

Review and Evaluation of the Officer Next Door Program

Housing Tasmania Tasmania Police

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Project Overview and Terms of Reference

This research report was commissioned to assess and evaluate the criminal justice and business case for the Officer Next Door (OND) program. Since its establishment in 1998, the OND program has sought to provide Housing Tasmania residents with a reassurance policing approach based on early intervention in criminal and anti-social behaviour on Housing Tasmania broadacre estates.

Despite its perceived success, the OND program has not been subject to a critical review or evaluation over the ten years of its operation. As such, the tenth anniversary of the program marks a timely occasion for establishing whether it represents a best practice model for promotion across other jurisdictions. The primary objectives of this research are four-fold:

- What are the perceived goals of the Officer Next Door program for both Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police?
- What are the expectations and obligations of Officers Next Door?
- What are the social and criminal justice outcomes for Housing Tasmania residents?
- Does the program represent value for money for Housing Tasmania in managing anti-social behaviour in and around public housing in Tasmania?

While the Officer Next Door program has operated across Tasmania, the initial decision by Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police was to focus this study on three regions, and nine research sites:

- North-West (Shorewell Park, Devonport, and Ulverstone),
- North (Rocherlea and Ravenswood),
- South-East (Bridgewater, Gagebrook, Clarendon Vale, and Rokeby).

In addition to significant geographical differences between these sites, there is also great variety in the demographic characteristics of each of the Housing Tasmania populations. As a consequence, it was not appropriate to treat the research sites comparably. One research site—Clarendon Vale—was identified as an important standalone case study, as it is a significant broadacre estate with a high rate of Housing Tasmania tenancies, high rates of anti-social behaviour and crime, and a long history of the Officer Next Door program.

Executive Summary

Perceptions about the aims, requirements and successes of the Officer Next Door (OND) program vary considerably between stakeholders—Housing Tasmania Tenancy Officers, Housing Tasmania Area Managers, Tasmania Police Inspectors, Officers Next Door (ONDs) and Housing Tasmania residents—and between research sites. This variation in perceptions of the program is unsurprising given that the success of any community policing initiative is dependent upon the local characteristics of communities and stakeholders. It is also unsurprising in the specific case of OND given the longevity of the program, and the lack of clarity in the aims and objectives between the key stakeholders throughout the term of the program.

Despite monitoring instruments being put in place by Tasmania Police from the beginning of the program, these self-completed reports of ONDs' duties provide only one perspective on how the goals of the program are met. Importantly, residents' opinions have not been officially recorded at any time during the ten-year operation of the program; nor has there been any attempt to educate Housing Tasmania residents about the goals of the program. These issues are significant in light of previous research into community policing across the world which illustrate that the success of these types of interventions are dependent upon the 'co-production' of safety by those who are the targets of the intervention. A lack of knowledge about the program was not limited to Housing Tasmania residents; few Housing Tasmania Tenancy Officers had a clear understanding of the aims of the program, or even the correct name of the program, and Officers Next Door knew it only as the \$5 House program. While these program participants may have had awareness about the operation of Officer Next Door, the lack of program recognition—across the board—points to a much larger issue of facilitating program uptake and integration.

The success of the OND program has relied in large part on the commitment of individuals in both Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police. When individuals have left the organisations, or moved into different positions, the impetus and importance of monitoring and developing the program has oscillated. However, in the case of Tasmania Police, the opposite effect is obvious in the overall management of program. The appointment of Inspector Craig Waterhouse to the community policing unit was consistently raised as a significant driver for the program, especially his dedication to raise the standard of community policing initiatives—such as OND—and his desire to ensure that ONDs meet the aims and objectives of the program.

A further issue raised in this evaluation of Officer Next Door was the lack of integration of this program in the overall objectives of Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police. While some Tenancy Officers and Area Managers of Housing Tasmania, and Tasmania Police Inspectors considered the ways in which the program could facilitate better policing of anti-social and criminal behaviour, and/or tenancy issues, this was largely on an ad-hoc basis that was reliant upon the strategies of individual officers. This lack of integration of the program at the level of Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police, in turn, reduced the opportunities for community organisations to draw upon the program for facilitating increased social capacity in the areas of safety and order. In particular, an important finding from the research was Neighbourhood House Managers' lack of knowledge about, and ability to draw upon, the Officer Next Door program for their work in developing local communities' capacity to build social cohesion.

The final global issue raised in this research of the Officer Next Door program was the recruitment and retention of ONDs. The promotion of this program within Tasmania Police, while successful in ensuring a constant supply of willing recruits, is deeply flawed in terms of recruiting ideal candidates to community policing initiatives. The majority of ONDs only knew of the program as the \$5 House; this approach only serves to attract candidates with personal, predominantly financial, interests rather than community policing commitments. To a large extent, ONDs were appointed on a first-come, first-serve basis, with few independent assessment criteria employed to evaluate their suitability to the position. The only mediating factor in recruitment was Inspector Waterhouse's knowledge of candidates. Relying on an individual's assessment—rather than a selection criteria instrument—is problematic when considered in light of changes in human resource allocations.

Further, while priority was given to the recruitment of general duties officers, a significant minority of ONDs were not uniformed police officers working closely with local communities. This reduced the opportunities for the integration of OND objectives with general duties policing, and offered few opportunities for role modelling. Finally, while the problems associated with a lack of selection criteria and general duties officers could be ameliorated by an effective induction to the program, unfortunately, apart from preliminary meetings with Inspector Waterhouse and, at times, Tenancy Officers, most ONDs operated with little or no induction. Some ONDs stated that what they knew about being an OND was developed from speaking with previous participants. This peer induction may be appropriate if the previous OND was inducted to the goals of the program; if not, then it could be simply a matter of transferring bad practice from one generation of ONDs to the next.

This evaluation of the Officer Next Door program has raised several significant issues:

- a lack of knowledge and understanding of the aims and objectives of the program,
- the integration of the program into broader Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police strategies,
- the mechanisms in place to monitor the ongoing achievements of the program
- the promotion of the program,
- the education of key stakeholders about the program—especially, Housing Tasmania residents
- the site of OND properties
- the security measures installed in OND properties
- the reliance upon individuals within Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police—rather than policy—to drive the program, and
- the selection, recruitment and retention of Officers Next Door

Despite these identified problems, with the exception of Housing Tasmania residents, participants in this evaluation consistently stated that the program met a few limited objectives. In particular, while some respondents questioned the underlying principles of reassurance policing (such as ‘who was being reassured?’, and ‘what are they being reassured about?’), many stated that the program had a localised effect on fear of crime and anti-social behaviour and, in certain circumstances (primarily, circumstances related to the participants) provided an additional avenue for two-way communication with residents about crime and safety issues. These are significant successes. If the conditions that give rise to these successes can be operationalised across the state, the Officer Next Door program will be a best practice model warranting further development within the state and promotion in other jurisdictions as a model for the management of anti-social behaviour in broadacre housing estates. It would also represent a value-for-money strategy for Housing Tasmania.

Recommendations

1. That recruitment of Officers Next Door is temporarily delayed until such that a system-wide review of selection, promotion and education can be completed
2. That Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police develop a plain-English statement about the aims and objectives of the Officer Next Door program, including the roles played by ONDs, Tenancy Officers, Area Managers and District Commanders
3. That Tasmania Police and Housing Tasmania develop an OND contract that clearly outlines the expectations of ONDs, including their participation in local community and community policing initiatives
4. That Housing Tasmania, in conjunction with Tasmania Police, identifies key sites for intervention based on crime rates, property types and capacity for changing the conditions of anti-social behaviour
5. That Tasmania Police re-badges its advertising material for recruitment of ONDs based on the goals of the program rather than the financial advantages to be gained from participation
6. That Housing Tasmania undertakes a community education program with its clients about the goals and objectives of the OND program, including the expectations of ONDs
7. That Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police review the ways in which the OND program can be integrated into broader institutional goals, including appropriate reporting from ONDs on achievements and barriers
8. That Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police establish evaluation benchmarks to assess the achievements of the OND program over the next 12 months, three years and five years
9. That Tasmania Police and Housing Tasmania create a selection criteria instrument to evaluate candidates for suitability to the position of Officer Next Door (see appendix four for suggestions), and that both organisations are involved in the selection of ONDs
10. That Tasmania Police and Housing Tasmania develop a collaborative induction briefing for ONDs that include the aims, objectives and expectations of the program, and provides new ONDs with a file of

community and community policing initiatives available in each of the implementation sites as suggestions for OND involvement in local communities

11. That Tasmania Police, in conjunction with Housing Tasmania, reviews the current ONDs report to identify independently verifiable factors to assess the contribution of ONDs to reduced anti-social behaviour and fear of crime
12. That Housing Tasmania assess the cost-effectiveness of additional security measures on OND properties in light of the perception from Housing Tasmania residents that they also deserve these additional security measures
13. That Housing Tasmania, when financially viable, upgrades all Housing Tasmania properties with security screen doors, security screens for windows and secure property fences (particularly, back fences)
14. That Tasmania Police reviews its strategies for monitoring hooning in broadacre housing estates, including Crime Prevention through Environmental Redesign strategies such as chicanes, speed bumps and surveillance technologies that do not require residents to report these criminal behaviours

Research Design & Methodology

The Officer Next Door research was completed in three distinct phases: preliminary; research; and, evaluation and analysis. It will be noted from the details of these phases below that the preliminary phase contains a significant number of core tasks. The relative high activity level in the preliminary phase underscores the importance of this phase in building the base on which the rest of the study was built. The subsequent phases were reliant on the veracity of the preliminary outcomes.

