Resilience policing: An emerging response to shifting harm landscapes

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Abstract

This paper situates contemporary developments in policing in the context of an emerging cross-disciplinary focus on ‘resilience’. We argue that an inchoate reimagining of how police, as security professionals, are engaging, and might engage, in the governance of safety with communities in response to emerging ‘harmscapes’ might be, and should be, conceptualized as ‘resilience policing’. We situate our analysis within the context of developments in community policing.

Introduction

The concept of resilience has emerged as a ubiquitous idea across a variety of spheres, ranging from mechanical engineering (Holling, 1996), where the term originated, through ecology (Holling, 1973; Gunderson, 2000; Folke, 2006) to disaster risk management (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, and Pfefferbaum, 2008), as well as psychology (Buikstra et al., 2010) and urban studies (Kahan, Allen, and George 2009; UN-HABITAT, 2017). The term has emerged as ‘a pervasive idiom’ (Walker and Cooper, 2011, p. 144) within everyday language. As ‘resilience’ has travelled from its early roots within the ‘natural sciences’ to the ‘social sciences’ and beyond, its initial focus on processes that allowed systems to ‘bounce back’ from setbacks has been complemented by the idea of ‘bouncing forward’ (Walsh, 2002; Manyena, O’Brien, O’Keefe, and Rose, 2011; Haas, 2015; Klein, Nicholls and Thomalla, 2003).

Handmer and Dover (1996) developed a typology that identifies three meanings of resilience. First: resistance to change; second: minimal adaptation and change; third: flexibility. These distinctions are elaborated upon by Walker et al. (2004:1) who defines ecological resilience as the ‘capacity of a system to absorb a disturbance and

reorganise while undergoing change while retaining the same function, structure, identity and feedback’.

This cluster of meanings has found implicit traction in ‘security governance’ as scholars and practitioners have deployed the idea of resilience to comprehend contemporary risks and their associated harms (Berg and Shearing, 2017 have coined the term ‘harmscapes’ to recognise these developments). These contemporary harmscapes, it is argued, are characterised by both radical uncertainty and unpredictability (Beck, 1992; Ransley and Mazerolle, 2009; O’Malley, 2011).

In what follows, we argue that while the *term* ‘resilience’ has not yet found much favour within the policing scholarship arena, the ideas it references have gained, and are gaining, significant traction. As with a number of other fields (for example, disaster studies) these ideas have emerged as risks and harms, such as terrorism and climate change, have triggered catastrophic events that policing agencies have confronted. Zedner (2007, p. 261) recognises these developments when she speaks of the challenges of ‘pre-crime and security’, to which ‘criminology must adapt’ – challenges that have emerged across what Brodeur (2010) has termed ‘the policing web’. Building resilience has become relevant especially in relation to setbacks that are difficult to predict, such as harms associated with terrorism, pandemics and natural disasters, in this ‘age of catastrophe’ (Beck, 1992; O’Malley, 2011).

Examples of measures taken by policing agencies to enhance resilience and minimise the effects of harms include the New South Wales Emergency Services and the Rural Fire Service devising a plan aimed at detecting and responding to rural fires collaboratively (ABC, 2018). Another would be global police-community engagement initiatives for counter-terrorism and the reduction of radicalisation (Dash 2008). We recognise these developments, that we see as emerging shifts, as policing

agents seek to foster resilience within communities, as ‘resilience policing’. Resilience policing differs from community policing because the police are engaged in more than enrolling others to do the work of the police. The police also work as facilitators/enablers in community capacity-building with the view to communities and society surviving and managing material shocks in the event that they occur. Resilience policing also signifies a shift in the mentalities of the police, community and other security auspices to something that is more polycentric, collaborative and underpinned by self-organization, networks, and learning (Holley and Shearing, 2017). Rather than community policing’s traditional orientation of working with communities to prevent crimes, resilience policing also works with a broader range of stakeholders to collectively face changing and unpredictable conditions caused by complex problems such as climate disasters or global terrorism. Resilience policing encompasses approaches for dealing with everyday stresses as well as greater policing needs related to catastrophes.

Similarities can be seen in developments in ‘third party’ (Mazerolle and Ransley, 2005) policing like ‘nexus policing’ in Victoria, Australia (Wood, Fleming and Marks, 2008) and more generally, initiatives intended to enable communities to recover from disasters and crises such as bushfires, floods, droughts and disease (Cheshire, Esparcia and Shucksmith, 2015). More generally this emerging ‘whole-of-society’ conception of policing (Ayling, Grabosky, and Shearing, 2006) can be seen in the idea of ‘policing with the community’ advocated by the UK’s Patten Commission (U.K. Independent Commission, 1999).

