of Home Affairs, it was alleged that the accused person begun avidly surfing the Internet in search of jihadist propaganda and videos when he was studying in a local polytechnic (he did not complete his studies). Over time, he allegedly became deeply radicalised by the lectures of radical ideologues, and became convinced that it was his religious duty to undertake armed jihad alongside fellow militants and strive for martyrdom (MHA 2010). It was also alleged that the accused person 'went online in search of information on bomb-making, and produced and posted a video glorifying martyrdom and justifying suicide bombing'

prior to being detained under the *Internal Security Act* on 4 April 2010 (MHA 2010: np). This and other cases illustrate some of the ways in which terrorists exploit the internet and new media channels for criminal purposes.

This same group (young and the internet-aware) can also be targeted by organised crime groups and foreign intelligence services in their online recruitment drive, as suggested by recent media articles.

- 'Street gangs [in Australia are reportedly] using social networking websites to promote themselves are preying on naive and vulnerable young people, one of Sydney's most senior police has warned' (Fife-Yeomans 2009: np).
- Israel's internal intelligence service is reportedly warning the public about the risk of being targeted by foreign intelligence agents on a popular social networking site (Associated Press 2009).

On the other hand, this very same group is

best placed to speak out against violent extremist groups...[and in the context of countering internet-driven radicalisation, there is a] need to equip young Muslims to take the lead in challenging prejudice and preconceptions, both within their own communities and in wider society (Department for Communities and Local Government 2008: 33).

It is, therefore, important for law enforcement agencies to establish an effective public-private partnership with community and religious bodies to reach out to the young and the internet-aware and enhance their understanding of mainstream or orthodox religious and social practices, disseminate the mainstream or orthodox interpretation of the doctrines of religion and educate them to recognise radical and criminal websites.

The internet and new media channels are also an ideal platform to reach out to the young and internet-aware. An example of how the community has been involved in counter-extremist narrative in cyberspace is the initiative by the Singapore Government-funded Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG). The RRG, comprising Islamic clerics, intellectuals and teachers who counsel detained Jemaah Islamiyah members, hosts public forums and operates a website (http://www.rrg.sg/) to counter radical ideologies in cyberspace (eg outlining the different types of radical ideologies with rebuttals from respected and learned Islamic clerics). In the

United States, the FBI has reportedly launched a number of community engagement initiatives in cyberspace:

- *social networking site*—Facebook with latest new releases, photos and videos, and people can become a 'fan' of the FBI;
- *online video sharing website*—YouTube to watch videos produced by the FBI and connect back to their website for job postings and other content; and
- *mobile social networking*—Twitter to receive tweets on breaking news and other useful information in real-time (http://www.fbi.gov/page2/may09/socialmedia_051509.html).

Engaging the community helps to isolate terrorists from the organisations they have been connected to and assists the process of questioning the methods by which the terrorist goals are fulfilled (Stohl 2008). Adopting a community-based policing approach to counter extremist theologies also signals a shift in government and law enforcement agencies' policy—from counter-intelligence to prevention. Such an approach can enhance trust between law enforcement and the community, and enable the government and the Muslim community to identify early warning indicators of religious extremism. Bergin and colleagues also pointed out that '[i]n a potentially sensitive area like religious extremism, engaging the community will help to drive effective counteraction strategies' (Bergin et al. 2009: 17).

Enhancing and supporting problem-solving efforts

Information sharing and dissemination

Harnessing ICT for various aspects of policing has been a key operational objective of the international law enforcement community. For example, in May 2009, Hayes and Regnier (2009: np) reported that

> [i]nvestigators with the Major Case squad have taken to social networking websites online in an effort to share and solicit information on the murders in Columbia, Illinois last week, along with other cases. They say they still want more input [from the community] even though they believe they know who killed Sheri Coleman and her two sons.

A similar initiative was undertaken by the Singapore Police Force (SPF). In April 2009, the SPF reportedly set up a Facebook page to appeal for information on crime suspects and to disseminate crime prevention advice. According to the assistant director of the SPF's public affairs department,

> [alt]hough no suspects have been nabbed via Facebook yet…responses from netizens have been encouraging…Some of our fans have pledged to keep a lookout for the suspects while others have shown their support by indicating that the public needs to play a part in helping the police to arrest them (Liew 2009: 7).

Similar initiatives on the use of new media channels, such as Twitter, by Baltimore Police Department, California's Modesto Police Department and Mt. Rainier Police Department to share and disseminate information was also outlined in a recent newsletter article by NLECTC (2010).