The research design for this project was developed to rigorously assess the four objectives outlined in the project overview, especially, the impact of the Officer Next Door Program in relation to minimising anti-social and criminal behaviour in and around Housing Tasmania properties, and maximising the quality of life for Housing Tasmania residents.

Preliminary Phase

There were a number of tasks that need to be completed prior to substantive data collection. These activities provide the foundation of the study in terms of valid comparative measurement. In this phase, the essential preliminary activities undertaken include:

- Review of existing Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police policy and program reports on the OND program and similar community policing interventions
- Qualitative and quantitative analysis of the OND reports for the last three years

Using SPSS 14.0, core OND data was analysed for patterns identified by officers as significant to warrant reporting to Tasmania Police and Housing Tasmania. The data included:

- the household characteristics of each OND properties,
- Officers Next Door participation in community policing initiatives,
- the number of incidents and infringement notices reported to the police in each of the reporting periods, and
- the number of informal interventions with neighbours.

The data in these reports were also thematically analysed to identify the specific anti-social and criminal behaviour reported by Officers Next Door.

- National and international literature review of community policing interventions sited in and around public housing estates

Research Phase

Within the context of the preliminary phase results, the research project then moved into a data collection phase. In each of the regions, Housing Officers and Area Managers from Housing Tasmania, and Senior Officers and Officers Next Door from Tasmania Police were interviewed using a semi-structured interview instrument. These interviews were specifically focussed on the goals and objectives of the OND program, and the barriers to achieving a successful intervention in each of the sites. Interviewees were also asked to identify reforms and amendments to the program that may enhance successful interventions, and/or to ameliorate the problems that may have arisen over the last ten years.

In each of the research sites, Housing Tasmania residents were invited to participate in focus groups to discuss general crime and safety issues common to the research site, and to identify what, if any, impact Officers Next Door had on these crime and safety issues. If residents decided not to attend these focus groups, they were given the opportunity to complete a short survey about the individual, social and institutional factors that influenced their sense of safety, and their sense of safety in relation to specific anti-social and criminal behaviour. Residents were also given the opportunity to provide comments on their experiences of safety and crime, and their assessment of the Officer Next Door program.

This phase proceeded region by region rather than by stakeholder groups to ensure that issues raised in the residents' focus groups could be fed back into the interviews with Housing Tasmania Officers and/or Tasmania Police Officers in each of the regions. The schedule and number of research participants for each of the research sites is listed below. Importantly, while the invitation to participate in the focus groups was limited to those Housing Tasmania residents living within two blocks of the Officer Next Door properties, in some research sites, the local Neighbourhood Centre was instrumental in recruiting additional participants, and assisted in getting additional residents to complete the survey. Further, in three research sites in the South-East region (Gagebrook, Clarendon Vale and Rokeby), the survey instrument was distributed beyond the two block radius of the Officer Next door properties. The decision to distribute the surveys farther afield in these research sites was made after consultation with the Area Manager, and analysis of the geographical maps of these Housing Tasmania estates in relation to crime and anti-social behaviour problems (such as arson attacks). A total of 703 surveys were distributed across the three regions, and 118 surveys were returned; representing a return rate of 16.8%. However, the return rate varied significantly

between research sites: from a 0% return rate in Ulverstone to a 75% return rate in Rocherlea (though, as can be seen below, this return rate relates to only 12 surveys). The largest number of surveys returned came from Clarendon Vale (52 returned; 21% return rate); this reflects the increased activity of the Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre, and the increased number of surveys distributed to this research site.

North-West

Research Site	Housing Tasmania Officers	Officers Next Door	Housing Tasmania Resident Survey			
Shorewell Park	5 Housing Officers 1 Area Manager	1	Number of Surveys	50		
			Survey Responses	1		
			Response Rate	2%		
Devonport		5 Housing Officers 1 Area Manager	4	Number of Surveys	100	
				Survey Responses	6	
				Response Rate	6%	
Ulverstone			5 Housing Officers 1 Area Manager	1	Number of Surveys	50
					Survey Responses	0
					Response Rate	0%

North

Research Site	Housing Tasmania Officers	Officers Next Door	Housing Tasmania Resident Survey		
Ravenswood	3 Housing Officers 1 Area Manager	1	Number of Surveys	33	
			Survey Responses	10	
			Response Rate	30%	
Rocherlea		3 Housing Officers 1 Area Manager	3	Number of Surveys	12
				Survey Responses	9
				Response Rate	75%

South-East

Research Site	Housing Tasmania Officers	Officers Next Door	Housing Tasmania Resident Survey			
Bridgewater	6 Housing Officers 1 Area Manager	4	Number of Surveys	77		
			Survey Responses	21		
			Response Rate	27%		
Gagebrook		6 Housing Officers 1 Area Manager	2	Number of Surveys	49	
				Survey Responses	3	
				Response Rate	6%	
Clarendon Vale			6 Housing Officers 1 Area Manager	5	Number of Surveys	247
					Survey Responses	52
					Response Rate	21%
Rokeby	6 Housing Officers 1 Area Manager			1	Number of Surveys	85
Survey Responses					12	
Response Rate					14%	

Despite offering residents the opportunity to participate in discussions about the OND program and safety issues in their neighbourhoods, few residents took up this option; preferring instead to provide written comments in their survey responses. On average, five residents participated in the majority of the focus groups (though, two focus groups in the North-West region were cancelled because no residents attended). However, of those who attended, most participants did not live near of OND property. Rather, attendees comprised of two groups: residents who were actively involved in their communities (especially, those who were volunteers in the Neighbourhood Centre) or residents who had been a victim of crime.

In addition to the 12 ONDs, four Senior Police Officers (one each from North and North-West, and two from South-East) were interviewed to discuss the role of the OND program in the overall management of anti-social and criminal behaviour in each of the regions. One of these Senior Police Officers had previously been an Officer Next Door.

Evaluation and Analysis Phase

In this phase, data from the study was analysed and interpreted in relation to the research objectives. All quantitative data was analysed using SPSS14.0 and Microsoft Excel 2007, and results have been provided as both raw numbers and percentages. This is due to the small number of responses in some fields. As such, all quantitative data should be read with a critical eye to the raw numbers. Only results that are significant as percentages of the overall data and raw numbers have been used to support core recommendations. There are three sets of quantitative data:

- Officer Next Door reports (limited number of fields)
- Tasmania Police offence data
- Residents' Surveys

All qualitative data has been thematically analysed. In the first instance, themes have been identified internally to each of the data sets, and in a second level of analysis, in terms of the overall research objectives. There are five sets of qualitative data:

- Officer Next Door reports (limited number of fields)
- Residents' Focus Groups
- Residents' Survey (comments section)
- Housing Tasmania Officers Interviews
- Tasmania Police Officers Interviews

OND Project Time Line

Phase	Sept 2008	Oct 2008	Nov 2008	Dec 2008	Jan 2009	Feb 2009	Mar 2009	Apr 2009	May 2009
Preliminary	→								
Research			→						
Evaluation/ Analysis						→			
Final Report							→		

Literature Review

The terms community policing, neighbourhood policing, quality of life policing and reassurance policing are used interchangeably in the literature to denote population-based crime prevention strategies, models and programs. Essentially, the terms refer to strategies that stress greater interaction with the community regarding crime control and prevention, with the aim of improving residents' sense of security; the reduction of anti-social behaviour and offences which affect the quality of life in particular neighbourhoods; improving confidence in the police; and increasing social capital/collective efficacy/capacity in the communities (Webb & Katz, 1997).

There are three basic principles involved in community policing. Community policing (CP) requires that police are visible, accessible and familiar to local people. A CP strategy needs to focus on signal crimes; that is, those crimes that most affect the public's sense of security. Finally, community policing must involve citizens in order for informal, subtle and complex social controls to be developed in the community involved (Duffee, Fluellen, & Renauer, 1999; Innes, 2004). It is not the quantity of policing but rather quality of the interactions between the community and their policing services. True neighbourhood policing means listening to communities and putting the right sort of resources in place to deal with the local problems of neighbourhoods (Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008).

Community policing programs might involve patrol deployment for non-emergency interaction with the public; active solicitation of requests for service not involving criminal matters; or creation of mechanisms for grassroots feedback from the community (Bailey, 1986). In Australia, Neighbourhood Watch is the most well known community based crime prevention program. Other programs include Safety House schemes (where children can seek refuge from strangers), and many jurisdictions have Police in Schools programs and run Blue Light Discos. In Tasmania, Crime Stoppers (partnership with police, general community and media) and Project U-Turn are additional high profile community policing strategies (DPEM Tasmania, 2006).

The crime detection and prosecution focus of modern management-led policing has resulted in a disconnection between the police and their communities. The effect of motorised patrols and radios, where contact between police and the people is reduced to emergency situations and focussed on interactions with

distressed victims/witnesses, has had the unintended consequence of increasing the social distance between police and policed (Innes, 2006; Moir, 1990; Reisig & Parks, 2004). The long-term effect of this has been an increase in criticism of the police and an escalation of fear of crime in many sections of the community.

The swing back to community focused policing began in the mid 1970s with New Jersey's implementation of the Safe and Clean Neighbourhoods Program which reintroduced foot patrol in 28 cities. This program proved immensely popular with the community and politicians but not police management or ranks. A five year evaluation found no reduction in crime but residents reported that the foot patrols had an effect on anti-social behaviour and, as a consequence, residents felt safer and had a much higher opinion of the police (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). The police services felt that foot patrols was resource intensive in terms of personnel and time. Mobile patrols were preferred due to faster reaction time and reduced wastage of time between incidents. However, in terms of community engagement, mobile patrols are less effective because they do not engage with the locals to the same extent; the police often wind the window down and interact with residents at a physical distance, which creates an 'us and them' situation over the longer term (Moir, 1990).

