

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN AUSTRALIAN POLICING

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This chapter reviews the evolution of policing in Australia from colonial militia through to the complex forms of modern policing. Australian policing has always been conflicted between an aggressive frontier-style form of law enforcement, based on the Irish Constabulary model, and the preventive community policing ideal of the English New Police. Overall, Antipodean policing has been characterised by a generally reactionary approach to law enforcement and crime prevention involving systemic sexism, violence and corruption. The last thirty years have seen a transformation in human resource management and integrity management strategies, along with a significant divergence of the larger policing complex into the private sector and specialist areas. As part of this process bureaucratic corruption and discrimination in employment appear to have been minimised and police enjoy fairly high levels of public support. However, the reform agenda does not appear to have embedded itself deeply in the modus operandi of contemporary police work. Community policing and intelligence-led policing ideals have not taken hold in a systematic fashion, and “under-policing” remains the most dominant feature of the whole policing sector.

#### **The Early Colonial Period**

English policing in Australia began in a scandalous fashion. General policing duties were assigned to the soldiers who accompanied the convicts on arrival from England at Port Jackson in 1788.<sup>1</sup> These marines resented the police role and avoided their duties as much as possible. They also misused their authority to steal food and sexually exploit female convicts. They were replaced by the New South Wales Corps in 1795. However, this was no real improvement. The group became known as

"The Rum Corps" due to their organisation of a corrupt trade in spirits. Architects of civil policing were then obliged to attempt to make police officers out of reformed convicts. Disaffection and conflict were ongoing with the employment of ex-convicts as constables, a situation exacerbated by the inclusion in their duties of whipping convicted offenders.

In 1829, while colonial authorities were still struggling to find suitable constables, the New Police were introduced into London and policing world-wide took a new, profound and tortuous path towards professionalisation. The New Police were based on a philosophy of peace-keeping and a preventive community-friendly presence. Arresting and punishing offenders were touted as a last resort. In Australia, such ideals were almost impossible to implement. Apart from the problem of recruiting suitable officers there was the ongoing problem of policing a resistant convict population. The frontier environment created a haven for escaped convicts and bushrangers, with problems of disorder greatly aggravated by the gold rushes in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The influx of free settlers also opened the way for the brutal suppression of the Indigenous population. A cycle of violence quickly set in. Settlers appropriated Aboriginal land, shot at Aborigines or tried to poison them or sought to exploit them sexually or for their labour. Displaced tribal warriors attacked settlers or stole livestock. Police were caught in the middle, obliged by law to protect all Indigenous people as subjects under British law but generally favouring settler interests. The worst manifestation of biased policing occurred through the actions of "Native Police" forces, primarily in northern New South Wales and then Queensland. Reliable records are scarce concerning the precise actions of these squads. They consisted of young native troopers under the command of white officers. Ostensibly they were expected to follow due process to arrest suspects and bring them before the courts. In reality, historians tend to concur, they frequently shot at suspects and then alleged the victims resisted arrest.<sup>3</sup> They also engaged in punitive expeditions that included "dispersing" groups of tribes-people by charging and firing at them.

With all these circumstances at work Australian policing took on a character more aligned to that of the quasi-military Irish Constabulary—an armed and mounted rapid response force more oriented to suppressing a rebellious population than working with communities.<sup>4</sup> Local policing organisations never developed and police departments grew along highly bureaucratic lines centred in colonial capitals. Police worked long hours for low pay under difficult conditions—as did most workers in this period. Discipline was harsh, although police discretion was difficult to supervise in the dispersed policing environment. Relations between police and the

European population were marred by a number of other factors, including the suppression of the great strikes of the 1880s and 1890s. In addition, an environment ripe for corruption was created by prohibitions on gambling, alcohol and other "vices".