In suggesting the term ‘resilience policing’ we deploy the ‘resilience metaphor’ (Norris et al., 2008) to recognise these incipient developments as ones that are gradually reshaping understandings of ‘community policing’ in ways that are

rearticulating the intersection between policing, ‘social capital’ and ‘collective efficacy’ (see for example, Sampson, 2006; Sargeant Wickes and Mazerolle, 2013; Swatt, Varano, Uchida, and Solomon, 2013).

We interpret these developments as both reinforcing and reinterpreting Sir Robert Peel’s vision of ‘police as the public’ and the ‘public as the police’ (Loader, 2014). For us, resilience can, and should, be considered as an emerging, albeit as yet fledgling, feature of contemporary policing (see O’Malley, 2010). In doing so, we, like Hardy (2015), situate a widespread move towards resilience, within a policing context.

In developing this argument, we first briefly review resilience’s journey across disciplinary domains.

Disciplinary and definitional perspectives of resilience

Emerging out of material science, where the term ‘resilience’ was used to denote the ability of a material – for example, a spring – to return, post-stress, to an original state (Thoma, Scharte, Hiller and Leismann, 2015), the concept has been tailored to include the preservation of socio-ecological systems (Helm, 2015; Beigi, 2016) and ability to adapt to unknown future risks (May, 2012).

As ‘resilience’ has continued its journey (Amann and James, 2015), it has come to be understood as referencing the capacity to ‘resist’ and ‘recover from’ setbacks (Djalante, Holley and Thomalla, 2011) as well as, to ‘move on’ (Walsh, 2002; Manyena et al., 2011; Haas, 2015) and shift to new equilibria (see Folke et al., 2010) as the original state of the entity may be inappropriate to new environments (Moser, 2008). Being unable to ‘bounce forward’, to new states, has been linked to the notion of a ‘rigidity trap’ where an entity, for whatever reason, gets ‘locked in’ a particular

structure, form or system and is unable to adapt and change (Allison, 2004, p. 5). Holling (1973) explored resilience in relation to ecological systems to refer to a system's capacity to survive significant environmental disruptions. Magis (2010, p. 401) uses the resilience idea to foreground the notion of '[thriving] in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability and surprise'.

This spectrum of emerging meanings has been utilised in an increasingly wide range of domains (Bhamra, Dani and Burnard, 2011), including security studies (see Thoma et al., 2015) and criminology (see Ayling, 2009; O'Malley, 2011), where it has been used particularly within the context of catastrophic harms. Similarly, over the past decade, governmental reports have utilized the resilience idea in reviewing and reforming disaster management approaches. For example, in 2008, the Ministerial Council for Police and Emergency Management—Emergency Management agreed that the future direction for Australian emergency management should be based on achieving community and organisational resilience (MCPem-EM, 2008). Within Australia the resilience idea is now widely referenced in relation to countering terrorism and emergency situations more generally (see for example, The Examiner, 2017).

While this emerging social–ecological strand of thinking is being deployed to reference capacities that can be utilized to respond to shifting 'harmscapes' concerns have been raised that this borrowing from ecology can lead to social divisions and inequalities being glossed over. This has led MacKinnon and Derickson (2012; see also MacKinnon 2015) to contend that 'resourcefulness' offers a more appropriate conceptualisation of the resilience idea within social domains (see Harrington and Shearing's, 2017, comments on securitisation). Notwithstanding these and similar concerns associated with the metaphorical extension of resilience beyond the natural

sciences (see Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000; Almedom, Tesfamichael, Mohammed, Mascie-Taylor and Alemu, 2007; Norris et al., 2008) within social contexts, resilience has been used to reference capacities that enable communities to come together to work toward a communal objective – an idea that resonates with Sampson's (2006) notion of collective efficacy. For example, the Canadian Centre for Community Renewal (2000, p. 1–5) defines a resilient community as 'one that takes intentional action to enhance the personal and collective capacity of its citizens and institutions to respond to and influence the course of social and economic change'. While these ideas have resonance across policing generally, in what follows, we restrict our attention to police organisations.