Alongside these tensions between modern policing methods and residents' perceptions, emerged theories that linked escalating crime with social disorder. These were called incivilities or social disorganisation theories; colloquially 'broken windows' or 'quality of life' theories (Fielding & Innes, 2006; Vitale, 2005; Wilson & Kelling, 2006). Areas in which people are sparse on the streets and interact with their neighbours reluctantly (therefore low in levels of informal controls), are vulnerable to criminal invasion. According to this perspective, disorderliness creates fear. Disorder can be behavioural (such as neighbours' and visitors' behaviours) or environmental factors (such as litter, abandoned properties, and burnt out cars and so on). It is believed that graffiti and untidy environments create a feeling that the area is uncontrolled (Wilson & Kelling, 1982) with the effect that potential victims are intimidated. In these circumstances, young men are more frequently attacked—because they are out on the street more often—while the elderly mobilise their own levels of control by staying indoors.

Broken windows or quality of life policing—basically an extension of the old method of the beat officer—concentrated on eliminating these kinds of visible disorder and everyday annoyances using tactics like zero tolerance, stop and search, civil enforcement, and creating laws to manage anti-social behaviour (Vitale, 2005).

In England and Wales, issues of community security and crime prevention resulted in the broadening of the base of institutions involved in intervention. The *Crime and Disorder Act 1998* set up local crime and disorder reduction partnerships to include local councils and other organisations. In some instances, residential organisations hired private security patrols to address local crime and disorder issues (Crawford & Lister, 2006). The central government also funded neighbourhood and street crime wardens. These local, visible people engage and work with local communities, and assist in managing the expectations of local communities.

The position of Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) was also created by the *Police Reform Act 2002* to address public concerns of fear of crime, anti-social behaviour and lack of police visibility (Crawford & Lister, 2006; Mason & Dale, 2008). The long-term goal was for one PCSO for every six police officers in England and Wales. These PCSOs offer visible presence on the streets but have limited powers of enforcement.

In a different cultural context, the Japanese *kōban* system places community policing at the centre of policing practice. In addition to central police stations, Japanese uniformed police work is done from small buildings located within the community. Police officers in these buildings can keep watch, respond to emergencies, give directions, and otherwise interact with citizens on a more intimate basis than they could from a more distant station. Officers who staff *kōbans* are expected to annually visit each of the homes within their neighbourhood to discuss home security and ask about the crime and disorder issues that most affect the residents. In a similar vein, Detroit neighbourhood police teams help residents contact other agencies about inadequate street lighting, dangerous traffic areas, and abandoned properties.

The main strength of the community policing ethos lies in its capability to increase the flow of information to the police in order to prevent and prosecute criminal activity. However, this is not easy to achieve in practice. The basis of community policing is to create conditions in neighbourhoods that will allow for informal, subtle and complex social controls to flourish and prevent conditions which allow situations like drug dealing to flourish (Duffee et al., 1999; O'Shea, 2007). Community police are perceived to be a visible deterrent. The strong connection to local communities facilitates information exchange that leads to an increased capacity to detect crimes and prosecute offenders, while positively influencing levels of fear of crime.

A criticism of many CP programs is the tendency of police to focus on their roles as problem solvers or community mobilisers, which is a 'top down' mind-set with

police determining the strategy's objectives. Whereas the success of these programs is dependent on citizen awareness, understanding, support of the concept and a willingness to be involved in crime prevention and crime reduction activities (Wisler & Onwudiwe, 2008). Interestingly, Webb and Katz (1997) found that preventive community policing approaches such as broken windows were less well regarded by communities than hard enforcement policing like investigating gangs and drug sweeps. They suggest that public agreement on the role of the police in the community varies significantly depending on the community's characteristics—such as its mix of race, socio-economic groups, ages and environmental features (Schuck et al., 2008; Webb & Katz, 1997). Reducing crime and the fear of crime experienced by one group can result in further exclusion of another group (Goris, 2001).

Many community policing programs are implemented in neighbourhoods largely comprised of social housing developments. Society's most marginalised groups live in these areas, characterised by high concentrations of poverty and residents with low levels of resources in terms of housing, transportation, employment, and urban development (Blokland, 2007; Duffee et al., 1999; Reisig & Parks, 2004). The concentration of community policing projects in these areas is seen by some as unfair targeting of vulnerable groups.

For Reisig and Parks (2004) one of the key elements of community policing is listening to citizen input regarding programs that affect them. Schneider's research on a socially disadvantaged area in Vancouver suggested that community policing fails in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods because of a failure to recognise how police communication in these areas continually reproduces the asymmetrical power relationship between the police and these communities. Communication was one way; citizens felt that they were expected to be the eyes and ears of police but got little feedback and did not feel that that had a say in the way in which policing occurred in their neighbourhood. This gave the impression that nothing was done and led to apathy and reductions in cooperation (Schneider, 1999).

Long et al suggested that achieving a successful community policing outcome was more complex than it first appears, and factors which can impede the ability of police to secure community buy-in include confusion on behalf of the community in regard to their role in the implementation. This is alongside the very real fear of retaliation from the 'trouble-makers' in the community (Long, Wells, & de Leon-Grandos, 2002). Hughes and Rowe (2007) make the point that geographically defined communities are often filled with divisions and tensions

because of the inherent heterogeneity of their populations. This makes it difficult to form communities that remain stable enough for the purposes of governance and also impacts on the potential level of collective efficacy of the community—collective efficacy being the neighbourhoods' ability to maintain order through informal methods (Nolan, Conti, & McDevitt, 2004)

There may be barriers to implementation on a technical level; such as a lack of clear procedures for the individual program or an inability to schedule meetings where all parties are present. Hughes and Rowe suggest that frequent cancellations or postponement of consultative processes can send the message to the community that their issues lack priority with local police (Hughes & Rowe, 2007). The rhetoric of partnerships with policing organisations tend to be full of interconnected and ambiguous terms like 'collaboration', 'interagency', 'coordination' and 'multi-agency' which can be arbitrarily applied and therefore produce mixed results. Some of the literature states that any cooperation that has police as the dominant agency—over welfare agencies like youth, housing etc—are problematic because of differences in levels of organisation, coordination and clarity of mission which leads to program failure (Hughes & Rowe, 2007; Innes, 2004; Pruegger, 2003). Other barriers may be lack of support from senior police; or alternately, the program may receive support from senior management but not from operational officers who see CP as 'soft' policing. Hughes and Rowe also mention the difficulty of reconciling a CP approach with performance-based management of modern policing administrations (Hughes & Rowe, 2007).

In conclusion, community policing as practiced in Australia and other Western countries is a 'top down' initiative which works best when officers take ownership of particular areas to reduce crime and be responsible for problem solving (Connell, Miggans, & McGloin, 2008; Wisler & Onwudiwe, 2008). Its main strength is its capability for increasing flow of information but this needs to be two-way, and the police need to be seen to be committed to solving problems in the community.

Demography of the Field

As discussed in the literature review, the characteristics of communities are fundamental to the adoption, effectiveness, and ongoing success of community policing strategies. Too often, those communities who are in the least need for community policing interventions are those that become role models of the approach. High levels of social capital and social efficacy have been found to correlate positively to successful community policing programs. While social capital is capable of being generated in any community, it is most likely to be found in communities with housing and economic security, low unemployment, high levels of education, and cultural homogeneity. Apart from the latter of these variables, the nine communities under study in this research do not represent the ideal sites for community policing interventions.

In this section, the demographic data of the nine research sites will be analysed in light of the pre-existing findings about social efficacy and community policing. It is important to note from the outset that the nine research sites cannot be constructed as monocultural, or indeed, comparable. There are three distinct demographic patterns in the OND sites. These are:

- **Devonport and Ulverstone:** Communities with older, more affluent retired residents with higher levels of education and home ownership
- **Bridgewater, Ravenswood and Rokeby:** Communities with a mix of families and retired couples, with relatively high labour force participation rates, average levels of education, home ownership and income
- **Clarendon Vale, Gagebrook, Rocherlea and Shorewell Park:** Communities with young families (often with a single parent), high levels of unemployment, low levels of education, and housing and economic insecurity

Significantly, these demographic patterns do not mirror the crime rates for the nine research sites (to be discussed at length in the next section). All three North-West communities (Devonport, Ulverstone, Shorewell Park), and Ravenswood and Rokeby share crime rates below 9%. This contrasts with the other four communities, who all share relatively high crime rates; ranging from a high of 19.9% in Clarendon Vale in 2003 to a low of 9.8% in Rocherlea in 2005 (though Rocherlea's crime rate was to dramatically increase in the following years).