### Consolidation and Post-Federation Policing

The expansion of colonial self-government involved attempts to put police on a more professional footing. The 1833 *Sydney Police Act* sought to clarify police powers and duties, and it put officers under the control of magistrates. However, as late as 1846 one newspaper still described the New South Wales Force as "about as ignorant a class of individuals as can possibly be found within the limits of the colony".<sup>5</sup> Despite strong centralist tendencies there was some fragmentation as new policing specialty agencies were created in an ad hoc fashion; such as water, border, gold, mounted and native police.<sup>6</sup> This was not to be an enduring arrangement however. Police departments were established or consolidated into single colonial forces across the century. In New South Wales the 1850 *Report of the Select Committee on Police* sought to create a unified police force under the control of a police officer—an Inspector General—rather than the magistrates.<sup>7</sup> However, this aspiration was not fully realised in New South Wales until 1862. Policing began separately in the independent colonies of Tasmania in 1803, South Australia in 1838 and Western Australia in 1839.<sup>8</sup> By federation in 1901 the system of single state-based police departments was firmly entrenched.

From the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century police assumed an enormous range of duties. In 1892 Victorian Chief Commissioner Chomley noted that:

Police were required to assist in enforcing the law upon registration of births, vaccination, treatment of children boarded out, overcrowding of theatres, Sunday trading, early closing of shops, supervision of lunatics on leave, clerk of petty sessions, customs officer, inspector of distilleries, inspector of fisheries, wharf manager, powder magazine keeper, crown bailiff, guardian of aborigines—inspector of slaughter yards—water-gauge keeper, cab inspector, inspector of weights and measures, inspector of stock, clerk of the justice.<sup>9</sup>

Later in the century and into the twentieth century police were also utilised at the sharp end of Aboriginal "protection" policies in removing Indigenous children and enforcing controls on travel, employment and residence.<sup>10</sup>

The inevitable alienation between police and Indigenous people has never been overcome.

Gradually over the course of the twentieth century many ancillary duties were passed to other agencies, and police, at least in larger centres, were able to focus on criminal law enforcement and the emerging challenge of traffic law enforcement. The latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century also saw the emergence of a common three-way division of labour between a large general duties uniformed arm providing patrol and first response, a smaller plainclothes detective arm responsible for investigations and prosecutions, and specialist units such as dog squads, water police or forensic sections.

Australia's constitution is a compromise document that traded a small number of national interest powers, such as defence, in return for the states retaining control in areas such as policing and criminal law. While a small national police force was on the agenda little happened between federation in 1901 and World War I. The trigger for the establishment of the Commonwealth Police Force came in 1917 from an ignominious event when eggs were thrown at Prime Minister Billy Hughes during a pro-conscription speech at Warwick and Hughes accused Queensland Police of failing to protect him.<sup>11</sup> The current incarnation of the commonwealth force is the Australian Federal Police (established in 1979), which enforces federal criminal laws, such as fraud against the commonwealth and illicit drug smuggling, and provides conventional police services in the Australian Capital Territory.

Change in policing in the twentieth century was very much driven by imported technical innovations.<sup>12</sup> Radio communications and the spread of motor vehicles drove a strategy of mobile patrol and rapid response, supplemented by the adoption of investigative technologies such as fingerprinting (at the start of the century), crime scene analysis, and DNA testing (from the late 1980s). Crime prevention, where it was articulated as a strategy, was largely based on the supposed deterrent and incapacitative effects of arrest or potential arrest. The approach, applied in a fairly haphazard fashion and often with a dose of summary brutality, allowed police to contain crime to levels that were generally acceptable. This situation persisted up until the early 1970s when an explosion in crimes reported to police set the stage for the restructuring of policing and the diminution of the role of state police.<sup>13</sup>

## Exposing Misconduct

The period from colonial self-government through federation up to the 1950s is marked by considerable ambiguity about levels of police integrity. Police discipline could be harsh, but also erratic. Research has shown fairly high levels of dismissals of police for various offences while underscoring "a continuity of allegations of corruption".<sup>14</sup> Occasional judicial inquiries were extremely limited and tended only to perpetuate suspicions about police. The first judicial inquiry to break through the pattern of suspicion and cover-up in relation to misconduct was the Fitzgerald Commission in Queensland, from 1987 to 1989. The Fitzgerald Report was distinctive in that it exposed the protection rackets that were long suspected to exist (culminating in the gaoling of former Police Commissioner Terence Lewis) and it also developed a critique of police mismanagement that was extended to cover the whole system of corrupted democracy in the state. The Queensland Police Force, Fitzgerald declared:

is debilitated by misconduct, inefficiency, incompetence, and deficient leadership. The situation is compounded by poor organisation and administration, inadequate resources, and insufficiently developed techniques and skills for the task of law enforcement in a modern complex society. Lack of discipline, cynicism, disinterest, frustration, anger and low self-esteem are the result. The culture which shares responsibility for and is supported by this grossly unsatisfactory situation includes contempt for the criminal justice system, disdain for the law and rejection of its application to police, disregard for the truth, and abuse of authority.<sup>15</sup>

The exposure of corruption was repeated on a much larger canvas in New South Wales with the Wood Royal Commission that ran from 1994 to 1997. Corruption involving police and politicians in New South Wales was widely believed to have reached its peak under the premiership of Robert Askin from 1965 to 1975.<sup>16</sup> By the 1990s political connections were apparently severed and the rackets had been reduced by internal police anti-corruption strategies and the liberalisation of vice and liquor licensing laws. Nonetheless, pockets of organised protection and graft were central to the Wood revelations, along with the exposure of other standard forms of police misconduct such as the fabrication of evidence, assaults on suspects, extortionate gratuities, opportunistic thefts and police involvement in the drug trade.<sup>17</sup>

The Kennedy Inquiry from 2002 to 2004 in Western Australia was the last major inquiry to reveal significant corruption problems. The most organised form of corruption officially exposed in the Victoria Police was

a scheme spanning the 1970s and 1980s involving bribery for preferential notifications to emergency security hardware installers. Investigations resulted in disciplinary charges against approximately 550 police officers.<sup>18</sup> Victoria Police managed to evade a large-scale inquiry despite this scandal, and despite a major problem in the 1980s with police shootings and many other long-standing and wide-ranging accusations of misconduct.<sup>19</sup> However, in 2004 Victoria Police became subject to the scrutiny of a standing royal commission—the Office of Police Integrity—which slowly but surely has been exposing a series of corrupt practices. Two of its more spectacular successes involved the use of a hidden camera to expose violence by the Armed Offenders Squad in dealing with suspects, and a high level plot to replace the Chief Commissioner.<sup>20</sup>

Accountability of federal police agencies was slow to mature, despite the fact that corruption was known to infect federal law enforcement—in part through joint federal-state taskforces. The Howard Government refused to release the 1997 report of the Harrison Inquiry into misconduct in the Australian Federal Police (AFP), leaving lingering suspicions; and the government also rejected a key Australian Law Reform Commission recommendation for a powerful watchdog agency to oversee the AFP and the National Crime Authority.<sup>21</sup> But eventually the pressure became too great and the Australian Commission for Law Enforcement Integrity (ACLEI) was established in 2006.

### The Pluralisation of Policing

Conventional police forces in Australia dominated crime prevention and law enforcement from the consolidation of policing in the nineteenth century through much of twentieth century. One of the most prominent features of modern policing, since the 1970s, has been the diversification of policing and relative decline in the prominence of conventional police. This has been a world-wide phenomenon marked by the growth and near ubiquity of private security and the creation of specialist public policing and security organisations.<sup>22</sup> A 2008 estimate put the number of licensed security providers in Australia at approximately 115,000 (under a near comprehensive licensing system). This was more than double the number of police, at approximately 45,000; although the majority of the security providers were part-time.<sup>23</sup> Growth occurred despite the absence of any significant policy of privatisation, and police-per-population ratios increased slightly in the last few decades. Policing has been something of a sacred cow in the privatisation agenda. Market demand appears to have been the critical factor in the expansion of private security, especially in

response to the crisis generated by steep rises in crime in the latter part of the century. (From the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s total crimes reported to police increased by 120 per cent and violent crimes increased by 370 per cent.)<sup>24</sup>

The inability of conventional police departments to effectively manage the growth and diversity of crime also drove the growth in specialist agencies.<sup>25</sup> A series of inquiries in the 1980s—for example, Lusher in New South Wales in 1981, Stewart in New South Wales in 1983, Costigan with a national focus also in 1983, and Neesham in Victoria in 1985—found police deficient in key areas such as training, organisation, techniques and cross-jurisdictional cooperation. Recommendations led to internal reforms but also the creation of new agencies. Specialist agencies have been categorised into three main types of work:<sup>26</sup>

1. tasks derived from conventional policing, such as fighting organised crime;
2. facilitative functions, such as research and information sharing; and
3. anti-corruption tasks.