New harm landscapes leading to a turn to resilience

As Molotch and McClain (2003, p. 679) argue, 'the attacks of September 11th indicate a new kind of threat to urban security and imply the need for new urban knowledges or at least fresh ways to apply older understandings'. Likewise, Beck (2003, p. 256) argued that in the light of September 11 we need a new vocabulary to articulate how we manage and govern in an ever-expanding 'risk society': 'we live, think and act in concepts that are historically obsolete but which nonetheless continue to govern our thinking and acting' (see Mythen and Walklate 2016).

Over the last decade, the 'resilience idea' has become ubiquitous in operational strategies for emergency preparedness, crisis response and national security (Walker and Cooper, 2011). In particular, the term has proliferated since the establishment of the US Department of Homeland Security and the publication of its *National Strategy for Homeland Security* in 2002. The revised *National Strategy*, issued in 2007, brings together ideas of resilience of 'critical infrastructures' and the 'operational resilience' of emergency response organizations, government institutions and private enterprise

in the face of crisis.

Despite our best efforts, ... protection is not possible in the face of the numerous and varied catastrophic possibilities that could challenge the security of America today. Recognizing that ‘... we cannot envision or prepare for every potential threat, we must understand and accept a certain level of risk as a permanent condition’ (US Department of Homeland Security, 2007, p. 25).

The *National Strategy for Homeland Security* of 2007 is notable not only because it reasserts the importance of ‘resilience’ as both a strategic and a psychological imperative of national preparedness, but also because it more fully incorporates the financial and environmental dimensions of crisis into planning for incidents.

Another sphere of resilience as an idea has been with reference to electrical security and the integrity of power grids. In considering strategies for reducing the harmful effects of consequences of loss of grid power, the National Academy of Sciences observed,

Because these effects are outside the realm of normal experience, it is difficult for people and organizations to imagine the possible harmful outcomes on the basis of real-world information about consequences. Reducing these harmful consequences of large-area, long-duration grid failures is a problem of imagination and incentives. ... [Resilience] planning will require engaging actors—from first responders to the operators of critical infrastructures—who often do not work together adequately. (National Academy of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine 2017, p. 94-95).

The National Academy of Sciences (2017) identify police as fulfilling direct (first responders) and indirect (community functions) roles for resilience to catastrophic events such as massive loss of grid power. Within their formulation, at the community level, police play a niche role in resilience at stages of planning, preparation, enduring, restoration and recovery to risk events.

In the recent developments towards an increased awareness of human influence on earth systems (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000; Syvitski, 2012; Hamilton, 2013), it

became widely accepted that disasters, and the need for a greater police response to them, are related to ‘man-made’ risks of current society (Turner, 1978). Similarly, in response to rising disaster losses, disaster management professionals and security policy makers have advocated for various forms of resilience as a way to address losses and rebound from their impacts. For example, the U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency’s National Disaster Recovery Framework (FEMA, 2010), the Whole Community Approach to Emergency Management (FEMA, 2011), the United Nations Making Cities Resilient Campaign (UNISDR, 2012), the Hyogo Framework for Action (UNISDR, 2005), and the National Health Security Strategy (NHSS, 2009) all incorporate resilience in their policy frameworks (Aldrich and Meyer 2015).

The Resilience Alliance was founded in 1999 as a network ‘stimulating academic research on resilience and informing the global policy process on sustainable development’ (Klein et al., 2003, p. 11). Later the Hyogo Framework for Action (2005-2015) was established, with its main objective: Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters (UNISDR, 2010: Djalante, Holley, Thomalla, and Carnegie, 2013). These new developments are only examples of a large number of action plans – focusing on establishing community resilience through, for instance, community and volunteer involvement, capacity building and technology transfer, which were included in the framework, in order to make communities stronger in protecting themselves from – or recovering from – disasters (see for example Mitchell, Jones, Lovell, and Comba, 2013; Boon, Millar, Lake, Cottrell and King, 2012; UNISDR, 2013).

Amidst these developments, Former Australian Federal Police Commissioner Keelty (2007, p. 5, cited in Chambers 2011) describes climate change as ‘the security issue of the 21st century.’ Indeed, there is growing body of literature (Holley and

Shearing 2017; Lynch et al 2017; Ranson 2014) that suggests policing will increasingly be defined by climate and other environmental harms, including climate induced migration threatening borders, resource scarcity producing civil unrest, and temperature rises increasing overall rates of crime. It is critical that a full explanation of climate change, socio-economic issues and potential impact for security and policing be examined to assist strategic planning by Australian policing. Chris Abbott (2008, p. 3) advocates that agencies tasked with protecting and sustaining national security, such as police will need to adapt to better cope with a changing global environment. These are reasons why resilience policing should be considered more forcefully.