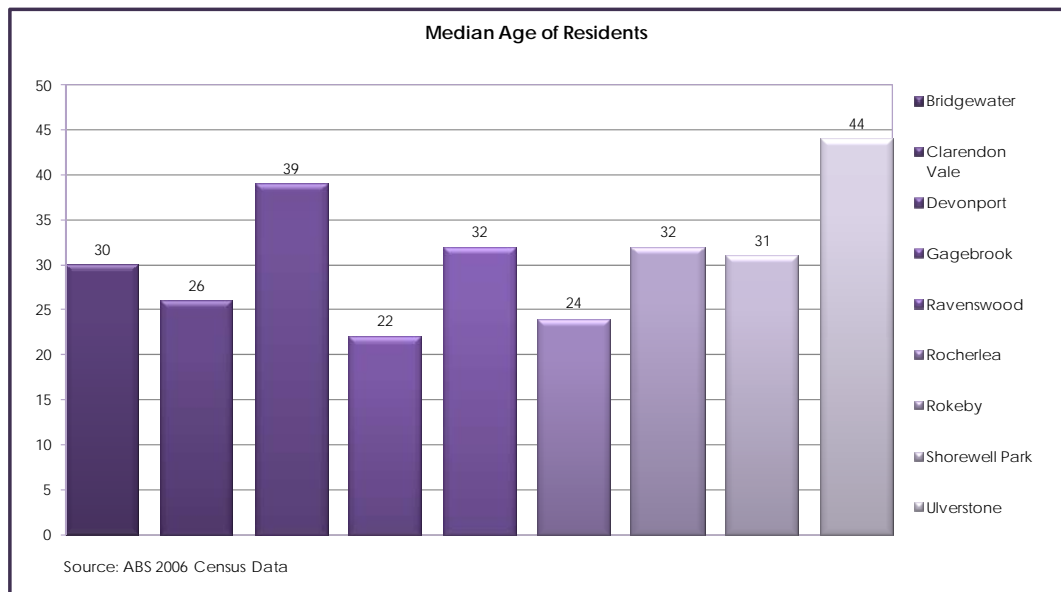
While research indicates that some types of communities are more likely to engage in community policing programs, this does not mean that this policing approach is inappropriate for more disadvantaged communities. Rather, it means that benchmarks and best practice models identified in other community policing jurisdictions will not necessarily be transferable to these sites. More work

with building community trust, capacity and a desire for change will need to be done in these neighbourhoods before success can be expected.

Median Age of Residents

One of the key variables to successful participation in community policing programs is the median age of residents. As can be seen in the figure below, the difference in median ages between research sites is significant, with Ulverstone residents twice the age of Gagebrook residents. Communities in the North-West region have high number of residents who have retired and are more likely to be time rich, thus facilitating involvement in community projects, volunteering, and caring for their homes and neighbourhoods. They are also more likely to be home for large parts of their days and weeks. These types of residents are ideally suited to active participation in community policing projects such as Neighbourhood Watch, and for similar reasons, Officer Next Door.

Figure 1: Median Age of Residents in OND Research Sites



While residents in suburbs with relatively young populations—such as Gagebrook, Rocherlea, and Clarendon Vale—will also be relatively time rich, these communities have higher numbers of single parent families, and young children, both of which would predicate against participation in community events or organisations beyond those taken up to assist in child care. The remaining communities—Bridgewater, Ravenswood, Rokeby and Shorewell Park—consist of a mix of young families, established couples with older children, and retired residents. While some of these residents may be willing to participate in community policing programs such as OND, the higher rates of labour force participation (see Figure 3 below), means that a significant proportion of the

community is not home during the day, are time poor, and while perhaps better resourced to participate in these approaches, will not have the time to do so.

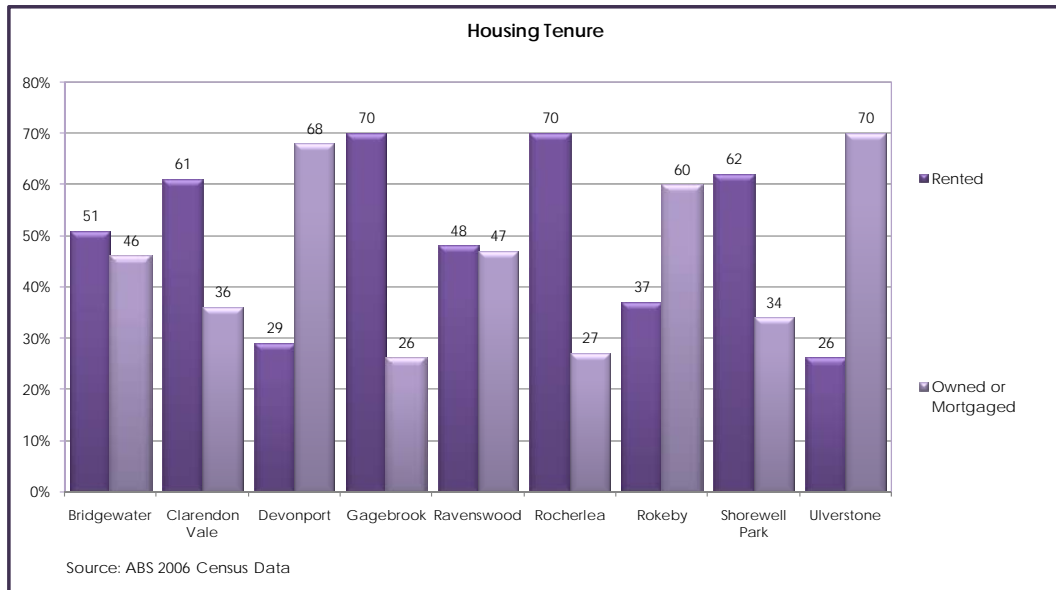
Cultural Diversity

Cultural homogeneity and/or cultural tolerance have often been cited as important variables in community based approaches to crime and safety. Building a common goal for safety and security requires shared norms and values, and a willingness to care for people beyond kith and kin. Relative to Australia-wide demographics on cultural diversity, Tasmania continues to be culturally homogeneous. This is no different in the nine research sites under study in this report. Less than 10% of the population groups identified that they were born outside of Australia, with the vast majority of these coming from the United Kingdom. However, importantly, without exception, these communities include a relatively high number of residents who identify as Indigenous—in several sites, over four times the national average (2.3%). As Indigeneity correlates with poverty and public housing use correlates with poverty, it is unsurprising to find this higher rate of Indigeneity in these communities. This is important to community policing in two ways. Indigenous communities are less likely to have a good working relationship with policing organisations, and more likely to work within the Indigenous community rather than across whole neighbourhoods. This would predicate against involvement in community policing initiatives such as the Officer Next Door program.

Housing Characteristics

Commitment to community and willingness to participate in community building initiatives such as Officer Next Door is strongly correlated to housing tenure, and security of housing arrangements. While public housing is a more stable tenancy environment than the private market, long term planning around community building and commitment to the well being of neighbours is difficult to foster when housing security is based on rental agreements. As can be seen in Figure 2 below, apart from Devonport, Rokeby and Ulverstone, the primary tenure type in each of the research sites is renting.

Figure 2: Housing Tenure of Residents in OND Research Sites

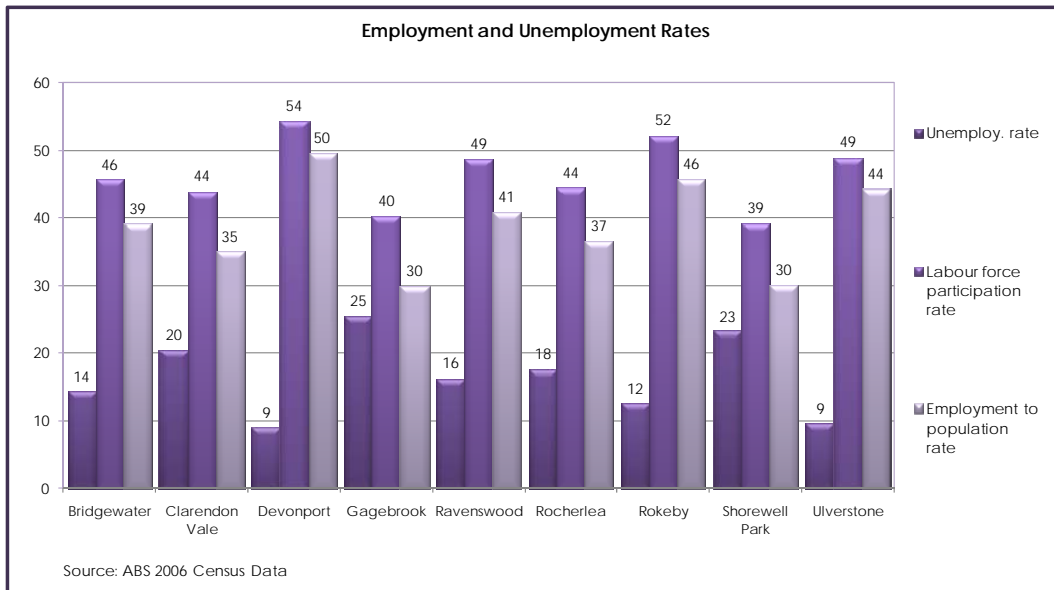


The ratio between homeowners and renters is particularly low in Clarendon Vale, Gagebrook, Rocherlea and Shorewell Park. With fewer homeowners, these communities would require different strategies to foster involvement in community programs, especially those that aim to build good citizenship and commitment to making communities safer.