Currently at the federal level the Australian Crime Commission has a major role in combating organised and major crime. It is a restructured version of the National Crime Authority established in 1984. The New South Wales Crime Commission is a similar separate agency. The Queensland Crime and Misconduct Commission and Western Australian Corruption and Crime Commission include organised and major crime in their targets. Facilitative agencies include the National Institute of Forensic Science (established in 1991), CrimTrac (commencing in 2000), which coordinates the collection and reporting of criminal intelligence, and AUSTRAC (established in 1988), which monitors financial transactions in relation to money laundering and fraud.

Anti-corruption has been a major growth area, spurred along to a considerable extent by police misconduct. Agencies have taken on diverse forms. Some are confined to police, such as the New South Wales Police Integrity Commission (from 1996) or the Victorian Office of Police Integrity (from 2004). Others include police along with jurisdiction over the whole public sector, such as the Queensland Crime and Misconduct Commission (established in 2002 but restructured from the original Criminal Justice Commission which commenced in 1989); and the Western Australian Corruption and Crime Commission (from 2004 but restructured from the Anti-Corruption Commission that commenced in 1996).

There are of course numerous other organisations engaged in the detection and prevention of various offences. Some are fixtures, such as the Australian Taxation Office and Australian Customs, while others are more recent innovations, such as state environmental protection agencies. The Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC, established 1995), its state equivalents, and the Australian Security and Investments Commission (ASIC, established 2001) have emerged as prominent policing agencies responsible for protecting consumers and investors, and policing anti-competitive behaviour. Conventional police have also diversified their operations, with increasing attention to crimes such as fraud, internet fraud and paedophilia. There has also been considerable success providing public order policing offshore in areas of regional conflict.

### Critique

The section above on the pluralisation of policing made mention of a "crisis" in conventional policing. Consistent with trends in other Western countries, the period in Australia from the 1960s to the 1970s also saw the development of a wider critique of discriminatory and inappropriate police practices.<sup>27</sup> Criticisms were mounted over police neglect of victims of hidden crimes such as sexual assault and domestic violence.<sup>28</sup> The 1991 report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody was highly critical of reactive arrest practices carried out by police when dealing with problems of disorder and crime among Indigenous Australians.<sup>29</sup> Police were also criticised for persecuting minor drug users while neglecting crimes by white-collar criminals. There have been repeated criticisms of police behaviour in relation to high-speed motor vehicle pursuits, excessive force against public demonstrators and the over-use of arrest.<sup>30</sup>

These critiques often failed to mention the counterpoints of police heroism and sacrifice: the innumerable instances where police have gone beyond the call of duty in enduring extremes of weather, tedium and danger to uphold the law and protect citizens. But even here, in the area of officer safety, long-term deficiencies in police management have been apparent. Since the consolidation of policing in the nineteenth century to 2007, 643 police deaths on duty have been recorded. The large majority of these were "accidents" attributable to poor procedures, unjustifiable risk-taking behaviours and management neglect.<sup>31</sup>

Many of the problems of police conduct have been related to the "macho" militaristic culture of policing, which can be traced back to

Australia's colonial and penal heritage.<sup>32</sup> Even after the advent of civil policing, recruits were selected from a narrow band of young Anglo-Saxon working-class males who fitted a strict physical ideal and were subject to a narrow training regime centred on law, drill, weapons and physical control. Police managers, rank-and-file police and police unions have on the whole been united in their opposition to female police. Women were introduced to policing in response to the labour shortage created by World War I, but they were kept to very small numbers with limited duties until well into the 1970s. Fair employment practices were eventually imposed on police through anti-discrimination legislation that took effect primarily from the 1980s. Police used various subterfuges, such as military-style obstacle course tests in recruitment, to by-pass the laws, but eventually a common standard of open recruitment and institutional support for women was attained in the 2000s.<sup>33</sup> Despite significant improvements policing remains a male-dominated occupation, with women making up 25 per cent of sworn officers in 2008 (concentrated in the lower ranks). The number of sworn females is increasing, but the rate of increase is extremely slow at approximately 0.4 per cent per annum.