Resilience policing in practice

Police, given their critical role as state agents within the ‘web of policing’ (Brodeur, 2010), are being directly impacted by uncertain, unpredictable and catastrophic harmscapes (Ferret, 2010; Chambers, 2011). This is happening while police resources continue to be curtailed (Ayling, Grabosky and Shearing, 2009). Police have long sought to square this circle of expanding demand and limited resources by enrolling the resources of others to assist them (Buerger and Mazerolle, 1998; Mazerolle and Ransley, 2005; Ayling, 2013) – the most obvious example, here is the idea of community policing which seeks to enrol citizens to assist police, for example, as sources of knowledge about local conditions.

It is within this context of catastrophic harmscapes, coupled with severe resource challenges, that the concept of resilience - with its emphasis on processes that manage change to allow social systems to recover from, and minimise damage (Folke (2016, p.2) – has begun to reshape established understandings of community policing.

While the attraction of the resilience idea to police was initially limited to the resilience of police officers and police organisations responses to occupational stresses (Paton, 2006), the idea is beginning to attract wider attention, as police organizations find themselves confronted with the demands of shifting harmscapes (Ferret, 2010; Chambers, 2011). The Victoria Police for instance has received commendation from the government for maintaining safety, however, there is a recognition of “a need to prevent violence arising in the first place” (Victorian Government 2015, p 1). Crime prevention through building community resilience is now a high priority.

Notwithstanding these references, these ideas remain underdeveloped. It remains to be established what role police might play as a sectoral actor within a resilience landscape. It is to this question that we now turn.

Resilience Policing: A framework

In order to clarify what we mean by ‘resilience policing’ in practice, we have developed a model which specifies the elements that are creating the need for this type of intervention, as well as how these elements influence the practice of resilience policing. These are as follows:

1. There are new, uncertain harms;
2. Diverse policing capacities are needed for responding to these uncertain harms;
3. Police enrol other actors e.g. government and community resources to deal with these harms;
4. Police act as facilitators/enablers in community capacity-building; there is a mutual dependency between the police and community;

5. The outcome is that policing is done differently. Policing is decentralized and actively distributed where responsibility is shared between the community and police. This leads to more anticipatory crime prevention and adaptation of all actors who are enmeshed in and dependent on each other for policing.

The elements identified are what call for the need for resilience policing and this is demonstrated when considering the nature of harms and the leading role which police play in supporting communities to survive these shocks. Illustrations of how these elements depict the need for and practice of resilience policing will be discussed next.

1. The development of new, uncertain harms.

Global and interconnected problems, such as the trade in illicit drugs, terrorism, cybercrime and natural disasters, threaten economies and the safety and security of its citizens (Hameiri and Jones, 2015; Ransley and Mazerolle, 2009; Australian Cyber Security Centre, 2017). As first responders and security providers, police play a crucial role in managing these threats (Ferret, 2010; Chambers, 2011). More than ever before they are required to do so under circumstances of radical uncertainty. Yet, in today's constrained fiscal environment, police must meet these demands with fewer resources (Ayling et al., 2009). The police are confronted with shifting harm landscapes in a variety of communities, including remote, rural, mining, urban and emerging communities, all of which face different challenges. There is a movement towards predicting and preventing crime. There is also debate about how this should best be implemented (Sullivan and O'Keeffe, 2017).

The Former Australian Federal Police Commissioner Keelty stated, the 'future is virtually unknown; the world is in a state of flux and the burden of responsibility rests

of the shoulders of police’ (Australian Federal Police, 2007, p. 4, cited in Chambers, 2011). One observable reply to this duty is there has been a preventive turn in criminology in response to emerging harm landscapes. Etter (1999, p. 11) appropriately stated, ‘policing clearly needs to become more adept at anticipating change in the environment and adapting to it in a timely and effective way.’ In promoting ‘bouncing back’, leaders favour a social and political status quo; in presenting the crisis as an ‘opportunity to improve things’, they make use of a powerful legitimating instrument for their choices and actions (Reghezza-Zitt, Rufat, Djament-Tran, Le Blanc, and Lhomme, 2012).