Employment and Income Characteristics

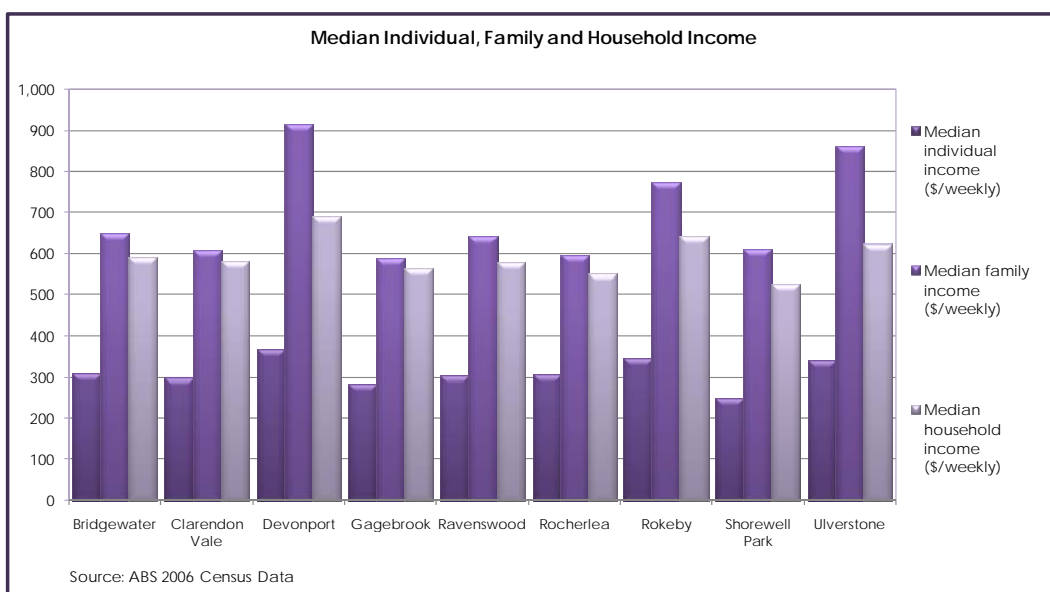
The final set of characteristics that can inform the take-up of, and participation in community policing programs relate to labour force participation, and individual, household and family incomes. While some workers will put aside personal time to participate in their communities, and become involved in programs such as Neighbourhood Watch, and by extension OND, on the whole they are less likely to do so than fellow residents who are more time rich, such as those who are homemakers (especially, those with older children) or those who have retired from formal employment. As can be seen in Figure 3, there is very little difference across the nine research sites in terms of labour force participation rates—with a high of 54% in Devonport and a low of 37% in Rocherlea. However, labour force participation alone cannot give us a true picture of the capacity to participate in community programs. Without also assessing the employment, and the employment to population rates across the nine sites, the hidden barrier of dependency (especially young children) is missed. Equally, so too is the hidden opportunity of the large proportions of people who are time rich.

Figure 3: Employment and Unemployment Rates in OND Research Sites¹



Equally, while the median individual income across all nine sites is relatively stable—averaging at approximately \$311 per week—median household income varies considerably. As with many of the demographic characteristics, income patterns consolidate around the older, more secure residents of Devonport, Rokeby and Ulverstone. While these households will be more likely to expect better safety and security in their communities, they will also be more likely to have the buying power to purchase that safety and security, and thus, may not require the assistance of voluntary, community programs.

Figure 4: Median Individual, Family and Household Income in OND Research Sites



In addition to the characteristics detailed above, a final demographic factor that can play a significant role in community participation is the level of education of possible participants. At the core of social capital and capacity building to knowledge and the ability to wield knowledge to achieve non-financial ends. Knowledge, in this sense, is not just about level of education—though this is always a significant factor—but can also include knowledge as skills. This is perhaps why community strategies such as Men’s Sheds continue to have such a dramatic effect on the participation of disadvantaged men in community projects. However, as a raw, perhaps too blunt instrument, ABS data on levels of education are also informative about the capacity of communities to participate in programs such as Officer Next Door. While an average of 30% of residents in the nine research sites had completed some form of post-compulsory education (Year 11 or above), an average of 28% of residents did not finish compulsory education or did not attend school at all (did not complete Year 10). Further, fewer than 10% of residents in Bridgewater, Clarendon Vale, Gagebrook and Rocherlea were participating in some forms of higher or further education (ABS 2007).

Experiences of Crime

At the core of the Officer Next Door program is a desire to find additional, alternative means to respond to a perceived heightened level of criminal and anti-social behaviour in the research sites. It is perhaps, therefore, essential to understand the variations in experiences of crime in the nine areas under study in this research. Importantly, this section discusses only those incidents that come to the attention of Tasmania Police. As has been shown in previous research, some forms of criminal behaviour are more likely to be reported to the police. In particular, those crimes that lead to insurance claims (such as home burglaries) are more likely to be reported than crimes that may result in personal shame on the part of the victim (such as sexual assault). Equally important to this research is the fact that much anti-social behaviour does not constitute a criminal act, and as such, may not be reported to the police. To counteract these gaps in the formal crime data provided by Tasmania Police, following sections of the report provide an insight into the criminal and anti-social behaviour that most concerns residents in the nine research areas, including those acts that fail to make it to formal police data sets.

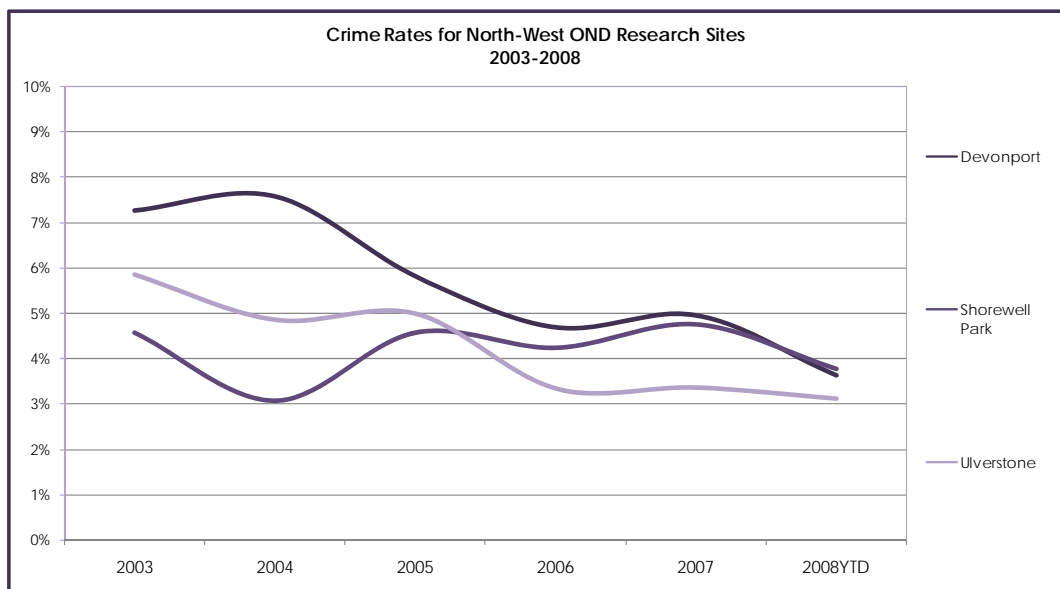
As part of their contribution to this research project, the Corporate Review Services section of Tasmania Police provided all offence reports collected between 1 January 2003 and 21 October 2008. Importantly, an offence report is an account of an incident rather than a single crime. In this respect, an offence can include more than one criminal act. As can be seen in Table 1 below, the number of offences reported to Tasmania Police varies across research sites, and between each of the years reported (see Appendix One—Table 3—for full details of the number of offence reports and crime rates).

Table 1: Number of Offence Report for OND Research Sites (2003-2008YTD)

Suburb	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008 ²
Bridgewater	640	572	656	803	696	578
Clarendon Vale	288	222	257	286	255	167
Devonport	1,707	1,793	1,379	1,181	1,231	887
Gagebrook	380	383	465	506	408	294
Ravenswood	365	328	338	319	369	358
Rocherlea	227	168	116	139	156	175
Rokeby	272	265	333	298	281	221
Shorewell Park	72	49	74	82	91	74
Ulverstone	583	483	499	339	343	318

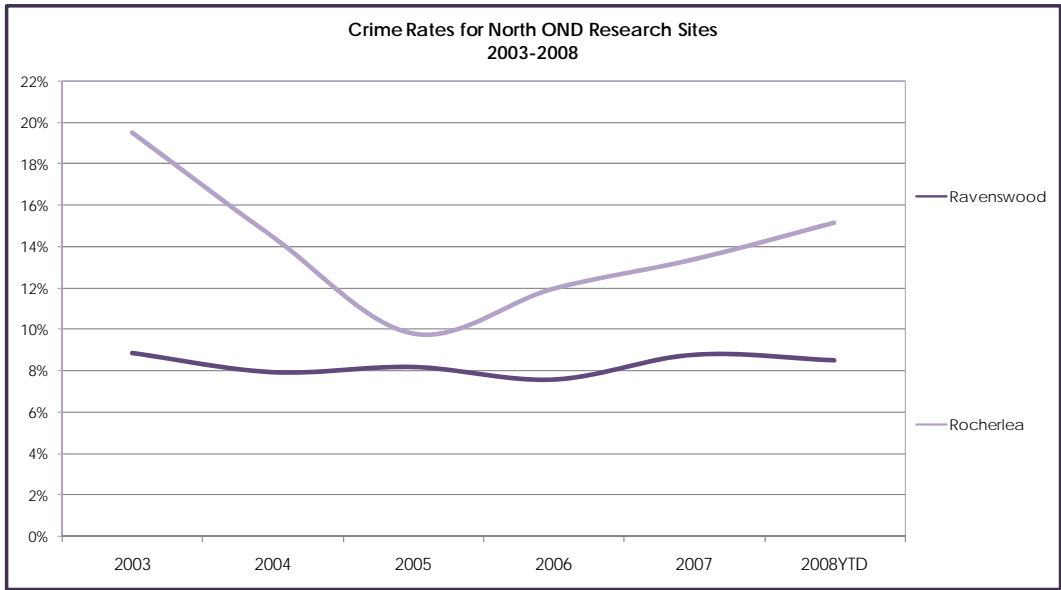
At first glance, it may appear that Bridgewater, Devonport and Ulverstone experience higher levels of reported crime than all other research sites. However, as can be seen in Figures 5-7, when the raw numbers are converted to crime rates, it is only the first of these three research sites that report relatively high levels of crime. What also becomes clearer when crime rates³ are analysed—rather than raw numbers of offences—is the great variation between Housing Tasmania regions. In Figure 5, the North-West research sites of Devonport, Shorewell Park and Ulverstone are documented as a single set. While the crime rates vary considerably in the early part of the research period, by 2008, there is a convergence, with all research sites experiencing crime rates of approximately three to four percent.