The white macho police culture appears to be slowly breaking down due to a number of additional factors. There seems to be a fairly strong commitment to recruiting more Indigenous Australians and officers from non-English speaking backgrounds. There are no national figures on sworn Indigenous officers, although it appears their numbers within police ranks are well below their proportion in the population.<sup>34</sup> Indigenous representation overall has improved, including liaison officers, although still below parity.<sup>35</sup> Higher education has also taken on a much more prominent role in recruitment and officer training. The employment of non-sworn "civilian" staff is also a significant feature of the new policing profile. In 2007 there were 61,282 police employees in Australia, of these, 47,402 (77.2%) were sworn and 13,980 (22.8%) were unsworn.<sup>36</sup>

Another area of major change concerns performance accountability. The 1980s and 1990s witnessed an increasing emphasis on corporate and government accountability through quantitative measures of efficiency and effectiveness. The trend flowed through to police, where managers were obliged to adopt the new paradigm of performance indicators.<sup>37</sup> Police obtain fairly high scores in surveys of citizen satisfaction—typically about 66 per cent in terms of general citizen satisfaction, rising to 80 per cent for those who have had contact with police. About 67 per cent of surveyed Australians believe police treat people "fairly and equally", 79 per cent believe police do their job professionally and 77 per cent believe police are honest.<sup>38</sup> At the same time, contemporary policing is beset by many

thousands of complaints each year over a range of conduct issues including neglect of duty and excessive force.<sup>39</sup> New South Wales Police, for example, in 2008-9, with 15,720 officers, received 8084 complaints.<sup>40</sup> It has also been difficult for police to show that their actions are impacting overall crime rates. Crime reported to police has been declining across many offence categories since the turn of this century. Property crime in particular has been declining, often quite significantly. For example, Unlawful Entry with Intent decreased by 43 per cent from 436,968 offences in 2000 to 248,423 in 2007. Some violent crimes, however, continue to trend upwards. For example, in the same period, assaults increased by 21 per cent from 138,708 to 176,427.<sup>41</sup> But the few studies that have attempted to measure the impact of police initiatives, especially in the area of Compstat-style problem oriented strategies, have not been able to support a cause and effect relationship.<sup>42</sup>

Contemporary police scholarship remains critical of the ability of police to plan strategically, to innovate and demonstrate results—at least without considerable outside pressure and assistance.<sup>43</sup> In the area of investigations the statistics show clearly that police have only a limited penetration into the crime problem. Police obtain high clearance rates for murder—in the order of 80+ per cent. However, this drops significantly for crimes such as robbery—around one-third of reported offences—and down to 20 per cent for motor vehicle theft and 10 per cent for burglary. At least 70 per cent of crimes reported to police usually remain unsolved.<sup>44</sup>

The “War on Drugs” has been another area of challenge in terms of performance. The new specialist agencies were put to work with great expectations and the deployment of high technology covert investigative tools, data matching and financial tools such as asset confiscation. Agencies have claimed success with large seizures of illicit drugs, the “disruption” of crime networks and imprisonment of offenders; but overall there has been little effect on the supply of drugs and there is a growing menace from amphetamines. Critics also continue to allege “a serious resource imbalance between the supply-side law enforcement approach and demand-side harm minimisation approaches such as addiction treatment, managed prescription supply or safe injecting rooms”.<sup>45</sup>

The police response to the community policing agenda of the 1980s and beyond has also been disappointing. The community policing philosophy intended police to consult with local communities about crime concerns and priorities and enlist the assistance of communities. There have been numerous instances of police beat initiatives, shopfront policing initiatives and attempts to put police more in touch with ordinary people. Crimestoppers has been able to demonstrate a significant benefit in

harnessing public assistance to bring offenders to justice.<sup>46</sup> However, the widespread commitment to Neighbourhood Watch persists without any evidence of a measureable crime prevention effect.<sup>47</sup> And, overall, there is very little in the way of regular direct communication and consultation between local police and their constituencies.