Some aspects of the technologies law enforcement agencies use today are entirely new but the most basic of these technologies that shape the operations of a law enforcement agency is record keeping and sharing and disseminating information within and between agencies. A 2008 report by UK House of Commons Home Affairs Committee examines ways in which ICT can be leveraged to facilitate front-line and community policing activities. For example:

- using tablet computers in police vehicles and hand-held data terminals;
- using real-time tracking devices such as the Intelligent Deployment of Resources and Automatic Vehicle Location System;
- expanding the Automatic Number Plate Recognition to provide better intelligence; and
- developing search tools to enable a single search of all database systems within the police forces (Home Affairs Committee 2008).

Improved access to ICT offers communities education resources and law enforcement assistance. Policing scholars including Cherney (2008) have also suggested that one of the ways in which police can facilitate third parties to take action against crime includes having in place educational programs to increase awareness about law enforcement agency's responsibility and capacity to prevent a crime problem. For example, a study by Westbrook (2008) of 172 police department

websites in the 100 largest metropolitan areas of the United States, illustrated how new media channels can be used to complement support and information dissemination to victims of crimes such as intimate partner violence and to address community problems. A recent example in Australia is the one-stop website designed to bring together information and support services for victims of sexual assault (http://www.sexualassault.nsw.gov.au/), launched by the NSW Attorney General John Hatzistergos in May 2009 (AAP 2009; Hatzistergos 2009).

Crime mapping and analysis

Understanding the structure and relationships between criminals and their associates in the networks could provide the technical insight needed to disrupt their criminal activities. Crime mapping and analysis software (eg social network analytical software) is one such tool that allows law enforcement agencies to study criminal networks by performing link analysis, mapping and alerts which can rapidly identify and locate criminals in existing law enforcement databases. Hidden relationships in virtual networks that might not have been obvious just by viewing a particular online identity's account or connections can be uncovered using social network analytical tools. This has been illustrated in various studies (Chen et al. 2008; Xu & Chen 2008) and allows investigators to discover new or previously unknown criminal associations and trends. For example, a 2000 survey indicated that a number of US law enforcement agencies have adopted crime mapping and analysis software in community policing to map location of arrests, calls for service, gang territory or gang-related crime, location of motor vehicle accidents, location of firearms offenses, addresses of victims, addresses of offenders and addresses of registered sex offenders (United States Police Foundation 2000). Klerks (2001) from the Dutch National Police Academy in Apeldoorn categorised social network analytical tools into first-generation, second-generation and third-generation tools. First-generation tools are non-computer aided tools designed to 'describe' criminal activities as a network of associations. Second-generation tools, such as Netmap and i2 Analyst's Notebook provide pattern identification and graphic representations of simple raw data obtained from phone taps and physical surveillance reports. Third-generation tools

have a more in-depth focus on the content of the contacts, the social context and the interpretation of such information. Research into third-generation tools is still ongoing and as Marshall and Chen (2006: 16) noted, third-generation social network analytical tools are 'yet to be widely deployed [although these] techniques and methodologies have been explored in the research literature'. One such example is the web-based Crime Analysis Toolkit (WebCAT) developed by researchers from the Systems and Information Engineering Department, University of Virginia, for Virginia law enforcement agencies in the United States (Calhoun et al. 2008).

Video surveillance

Video surveillance (eg CCTV networks) can be used as a deterrent to crime, to gather evidence, monitor the behaviour of known offenders in public places and reduce the fear of crime (Coudert 2009; Ratcliffe 2006; Royal Academy of Engineering 2007). Deterrence is the key to a safer community environment and can result in enhanced community cohesion and informal social control. For example, in April 2009, the SPF reportedly bought more than 300 mobile CCTV cameras to install at harassment-prone sites to assist their illegal money-lending investigations and serve as deterrence to harassers (Teo 2009). The benefits of video surveillance were emphasised in a meta-analysis of 41 studies which was conducted by researchers from the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Massachusetts Lowell. The researchers found that

> CCTV [networks have] a modest but significant desirable effect on crime, is most effective in reducing crime in car parks, is most effective when targeted at vehicle crimes (largely a function of the successful car park schemes), and is more effective in reducing crime in the U.K. than in other countries (Welsh & Farrington 2008: 18–19).

There are other studies, however, that reveal flaws in the crime prevention capacities of CCTV networks. A 2005 experimental study of 13 CCTV projects (comprising 14 separate systems) funded by the UK Home Office

> concluded that [the CCTVs] had little or no impact on crime recorded by the police, or on citizens' perception of crime (based on victimization rates, fear of crime and other information collected via local surveys) (Gill & Spriggs cited in Sasse 2010: 25).