Figure 5: Crime Rates for North-West OND Research Sites (2003-2008YTD)



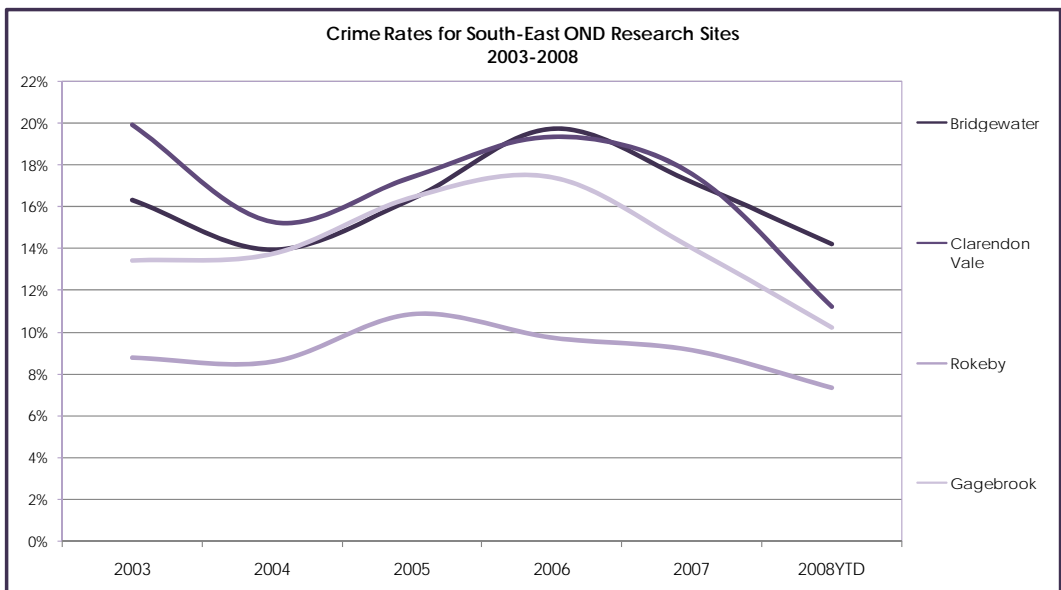
These data for the North-West are distinctive. Unlike the North and South-East regions, Devonport, Shorewell Park and Ulverstone experience lower levels of reported crime, and—with the exception of a small increase in crimes in 2007—have a decreasing trend line. This contrasts considerably with the data from the other two regions. Clearly, the demographic data outlined in the previous chapter informs why this difference exists. Residents in the North-West research sites, particularly Ulverstone and Devonport, have much higher median ages, higher rates of home ownership, lower levels of unemployment and much higher levels of individual, family and household incomes. All these demographic characteristics have been found to positively correlate with lower rates of crime.

Figure 6: Crime Rates for North OND Research Sites (2003-2008YTD)



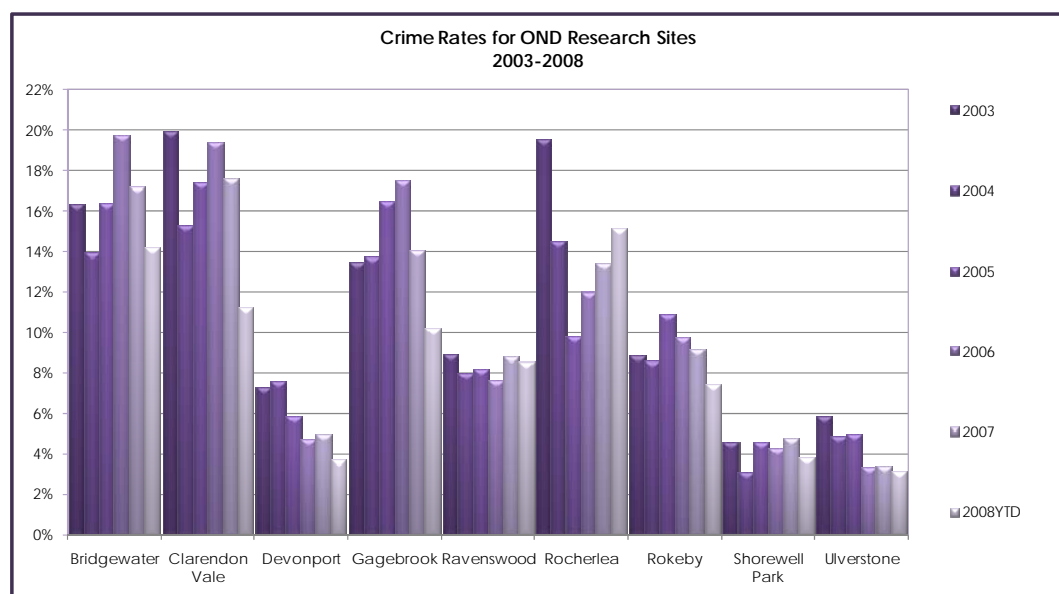
In contrast to the North-West region, the two research sites in the North region—Ravenswood and Rocherlea—do not share a trend line. While the crime rate for Ravenswood has remained stable across the research period (averaging approximately 8.3%), Rocherlea has experienced a significant swing between a relatively large decrease in crime between 2003 and 2005 (from 19.5% to 9.8%), and then a relatively large increase in crime following this trough (from 9.8% to 15.2%). This trend line for Rocherlea is unique; no other OND research site is comparable. While this may be the result of changing policing practices in this suburb (such as reduced use of the Officer Next Door program), it could be equally attributable to changes in the resident profile of Rocherlea.

Figure 7: Crime Rates for South-East OND Research Sites (2003-2008YTD)



As can be seen in Figure 7, the South-East research sites—as with the North-West—have a regional trend line. With the exception of Rokeby, the three other North research sites—Bridgewater, Gagebrook and Clarendon Vale—all have relatively high rates of crime (ranging from a high of 19.9% in Clarendon Vale in 2003 and 10.2% in Gagebrook in 2008YTD). In contrast to Devonport and Ulverstone, the residents of these three research sites have low median ages (ranging from 22 to 30 years), low levels of home ownership, high levels of unemployment and relatively low individual, family and household incomes. This is the mirror pattern of the North-West, with all these factors positively correlating with higher rates of crime.

Figure 8: Comparison of Crime Rates across OND Research Sites (2003-2008YTD)



When all three regions are compared together, as in Figure 8, it becomes clear that experiences of crimes—and it would be expected, fear of crime—varies considerably between the nine research sites. While Bridgewater, Clarendon Vale, Gagebrook and Rocherlea all share relatively high crime rates, the North-West research sites of Devonport, Shorewell Park and Ulverstone have relatively low reported crime rates—with Ravenswood and Rokeby experiencing stable, moderate crime rates across the whole research period. Importantly, with the exception of Rocherlea, there is a decreasing trend line on crime rates across the data set. These stark differences in the experience of crime will influence the success or failure of community policing interventions such as the Officer Next Door program. While low-impact role modelling such as that provided by Officers Next Door may affect the behaviours of residents in low-crime areas, it is unlikely to influence the behaviour of residents in high crime areas, or residents living in areas with increasing crime rates.

Three Perspectives on Officer Next Door

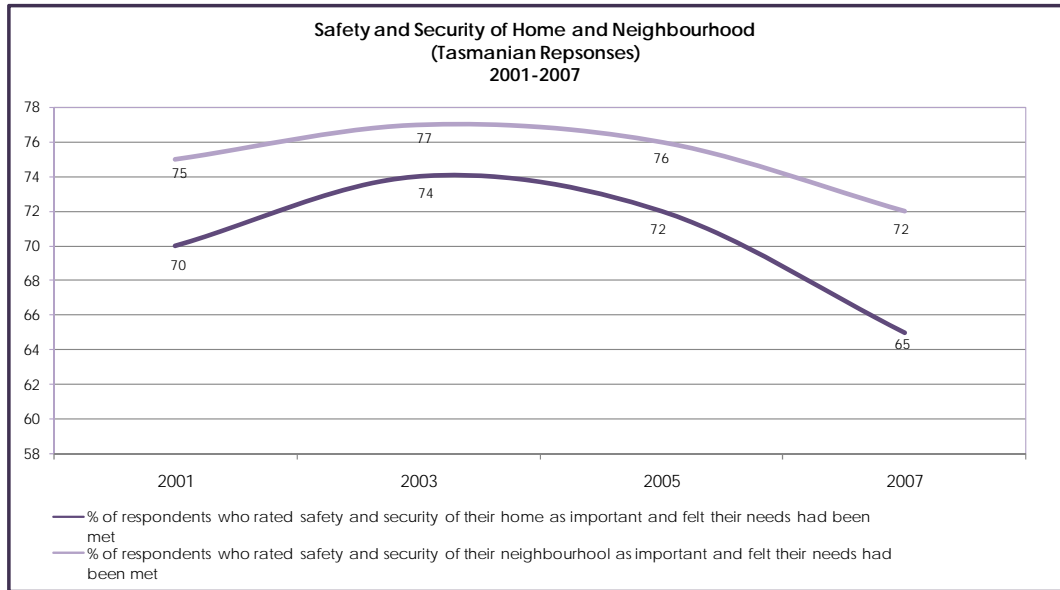
In line with the literature and research into community policing, this research project aimed to elicit all stakeholders' understandings of the Officer Next Door program. Previous research clearly shows that success in community policing relies, in part, on two major factors: the equal and informed participation of all stakeholders in the intervention, and a clear understanding of the aims and objectives of the intervention. As such, this project worked from the basis of evaluating the knowledge and participation of each of the stakeholders (residents, Officers Next Door and Housing Tasmania Officers). In the process of evaluating these major factors, all stakeholders also provided their assessment of the Officer Next Door program, and provided recommendations on changes that would make the program more effective. This section of the report outlines the results of each research instrument in relation to these two major factors, starting with residents understanding of the program, and their overall feelings of safety and security.