Reform of police conduct also presents a mixed picture. Repeated scandals drove the establishment of large internal professional standards departments and expensive external oversight bodies. Both groups make use of a range of “smart strategies”, including profiling problem officers, conducting drug and alcohol tests, and running covert operations such as stings and physical surveillance. One positive outcome is that the long-standing organised protection rackets appear to have been eliminated. Misconduct has been forced further underground and become more opportunistic and harder to sustain. However, while the anti-corruption agencies (including those with a brief across the public sector) usually have inquisitorial royal commission powers they usually lack adjudicative powers. To the disappointment of complainants seeking independent treatment of their matters most agencies are also highly selective about which cases they investigate, referring the bulk of matters back for in-house handling.<sup>48</sup> The system of police investigating police—or public servants investigating public servants—prevails, with limited external auditing of internal processes and few independent investigations.

Analyses of many of the newer regulatory agencies have added to this negative critique. Many of these agencies have adopted the rhetoric and some of the substance of “smart regulation”—with well-publicised prosecutions, confiscation of assets, stakeholder consultations, and compliance-oriented advice and assistance.<sup>49</sup> But research has identified a major problem with under-enforcement by these agencies, due, initially at least, to inadequate powers and resources, but largely attributable to a culture of deference towards regulated private and public sector entities.<sup>50</sup>

Research similarly suggests that under-policing also characterises the treatment of Indigenous people. On the back of the civil rights movement, from the 1960s, police and the criminal justice system were repeatedly accused of discriminating against Indigenous people in surveillance, arrest and incarceration, especially in the areas of public drunkenness and good order offences. Since the 1991 Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody there have been many signal instances of ongoing bad practice—for example, in the death of Daniel Yock in police custody in Queensland in 1993 following police harassment; or the death of Mulrunjie in police custody in Queensland in 2004 following the failure to follow Royal Commission recommendations over arrest and detention

procedures for intoxicated persons. However, research in the 1980s found that the treatment of Indigenous offenders was characterised by leniency when compared to non-Indigenous offenders, especially when prior records were taken into account.<sup>51</sup> Recent research in Queensland has shown that police in Indigenous communities tend to downgrade charges, resort to arrest only after de-escalation strategies fail, and tend to match interventions to potential harm levels. The report also found that violence was endemic in these communities, that the majority of victims (65%) were female and that community members did not want less policing but more police protection tailored to community needs.<sup>52</sup>

Perhaps the most tragic failure of the intelligence-led policing paradigm has been in traffic law enforcement. Police traditionally took a haphazard and frequently laissez-faire approach to policing the roads until forced into action by the spiralling road toll and growing examples from overseas of successful crash reduction techniques. The rising death toll has been declining slowly since the 1980s as a result of a combination of strategies, including better vehicle and road design. Random breath testing by police, improved enforcement of speed limits and other policing strategies played a major part. However, nationally the road toll has been stuck around 1500 per year—the equivalent of about four fatal jumbo jet crashes. Another 35,000 victims are hospitalised each year. Ninety percent of survey respondents nationally believe “speeding cars or dangerous, noisy driving [are] a ‘major problem’”.<sup>53</sup> Politicians, police and traffic departments continue to wring their hands over driver behaviour but only belatedly and reluctantly introduce tougher penalties and more sensitive enforcement technologies. The right to drive, with limited training, testing and monitoring, is still a sacred cow in this country and there remains a clear failure to match regulation to risk.