2. A need for diverse policing capacities for responding to new harms.

The new harms that are emerging and requiring the attention of the police are expansive. At the INTERPOL-UNEP Conference in 2015, environmental crimes and mitigating the effects of climate change were high on the agenda. Enhancing environmental security by all stakeholders (Higgins, 2015) has been identified as necessary. The United Nations Development Program Bureau (UNDPB) states that the annual economic impact worldwide from natural disasters has increased from 213.9 billion dollars in the 1970s to in excess of 659.9 billion dollars in the 1990s. When the death, injury and damage is taken into consideration, it clearly highlights that policing will need to provide significant leadership in prevention, preparedness, response and recovery of disasters (Chambers, 2011).

There is also the recognition that police cannot do everything, be everywhere, and must, rely on the support of the public to tackle big problems (Johnston and Shearing, 2003; Dupont, 2004; Brodeur, 2010). This recognition lies at the heart of community policing (Stenning, 1984; Cordner, 2010), and its close cousin, problem-oriented

policing (Goldstein, 1990). For many years, these policing strategies have sought to enhance community support for police. Yet, the increasing sophistication, diversity and pace of change in threats and in communities (Colvin, 2015; see also Bauman, 2000) is demanding an extension and rethinking of policing approaches. This is being developed under an embryonic turn to ‘resilience’ (Coaffee and Rogers, 2008; O’Malley, 2010). These incipient developments are demanding significant innovation and evolution in policing and herald a break from an underlying, and paradigmatic, theme in community policing.

3. Police enrolling communities and resources.

The NSW Police Force Corporate Plan (2016-2018, p.2) notes that one of the police’s key priorities is to “strengthen public order, emergency management and counter-terrorism prevention, preparedness, response, and recovery”. To do this, they are to employ various strategies, including “Build public / private sector and community resilience to threats to public safety and mass gatherings”. Evidently, at least some police organisations note the need to manage these growing threats, by engaging in partnerships within the private and community sectors to enhance their resources and build new capacities (Buerger and Mazerolle, 1998; Mazerolle and Ransley, 2005; Ayling, 2013). Yet, it remains unclear how police can best enable and support the development and maintenance of community resilience in a variety of communities and for a diverse range of harms. The police are collaborating with other agencies and communities in planning for and recovering after disasters. An example of this in action can be seen in India where there is the identification of the increasing need for the police to transform into a community-oriented agency since the ground of enforcement is community. The challenges of the police–population ratio in India

(106 police personnel per 100,000 population) has over-burdened the police and has negatively influenced their performance (Pandey, 2014). As mentioned earlier, such interventions where the community is enrolled by the police are what we term resilience policing – this is a modern version of community policing where communities work together with the police.

Within Australia, one of the first public references to resilience within an Australian community policing context was by Andrew Scipione, Commissioner of the NSW Police Force (Scipione, 2014) who spoke of the necessity of police engaging communities to build resilience in response to 21st Century harmscapes. At the core of the resilience policing concept that Scipione developed is the notion that resilient communities will enable forms of community policing that will be more effective in responding to 21st Century harms (Dunn et al., 2015). In this way, resilience policing is beginning to build on and extend community policing where the police facilitate the bouncing back from shocks. More recently, promoting resilience among ‘clients’ has also been formally recognised by the Australian Cyber Security Centre (2017).

Policing has changed significantly over the last several decades – it has become increasingly nodal as the private and community sectors have joined the public sector as providers of policing services. Police have responded to this changing risk environment by re-focusing their mandate from a predominant concern with crime to other sources of insecurities and disorder, as well as re-imagining how they operate. At the heart of these incipient developments in resilience policing has been a reshaping of the police-community partnerships (Chambers, 2011), making it strategically important for Australian police to plan and provide leadership for such a future. By way of example, Police Scotland has been actively involved in encouraging

police to support communities in building recovery capabilities across a range of domains that include, but are not limited to, climate related incidents. They note that it is necessary for communities to be as self-reliant as possible and having a plan in place and available additional community resource strengthens the bonds with the community but improves the potential response and recovery capabilities (SIPR 2015). Such initiatives demonstrate how the police are central in enrolling and coordinating efforts with communities.