Residents

Residents in each of the research sites were invited to participate in a focus group to discuss the Officer Next Door program, and their feelings of safety and security in their neighbourhoods. While 470 residents were invited, only 20 people attended one of the seven scheduled focus groups in the nine research sites.⁴ As such, the 118 returned surveys constitute the primary basis for the analysis of residents' knowledge and understanding of the OND program and the major crime and anti-social behaviour issues experienced by Housing Tasmania residents.

In addition to the data extracted during this project, limited pre-existing data also informs the issues raised by overall feelings of safety and security. Since 1998, the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) have conducted National Social Housing Surveys (NSHS) to examine residents' overall satisfaction with their tenancies, including residents' rating of safety and security in their homes and neighbourhoods. As can be seen in Figure 9, Tasmanian respondents to the four AIHW surveys between 2001 and 2007 surveys, rated safety and security as a significant issue to their housing. Importantly, over seventy percent of these respondents believed that their needs in relation to safety and security had been met. However, in relation to their neighbourhoods—rather than their homes—respondents rated safety and security marginally lower, and felt that their needs in relation to safety and security had not been met as well.

Figure 9: National Social Housing Survey: Rating of Safety and Security Issues (Tasmanian Responses 2001-2007) (AIHW, 2008)



Residents' Survey

One hundred and eighteen people responded to the OND survey on feelings of safety in relation to a range of individual, social and institutional factors, and selected crime and anti-social behaviour. While the median age of residents in the nine research sites is 31, approximately 70% of respondents of this survey were over the age of 40. As such, the data is skewed in favour of older residents' understanding of the issues. This is especially problematic in relation to the data from Clarendon Vale, Gagebrook and Rocherlea where the median age of residents is under 26 years. However, it is more representative of residents living in Devonport and Ulverstone, where the median age is approximately 40 years—though, there are no survey responses from Ulverstone residents. Further, the data is also skewed based on sex. While only 53 percent of residents in the nine research sites are women, over seventy percent of respondents in this research are women. Finally, the responses are skewed in favour of the South-East region. This is a result of the greater number of surveys distributed in this region, however, even when this is taken into account, a larger percent of the respondents were returned from the South-East—75% in total. As such, results generated from all three North-West research sites, and Rocherlea much be read with a critical eye to the number of responses. With so few returned surveys from these research sites, the results are much more easily skewed to particular perspectives on the issues.

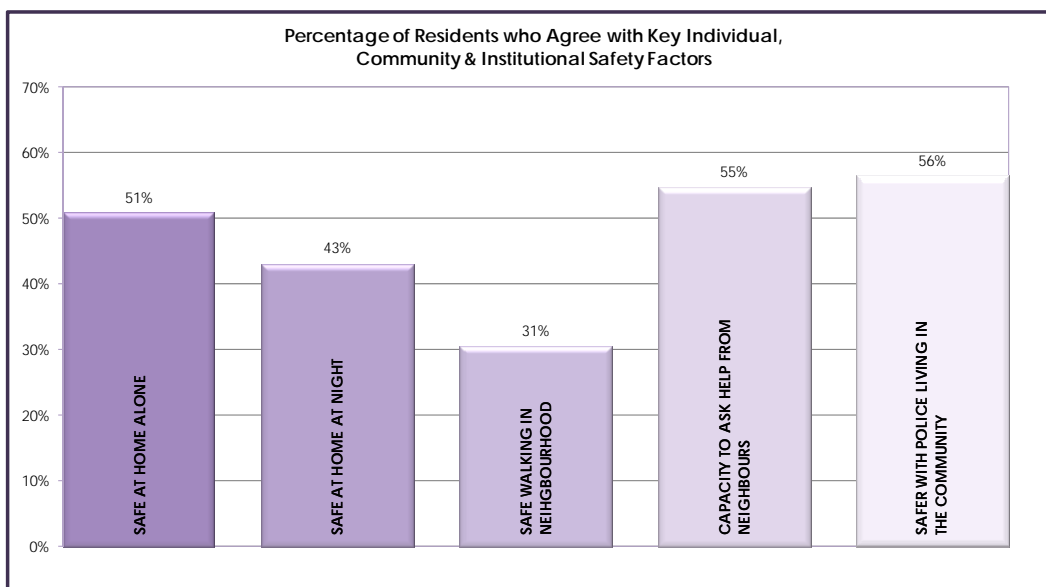
Levels of Safety in Relation to Key Individual, Social & Institutional Factors

As can be seen in Appendix Three, residents were asked to respond to two sets of safety and security issues. In the first part of the survey, respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with a series of questions, three of which have been asked in a variety of other fear of crime studies. In particular, residents were asked if they feel safe:

- at home alone
- at home at night
- walking in the neighbourhood

In *Crime and Safety Australia* (ABS 2005, pp-27-28), it is reported that 82% of respondents felt safe at home alone during the day, and that 72% felt safe at home at night. Further, in Grabosky's analysis of fear of crime in Australia, it was found that 69% of Australian respondents felt safe out alone at night (1995, p2). As can be seen below, the respondents to the OND Residents' Survey experienced much lower levels of safety across all three measures.

Figure 10: Percentage of Residents who Agree with Key Individual, Community & Institutional Safety Factors



Fifty-one percent of survey respondents felt safe in their homes alone. However, there are clear differences in feelings of safety between suburbs. While, more than two thirds of the respondents from East Devonport, Gagebrook and Rokeby felt safe at home alone, respondents from other suburbs were more likely to be either neutral about the statement, or felt unsafe in their homes when alone.

Importantly, there was no significant difference between men or women; however, as can be seen in the Table 16 (in Appendix Two), respondents under the age of 35 and over the age of 60 felt least safe in their home when alone. When age and sex are both correlated to feelings of safety in the home alone, it becomes clear that the three groups most likely to feel unsafe are women under the age of 35, and men and women over the age of 60.

Only 40% of respondents felt safe in their homes at night. However, as with the previous measure of safety, this varies between suburbs with respondents from East Devonport and Rokeby more likely to feel safe in their homes at night, and respondents from Ravenswood and Bridgewater least likely to feel safe. Contrary to expectations, women were more likely to feel safe in their homes at night than men. However, when correlated with age, it was found that men and women under the age of 35 felt least safe in their homes at night.

Less than a third of the respondents felt safe walking around their neighbourhoods. While respondents living in Bridgewater and Rokeby felt safest, Clarendon Vale, Gagebrook and Ravenswood respondents felt least safe. Unlike the previous measure of safety, male respondents felt marginally safer when walking around their neighbourhoods. Further, in contrast to the two previous measures, younger respondents were more likely to feel safe, whilst older women felt the least safe walking through their neighbourhoods.

Although 49% of residents felt unsafe in their own home when alone, 60% felt unsafe at night, and two-thirds felt unsafe walking around their neighbourhoods, importantly, 23% of respondents not only indicated that they felt safe across these three criteria, they also included additional comments to this effect. This sense of safety was not limited to those residents living in suburbs with lower crime rates (such as Devonport, Shorewell Park, Ulverstone and Ravenswood). For example:

'The area I live in feels very safe and I'm very happy to be where I am. I've never had much trouble in 19 years' (Female, 36-60 years, Bridgewater).

'I believe that my community is fairly safe' (Female, under 35 years, Clarendon Vale).

'I have lived in my unit since 2000. my neighbours have been here long term on either side of me and we get on well. It is a quiet cul-de-sac and I feel comfortable and safe' (Male, 36-60 years, Rokeby).

'I feel very secure in my community. The community is very supportive particularly in times of disaster (ie death)' (Female, 36-60 years, Clarendon Vale).