As noted by crime prevention practitioners such as Clancey (2009: 5), 'CCTV [on its own] is not a panacea for crime...[and] crime prevention outcomes are best achieved through a combination of measures, rather than relying solely on one approach'. In recent years, video surveillance is 'progressively being replaced by more flexible and adaptable video surveillance systems based on internet protocol (IP) technologies' (Coudert 2009: 145). IP-based surveillance systems allow higher-quality recording with longer retention periods. Due to increased data storage, higher video resolution and ubiquitous capabilities of IP-based video surveillance systems, privacy and racial profiling concerns have been raised as systems are installed in communities. In addition, the use of sophisticated software such as video analytics packages facilitates the collection, processing, mining of data and transferring of data to third parties. This raises questions on whether information collected from the systems is used for other purposes such as individual tracking and behaviour analysis (Coudert 2009), as well as who owns surveillance data.

Such concerns are certainly not new, although legal recognition of the community's privacy may be relatively new. Scholars and practitioners have put forth various suggestions to balance the potential benefits of the extensive use of video surveillance against important community interests. One possible non-technical solution proposed to increase the transparency of the video surveillance systems is shared ownership, such as a community webcam.

> [T]he greatest value of this sort of 'community webcam' would be its power to prevent a Big Brother state. The authorities in Nineteen Eighty-Four held absolute power, keeping the citizen a helpless subject of surveillance. The East German Stasi recruited informants secretly and derived some of their power from no one knowing who was being watched or by whom. In contrast, making surveillance cameras accessible to the community would ensure reciprocity, the sharing of power between the watchers and the watched. Community members could object if they felt particular cameras were unnecessary or unnecessarily intrusive. This would limit the potential for voyeuristic or prejudicial misuse of surveillance. Sharing footage from public webcams would result in shared ownership of the system and shared benefits and could create a modern version of community surveillance. (Royal Academy of Engineering 2007: 49)

The future

Contemporary community policing is information-intensive. ICT can play a strategic and operational function in facilitating effective community policing. Strategically, ICT enables law enforcement agencies to decide how best to deploy their limited resources and engage with the community. Operationally, ICT enhances and supports problem solving efforts (eg providing ready access to quality information via information sharing and dissemination). There are, however, challenges in the use of ICT in community policing, as highlighted in this chapter. For example, how do we ensure that the use of ICT in community policing (eg CCTV) does not raise important issues such as privacy, national security or confidentiality and how can we ensure that government policies do not lag behind new technology trends, causing unnecessary restrictions on the use of new technologies?

Harnessing the potential that ICT and the new media channels have to offer cannot occur in a vacuum. The Australian Government has started to address the issue of more efficient and effective use of ICT as a result of the review of the government's use of ICT by Sir Peter Gershon (2008). To remain at the forefront of leveraging ICT in law enforcement work, law enforcement agencies need to continuously

- assess the impact of emerging technologies on the type and incidence of crime;

- leverage ICT advances to improve the investigative and response capability and capacity of law enforcement agencies;

- collaborate with academia and private sectors to research, develop and procure common ICT solutions that will enhance communication and the efficiency and effectiveness of law enforcement infrastructure;

- use ICT to further develop integrated intelligence, information and investigative networks across and within domestic and international law enforcement agencies; and

- develop education, standards and skills profiles to match capability in working with ICT (ANZPAA 2008).

The Australian Government has invested significantly in law enforcement responses, education, science and research, and development. It is hoped that there will be further investment to enable Australian

computer science researchers to play a more significant role in designing state of the art tools that can be deployed in a community policing environment. For example, researchers can assist law enforcement agencies to 'find ways to take data from disparate sources, [analyse] them and then using results to anticipate, prevent and respond more effectively to future crime'—also known as predictive policing. (Pearsall 2010: 16).

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Appendix 1:
About the authors

Professor Jenny Fleming

Jenny Fleming is Research Professor and the Director of the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies at the University of Tasmania. A strong supporter of participatory action research with an emphasis on practitioner involvement, Professor Fleming was the chief coordinator of an Australian Research Council (ARC)-funded linkage project *Policing in the 21st Century* with the Australian Federal Police. She was academic panel adviser to the Criminology Research Council at the Australian Institute of Criminology in Canberra from 2006–08. She is on several Boards including the Alcohol and other Drugs Council, Australian Institute of Public Administration and the Australian Crime Prevention Council. Her research interests include police management, police leadership, cross-border policing, police practice generally and public expectations of police. She has published widely both nationally and internationally in these areas. Her book (with Jen Wood), *Fighting Crime Together: The Challenge of Policing and Security Networks* was published in October 2006. She is the co-author (with Alison Wakefield) of *The Sage Dictionary of Policing*, published by Sage Publications London in 2009. Professor Fleming is currently a Chief Investigator on the ARC-funded Linkage Project *Policing Just Outcomes* with Victoria Police. The project looks at the police management of sexual assault.