4. Police as facilitators/enablers in community capacity-building.

Sukabdi's (2016) analysis of police initiatives in supporting victims of terror documents how police have sought to support within communities by encouraging victims to be 'champions' of change. In all of these examples, police are emerging as actively engaged in building networks of resources that include but are not centred around the police themselves – this constitutes a very different form of community policing. Other agents such as civil society, psychologists and victim protection agencies are important for building resilience with terror victims following these incidents - but the police are said to be particularly important since they prepare for and play a major role in handling more severe risks such as terrorism. The role of police therefore does not only involve practically dealing with these harms but also includes bringing together the resources required to restore order and bounce forward following an incident.

In 2014, Neil Comrie (2004, p.121), the Former Chief Commissioner of the Victorian Police and a former Victorian Police and Emergency Services Leader articulated this shift in the relationship between police and communities as follows:

[I]n every country town in Victoria there are pre-existing community service organisations looking for opportunities to serve their community... if appropriately engaged, (they) would be a powerful force in building this community resilience. We need to facilitate the education of communities so we can empower them. We need to work in conjunction with them, rather than directing them when disasters strike. We need to encourage communities to discover their own learning about resilience in preparation for natural disasters.

The literature has recognised that resilience enacts a shift from problems to responses (Aradau, 2014) and evidently, the building of resilience is on the minds of, and beginning to be facilitated by, police.

5. Decentralised policing and shared responsibility.

Comrie, in these remarks articulates a very different vision of community policing. This vision rather than identifying communities as a ‘helpers’ supporting police, recognises communities as located at the centre of preventive policing. Walton et al. (2013) provide a simple example of this in their analysis of community resilience, and the police role in facilitating this, in the context of the social, economic and environmental changes being wrought by the use of fracking to extract gas and their impacts on remote communities. Among other things, they describe a self-organised community group that established itself to address drunken and disorderly behaviour primarily caused by unconventional gas developments and their workforce in the community. According to Walton et al. (2013, p 13), key stakeholders, including the unconventional gas companies, pubs and clubs, and police “worked proactively and collaboratively” to develop a co-regulation approach that involved new clauses in worker contracts, patron rules across all pubs and clubs, new late night bus services, and private investment in education programs “which has proved effective at managing alcohol-related problems”. The success of such decentralisation requires

reflecting on the partnerships within communities and supporting what is necessary to sustain those partnerships (Paton and Johnston, 2017). What is now important, as resilient policing gains greater momentum, is that discussions about resilience be made increasingly legible and inclusive. This is necessary in order to better balance the effectiveness and acceptability of these processes to make citizens increasingly active participants in, as opposed to passive recipients of, resilience strategies (Paton and Johnston, 2017 for a discussion of the conditions required to enable such assemblages; also Coaffee and Rogers, 2008).

Resilience policing as an extension of community policing

Berkes and Ross (2013) note that resilience literature for the local and community level is yet to be well developed. Conceptual development of community-level resilience literature is relatively new (Sullivan and O’Keeffe, 2017). The set of ideas from the emerging community resilience literature from community health and development can help us develop an enriched and integrated concept of community resilience. These can develop and inform new research directions and practice so as to initiate the advance of ideas on how the police and communities may work together to prepare for new harms and disasters.

In areas with rampant crime, it has been argued that a high sense of ‘collective efficacy’ can reduce crime and unsafety. Academics and policy makers have been discussing ways to improve this ‘collective efficacy’ by using strategies of ‘community policing’. Community policing, described as a ‘movement’ that grew, was seen as the ‘democratization of police forces around the globe and a tool for the reconciliation between police and society in former totalitarian or authoritarian regimes’ (Wisler and Onduwinde, 2009, p. 3). Community policing is the processes used to promote external input into policing policy and strategy where individuals or

organizations are involved (Casey and Trofymowych, 1999) and is the foundation of a range of strategies considered to be social and preventive responses to crime and disorder that are part of the multilateralization of policing (Casey and Pike, 2009, p. 193; Bayley and Shearing, 2001).

According to Aldrich (2012), community resilience describes the collective ability of a neighbourhood or geographically defined area to deal with stressors and efficiently resume the rhythms of daily life through cooperation following shocks. Community response capacity relies on the police as it is defined by proxy variables such as the number of police, fire, emergency relief services (Burton, 2012). Tobin (1999) even described community resilience as a ‘holy grail’ to obtain successful disaster recovery. It is important to identify the nature of a community’s strengths, and how these contribute within a collective process of facing challenges and developing resilience (Kulig, 2000; Norris et al., 2008; Buikstra et al., 2010). Studies agree on a key set of community strengths which promote resilience, namely: social networks, communication, social support, and the social inclusion and sense of belonging they foster; leadership; outlook on life, including readiness to accept change; and learning (Norris et al., 2008; Buikstra et al., 2010). The police can foster these elements by working with the community and other agencies to encourage cohesion and inclusion for the purposes of building preparedness among community members in the event of disaster.