### Conclusions

A brief survey of the history of policing in Australia shows a number of major continuities and changes. The civilianisation and professionalisation of policing was a slow and tortuous process in the nineteenth century, after which policing solidified into a standard format of patrol, rapid response and investigation within large state-based departments, with change driven by technological developments in communication, transport and forensics. Major changes occurred from the 1970s with the expansion of public and private policing agencies; the partial adoption of quantitative performance measures; and the imposition of philosophies of ethical policing, as well as community, problem-oriented, smart and intelligence-led policing. However,

the new agendas have made only limited inroads into the colonial heritage of detached reactionary macho policing. While a number of major crime areas have shown declines since the turn of the last century, police continue to struggle to show that their strategies are impacting directly on overall crime rates, while the new agencies show a similar profile of limited penetration of the crime problem.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Keith Bryett, Arch Harrison and John Shaw, *The Role and Function of Police in Australia* (Sydney: Butterworths, 1997), chapter 7.

<sup>2</sup> Pat O'Malley, “Class Conflict, Land and Social Banditry: Bushranging in Nineteenth Century Australia,” *Social Problems* 26, no. 3 (1979).

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Richards, *The Secret War: A True History of Queensland's Native Police* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2008); W. Ross Johnston, *The Long Blue Line: A History of the Queensland Police* (Brisbane, Boolarong, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Johnston, *The Long Blue Line*, 1-2; Michael Sturma, “Policing the Colonial Frontier in Mid-nineteenth Century Australia, Britain and America,” in *Policing in Australia: Historical Perspectives* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1987), 28.

<sup>5</sup> Bryett, et. al., *The Role and Function of Police in Australia*, 75.

<sup>6</sup> Sturma, “Policing the Colonial Frontier in Mid-nineteenth Century Australia, Britain and America”.

<sup>7</sup> State Records, *Police Magistrates for the Town and the Port of Sydney*, New South Wales Government, accessed 29 January 2010 at [http://investigator.records.nsw.gov.au/Entity.aspx?Path=%5CAgency%5C2165;Chronology%5Cof%5CEarly%5CPolicing%5Cin%5CNew%5CSouth%5CWales%5C\(1788%5Cto%5C1862\)](http://investigator.records.nsw.gov.au/Entity.aspx?Path=%5CAgency%5C2165;Chronology%5Cof%5CEarly%5CPolicing%5Cin%5CNew%5CSouth%5CWales%5C(1788%5Cto%5C1862)), New South Wales Police, accessed 29 January 2010 at <http://www.policensw.com/info/history/h2a.html>.

<sup>8</sup> See Geoff Easton, *Tasmania Police: From Force to Service, 1803-1999* (Hobart: Tasmanian Government, 1999); Robert Haldane, *The People's Force: A History of the Victoria Police* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986).

<sup>9</sup> In Bryett, et. al., *The Role and Function of Police in Australia*, 80.

<sup>10</sup> Johnston, *The Long Blue Line*, 200ff.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Donovan, *Changing the Guard: A History of the Australian Protective Service* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1994), 3-7.

<sup>12</sup> Johnston, *The Long Blue Line*, chapter 22.

<sup>13</sup> Toni Makkai and Tim Prenzler, “The Nature and Prevalence of Crime”, in *An Introduction to Crime and Criminology* (Sydney: Pearson, 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Mark Finnane, “From Police Force to Police Service? Aspects of the Recent History of the New South Wales Police,” in *A Culture of Corruption* (Sydney: Hawkins Press, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> Tony Fitzgerald, *Report of a Commission of Inquiry Pursuant to Orders in Council* (Brisbane: Government Printer, 1989).