Dr Isabelle Bartkowiak-Théron

Isabelle Bartkowiak-Théron obtained her PhD from la Sorbonne-Paris IV (France) in 2002. She then went to study participatory and community justice in Canada and South Africa before joining the Nexus Policing team in 2004 at the Australian National University. She chaired the Policing Research Development Committee at Charles Sturt University for four years before joining the School of Government and the Tasmania Institute of Law Enforcement Studies at the University of Tasmania in 2010. She works closely with Tasmania Police on teaching and research, while still researching community policing and socio-legal issues throughout Australia and overseas. She regularly publishes on these topics, as well as in qualitative methodology. She became an associate investigator at the Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security in 2009.

Dr Anna Corbo Crehan

Dr Anna Corbo Crehan is a philosopher, lecturing on various police ethics subjects in the School of Policing Studies, Charles Sturt University. Her PhD, which is currently being re-written as an e-book under contract with Melbourne University Press, was on Compensatory Justice and Aboriginal Land Claims. Her areas of research interest include Indigenous issues, police ethics (particularly the making of discretionary decisions and interactions with vulnerable people), research ethics and the concept of professional distance (from the broader perspective of professional ethics).

Jacqueline Joudo Larsen

Jacqueline Joudo Larsen is a Senior Research Analyst at the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC). During her time at the AIC, Jacqueline's research has encompassed issues such as deaths in custody, the impact of mode of testimony on sexual assault trials, sexual assault in Indigenous and CALD communities, and youth gangs. Since late 2007, she has managed the AIC's Trafficking in Persons Research Program which comprises numerous sub-projects focused on gathering good quality data on people trafficking, identifying and monitoring emerging trends in the Asia–Pacific region, as well as targeted research projects on priority issues such as support for victims and child trafficking. Jacqueline is currently a doctoral scholar at the Australian National University and is interested in the area of migrants and crime, particularly in examining the factors which influence contact with the criminal justice system.

Dr Judy Putt

Currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, University of Tasmania, Dr Judy Putt's research interests include rural and remote administration of justice, transnational and organised crime, and community safety in Indigenous communities. With post-graduate degrees in anthropology and criminology, Dr Putt has undertaken and published research on a wide range of subjects, including violence against women, juvenile justice, missing persons, crime in the fishing industry, people trafficking and substance misuse. As the former head of research at the Australian Institute of Criminology and with extensive experience in crime prevention and drug policy, Dr Putt has a strong commitment to policy- and practice-relevant research.

Matthew Willis

Matthew Willis is a Senior Research Analyst with the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC). His main research interests are crime, justice and community safety issues in Indigenous communities, justice-related interventions for Indigenous Australians and the post-release experiences of offenders. Matthew manages the Indigenous justice research program at the AIC. His previous research with the Institute has included homelessness among ex-prisoners, bushfire arson and federal offences. Matthew has operational management and policy experience in corrections in the Australian Capital Territory and with the Australian Government. Matthew holds a Bachelor of Social Science degree in Psychology and Masters degrees in Criminology and Correctional Management from Charles Sturt University.

Manuhuia Barcham

Manuhuia Barcham grew up in a marae (traditional Maori village) on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand. He is a member of the Iwi (tribes) of Ngati Kahungunu, Te Arawa and Ngati Tuwharetoa but grew up in Ngati Kahungunu territory and speaks this dialect of Maori. His undergraduate work was

completed at Canterbury University in New Zealand; he completed his graduate education overseas studying at Oxford University in England and taking his PhD from the Australian National University in Canberra. After working in universities in Australia and New Zealand, he accepted the post of the foundation Director of the Centre for Indigenous Governance and Development (CIGAD) at Massey University, New Zealand in 2005. In 2008, he left the university sector to take up a position as Managing Director of Synexe—an international consulting firm with bases in Australia, Canada and New Zealand and operations across the Asia–Pacific region. Manuhuia continues to actively work in the law and justice sector, with particular focus on the concept and implementation of cross-cultural justice systems and issues pertaining to international crime, particularly corruption.

Anthony Morgan

Anthony Morgan is a Research Analyst with the Crime Reduction and Review Program at the Australian Institute of Criminology, specialising in evaluation and performance measurement for criminal justice and crime prevention programs. In addition to the evaluation of specialty court programs, he has previously worked on the review of a national crime prevention program, collaborative capacity building projects with both national and state crime prevention agencies, the development of performance framework for community-based crime prevention and an evaluation of policing strategies in entertainment precincts. He has previously worked as a policy and research officer in crime prevention, working closely with police and local government.

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Raymond is a Senior Research Analyst with the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC). Through his position at the AIC, he collaborates with the Australian National University's ARC Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security as a visiting fellow. He is also a member of the Australian Computer Society's ACT branch executive

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The genesis of this report was a conference on policing in New Zealand in 2008. The contributors have all worked closely and collaboratively with police—in education and in the development of policing practice and community engagement, in policy and program management or on research projects. The collection seeks to provide an overview of what is currently known about community policing in Australia and to encourage further research and analysis of the issues and challenges highlighted in the report.

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