The resilience of individuals and households is linked to that of the community. A community with individuals who are personally resilient in the face of physical disasters is likely to be resilient as a community as well. Similarly, households with livelihood resilience will contribute to community and regional livelihood resilience. Gordon (2015) identifies that isolated, small towns face considerably more challenges

when recovering from economic shocks. He compares how 51 of the smallest towns in the USA with between ten and fifty thousand inhabitants fared following economic turmoil. Community leaders contribute greatly to the survival of such small towns, and in such places, the police hold a leadership role. However, the police are also heavily hit by these kinds of economic shocks and may in some instances be forced to operate on such limited budgets that they cannot fulfil their mandate, enhancing the problems of social disorganization. Therefore, it is essential that the police work with communities in order to support each other.

Several authors have been defining and describing community policing over the last decades. For instance, Wisler and Onduwinde (2009) give an extensive description of the history and developments of community policing, and discuss the concept using several case studies. They discuss different forms of community policing in different countries, and reflect the developments these forms of policing went through. Currently, this has taken a turn to practices which resemble the form in which what we have identified and named ‘resilience policing’.

An example of such a police-community initiative in Australia is displayed in the May 2015 intervention where the Premier of Victoria established the Social Cohesion and Community Resilience Taskforce to adopt a whole-of-government and whole-of-community evidence-based approach to address social cohesion, community resilience, marginalization and to prevent violent extremism. The police have a leading role in this Taskforce (Victoria State Government, 2015). Elsewhere, as an initiative aimed at preventing immigrant youth from being recruited into terrorist groups, Minnesota government agencies have come together with community groups to build resilience (United States Department of Justice, 2015).

The importance of implementing these initiatives with the input of various parties within the community is the efforts to empower the community through the inclusion of all community members (Mülayim and Lai, 2017) and reduces levels of loss in the event of an incident. It is these types of revision, at the community level, which we anticipate benefitting greatly from resilience approaches. Conversely, without appropriate integration of resilience notions, deterioration of the functional relationship between the police and communities can result (see Geller, Fagan, Tyler and Link, 2014; Desmond, Papachristos and Kirk, 2016).

Future directions

If our observations are accurate – there is a lot to explore. Below we set out a series of questions that we will examine in future, and we ask others to join us.

Are we seeing a defining shift in policing? What defines resilience policing – is it community centred? Does the model we have developed encapsulate new trends in policing that demonstrate our arguments? Does resilience policing mirror principles of governing for resilience (i.e. polycentric and multilayered institutions, participation and collaboration, self-organization and networks, and learning and innovation) recognised in other literatures? Is resilience policing limited to new harmscapes such as natural disasters, cybercrime and terrorism, or does it have wider application to traditional harms? Is resilience limited to police or can it be built by any security node? And finally, what does the shift suggest for debates between traditional policing and security?

Conclusion

Shifts in harm landscapes and how the police respond to ever-changing harms call for resilience building initiatives from the police with the support of other diverse

agencies (nodal approaches). The discussions have centred on resilience and how to use this concept within policing to deal with radical uncertainty and build mitigation strategies. It is clear that resilience policing is the new shape that community policing is taking. As Holley and Shearing (2016, p 563) have noted in the context of environmental policing, what is emerging “is not a linear trajectory but rather a ‘line of flight’ that includes multiple strands that build upon, rather than replace, one another”. In the past, community policing relied on the community supporting the police, but in this ‘line of flight’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), the emphasis is now being placed on how police enrol and enable communities and other actors in developing strategies for adapting and surviving broader societal shocks and harms. There is therefore a need for a systematic, empirical and theoretical understanding of the nature and challenges of police building the resilience of communities.

There is a dearth within criminological literature on resilience, although there are practices of resilience seen in the police and communities and these have continued to develop overtime without explicitly being labelled as resilience. This suggests that we should be moving towards resilience policing and naming it as such. This review paper was not an exercise in defining resilience within criminology or policing, but rather aimed at naming a trend that has received sufficient attention so as to initiate the discussion on how to improve our understandings of resilience policing both theoretically and in practice in this age of uncertainty and shifting harmscapes.

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