- <sup>16</sup> David Hickie, *The Prince and the Premier* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1985).
- <sup>17</sup> J.R.T. Wood, *Royal Commission into the New South Wales Police Service, Final Report, Volume I: Corruption* (Sydney: Government of the State of New South Wales, 1997).
- <sup>18</sup> Ombudsman of Victoria, *Operation BART: Investigation of Allegations Against Police in Relation to the Shutter Allocation System, Final Report* (Melbourne: Victorian Government Printer, 1998).
- <sup>19</sup> Office of Police Integrity, *Past Patterns—Future Directions: Victoria Police and the Problem of Corruption and Serious Misconduct* (Melbourne: OPI, 2007).
- <sup>20</sup> Office of Police Integrity, *The Victorian Armed Offenders Squad—A Case Study* (Melbourne, 2008); Office of Police Integrity, *Exposing Corruption within Senior Levels of Victoria Police* (Melbourne: OPI, 2008).
- <sup>21</sup> Australian Law Reform Commission, *Integrity: But Not by Trust Alone, AFP and NCA Complaints and Disciplinary Systems* (Sydney: ALRC, 1996).
- <sup>22</sup> David Bayley and Clifford Shearing, "The Future of Policing," *Law and Society Review* 30.
- <sup>23</sup> Tim Prenzler, Karen Earle and Rick Sarre, *Private Security in Australia: Trends and Key Characteristics*, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice no. 374 (Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 2009).
- <sup>24</sup> Makkai and Prenzler, "The Nature and Prevalence of Crime".
- <sup>25</sup> Alan Leaver, *Investigating Crime* (Sydney: LBC, 1997), 342.
- <sup>26</sup> Tim Prenzler and Rick Sarre, "The Policing Complex" in *The Cambridge Handbook of Australian Criminology* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- <sup>27</sup> Chris Cunneen, *Conflict, Politics and Crime: Aboriginal Communities and the Police* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2001); Lisa Maher, David Dixon, W. Swift and T. Nguyen, *Anh Mai—Young Asian Background People's Perceptions and Experiences of Policing* (Sydney: UNSW Faculty of Law, 1997).
- <sup>28</sup> Susan Hatty, "Policing Male Violence in Australia" in *Women, Policing and Male Violence: International Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 1989).
- <sup>29</sup> Elliott Johnston, *Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody: National Report, Volume 3* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1991).
- <sup>30</sup> See Mark Brown, Stephen James and Adam Sutton, "Law Enforcement and the Prevention of Drug-related Harm," in *Crime Prevention in Australia* (Sydney: Federation Press, 1997); Janet Chan, *Changing Police Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Criminal Justice Commission, *Notices to Appear* (Brisbane: CJC, 1999); Ross Homel, "Can Police Prevent Crime?" in *Contemporary Policing: Un-Peeling Tradition* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1994).
- <sup>31</sup> Troy Allard and Tim Prenzler, "A Summary Analysis of Police Deaths in Australia: Implications for Prevention," *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 33, no. 1 (2009).

- <sup>32</sup> Jude McCulloch, "Keeping the Peace and Making War: The Police and the Military—Rhetoric and Reality", in *Violence and Police Culture* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000).
- <sup>33</sup> Jenny Fleming and Tim Prenzler, "Gender Equity in Australian and New Zealand Policing: A Five Year Review," paper presented to *Australasian Women and Policing Conference*, 23-26 August 2009 (Perth: Australasian Council of Women and Policing, 2009).
- <sup>34</sup> Prenzler and Sarre, "The Policing Complex", 62.
- <sup>35</sup> Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision, *Report on Government Services 2008* (Canberra: Productivity Commission, 2009), 6.13.
- <sup>36</sup> Australian Institute of Criminology, *Australian Crime: Facts and Figures 2008* (Canberra: AIC, 2009), 107.
- <sup>37</sup> Peter Grabosky, "Efficiency and Effectiveness in Australia Policing" in *Australian Policing: Contemporary Issues* (Sydney: Butterworths, 1989).
- <sup>38</sup> Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision, *Report on Government Services 2008*, 6.17-6.21.
- <sup>39</sup> Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision, *Report on Government Services 2008*, 6.16.
- <sup>40</sup> New South Wales Police, *Annual Report 2008-9* (Sydney: NSW Police, 2009), 31, 41.
- <sup>41</sup> Australian Institute of Criminology, *Australian Crime: Facts and Figures 2008*, 4, 2.
- <sup>42</sup> Marilyn Chilvers and Don Weatherburn, "The New South Wales 'Compstat' Process: Its Impact on Crime", *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 37, no. 1 (2004); Lorraine Mazerolle, Sacha Rombouts and James McBroom, *The Impact of Operational Performance Reviews on Reported Crime in Queensland*, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice no. 313 (Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 2006).
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- <sup>45</sup> Prenzler and Sarre, "The Policing Complex", 68; see also Brown, et. al., "Law Enforcement and the Prevention of Drug-related Harm".
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