However, many respondents who felt safe in their neighbourhood made caveats on their statements. While they felt safe in the immediate vicinity of the homes, they had reservations about other areas of their neighbourhood, or felt unsafe around one or two residents in their community. For example:

'This street is good to live in but others around here don't live like us honest working people and things get rough when they go off but on the whole and having had only one burglary in 13 years, I consider myself lucky' (Female, 36-60 years, Clarendon Vale)

'We feel safe enough in our own home but there are a few undesirables living about us. I feel Housing Tasmania put a lot of criminals in this area. There is also a lot of glass, rubbish and needles laying about and around the school oval and kids playground' (Female, 60+ years, Clarendon Vale)

In addition to the three standard safety and security questions, residents were asked three additional questions tied to the aims and objectives of this research projects. These questions were:

- I feel I could ask my neighbours for help when I feel unsafe
- I feel safer by having a police officer living in my community
- I feel that Housing Tasmania needs to do more to make my community safe

Over half the respondents felt they could ask their neighbours for help. Of the survey respondents, those living in Gagebrook, Ravenswood and East Devonport felt most able to call on neighbours for help, whilst those living in Rokeby and Bridgewater felt least able to call on their neighbours for help. Importantly, those in Clarendon Vale, Rocherlea and Gagebrook were most undecided about their capacity to call on help from neighbours. When these data are considered in light of the qualitative comments provided by respondents, the most likely reason for this high rate of neutrality on the statement is the high turnover of residents in these suburbs, combined with the mix of short and long-term residents. Some residents indicated that they could call on the help on one or two neighbours, but felt unsafe about approaching their other neighbours. As to be expected, older residents were most likely to be able to call on the help of neighbours. Unexpectedly, there were no significant gender differences in responses; however,

when correlated with both age and sex, it was found that women between the ages of 36 and 60 were more likely to be able to call on the help of neighbours.

Over half the respondents felt safer for having a police officer living in the community. While respondents living in Bridgewater, Ravenswood and East Devonport reported highest levels of agreement with this statement, those living in Rocherlea and Gagebrook were less likely to report feeling safer for having a police officer living in the community. As with many of the measures of safety, there were no significant gender differences. However, respondents over the age of 60 were more likely to indicate that their sense of safety is increased by police officers living in their communities. Respondents between the ages of 36 and 60 were mostly likely to disagree with the statement.

Almost three quarters of the respondents felt that Housing Tasmania needed to do more to improve safety in their community. Respondents living in Clarendon Vale, Ravenswood and East Devonport reported the highest levels of agreement with this statement. Importantly, approximately 15% were neutral on this topic, with respondents living in Bridgewater, Ravenswood, Rocherlea and Rokeby reporting the highest levels of neutrality. Several people stated that it was not Housing Tasmania's responsibility to create safer communities. However, men and younger people were slightly more likely to agree with the statement that Housing Tasmania needed to do more to make the community safer. When considered in light of both age and sex, it was found that support for the statement decreased with age, with women over the age of 60 least likely to believe that Housing Tasmania is responsible for the safety of communities.

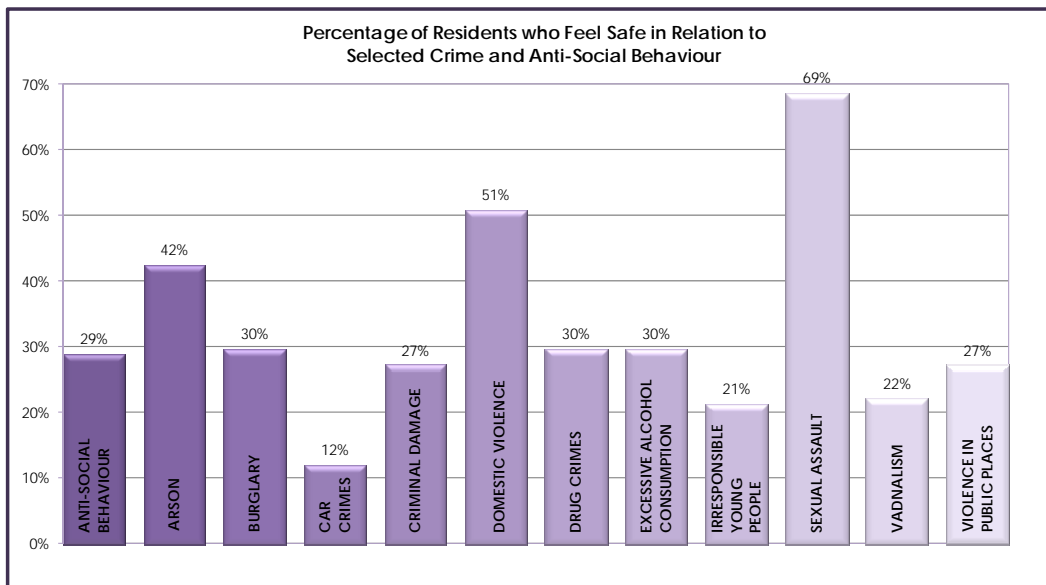
Levels of Safety in Relation to Selected Crime & Anti-Social Behaviour

In the second part of the survey, residents were asked to rate their feeling of safety in relation to selected crime and anti-social behaviour. As with the first part of the survey, these criminal and anti-social behaviours have been used in a variety of crime research instruments, including the ABS' *Crime and Safety, Australia* (2005). In the ABS (2005, p29) research, respondents were most concerned about dangerous or noisy driving (with 40% perceiving this as a problem), house burglaries (33%) and vandalism (25%). As can be seen in this following section, these figures are much lower than those reported by respondents in the OND research.

Approximately, 70% of OND respondents rated feeling unsafe about anti-social behaviour, burglary, criminal damage, drug crimes, excessive alcohol

consumption and violence in public places. This contrast with arson, domestic violence and sexual assault, of which respondents reported feeling safer, particularly in relation to the last of these. However, while thirty-one percent of respondents in the OND research reported being unsafe in relation to sexual assault, this is still much higher than reported in the ABS' *Crime and Safety, Australia*, which found only 2.1% of respondents concerned about this criminal behaviour. What stands out in the OND research is the relatively higher levels of concern about car crimes (including hooning and dangerous driving), irresponsible young people and vandalism. While 40% of ABS respondents were concerned about car crimes such as dangerous driving, 88% of OND respondents felt unsafe. However, a starker picture emerges when the ABS and OND results on levels of concern about irresponsible young people and vandalism are compared. While only 15% of ABS respondents were worried about young people, four times as many OND respondents felt unsafe (79%). Equally, only 25% of ABS respondents were concerned about vandalism, while three times as many OND respondents felt unsafe (78%).

Figure 11: Percentage of Residents who Feel Safe in Relation to Selected Crime & Anti-Social Behaviour



As can be seen in Figure 11, seventy percent of respondents felt unsafe due to anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhoods. Despite experiencing low crime rates, residents of Rokeby and Ravenswood rated anti-social behaviour higher than residents in suburbs with higher crime rates such as Bridgewater, Gagebrook, Clarendon Vale and Rocherlea. This may be attributable to a normalisation process in these latter suburbs, where residents become accustomed to anti-social behaviour. However, contrary to expectations, male respondents and

younger respondents reported feeling unsafe about this behaviour—perhaps because they are the targets of this type of behaviour.

Perhaps as a result of personal experience, residents of Ravenswood and Gagebrook reported feeling lower levels of safety in relation to arson than respondents from other research sites. While 55% of all respondents reported feeling unsafe about arson, 80% of respondents from Ravenswood, and 67% of respondents from Gagebrook were concerned about this criminal behaviour. However, the most disturbing response on arson came from a Clarendon Vale respondent, who stated:

'We can't leave our house alone at any time and never get to go out as a family since I've lived here 'cause the neighbours have threatened to burn us out' (Female, under 35 years, Clarendon Vale).

As with anti-social behaviour, male respondents were more concerned about arson than female respondents.

Burglaries alarmed around two-thirds of the respondents to the OND survey; however, this criminal behaviour led respondents from Bridgewater and Ravenswood to rate their safety much lower than the average. While men were slightly more concerned than women, when age is also factored into the equation, the respondents most worried about burglaries were women under the age of 36. Twice as many OND respondents were worried about burglaries than respondents to the *ABS Crime and Safety, Australia* research (ABS 2005, p29).

Of all the criminal and anti-social behaviours identified in the OND survey, respondents reported that they were most concerned about car crimes, especially hooning. Over 88% of respondents felt unsafe about car crimes in their neighbourhoods. This was especially the case in Bridgewater, Clarendon Vale, Gagebrook and Rocherlea. All four suburbs have a low median age of residents, which may be a contributing factor to higher levels of dangerous driving in these neighbourhoods. Car crimes were repeatedly raised in the qualitative statements provided by respondents, especially those living in Clarendon Vale:

'Clarendon Vale has a problem with hooning... One of the other units had a car dumped and set fire to in its front yard' (Female, under 35 years, Clarendon Vale)

'Worried about a car crashing into my house from hoons' (Male, 36-60 years, Clarendon Vale)

'I feel good except i worry about the hoons around my street as they can be fast, also the young hoons on a motorbike with no helmet'
(Male, under 35 years, Devonport)

'Having a police officer living next door does not seem to make any difference to the continual burnouts, motor cycles (unreg and no helmets) and speeding in [the street]' (Male, over 60 years, Bridgewater)

Importantly, while men were more likely than women to be concerned about this behaviour, men under the age of 36 were least concerned of all the groups to respond to the survey.

Sexual assault and domestic violence were the two criminal behaviours that least concerned the respondents to the OND survey despite the fact that more women than men responded to this survey. Somewhat surprisingly, in the case of sexual assault, the gender differences in levels of safety were marginal. This is perhaps because male respondents were not speaking about their own levels of safety; rather, they were talking about their fears for women in their lives or communities. Residents of Ravenswood and Gagebrook shared an increased level of concern for both sexual assault and domestic violence. Female residents under the age of 35 felt least safe in relation to both criminal behaviours. Despite reporting higher levels of safety than all other criminal and anti-social behaviours, OND respondents were much more concerned than respondents to the ABS research about sexual assault and domestic violence (31% v 2.1%, and 49% v 8.7% respectively).

Despite drug and excessive alcohol use rating on par with most of the issues identified in the OND survey, these criminal and anti-social behaviours—along with hooning—were repeatedly raised in respondents' qualitative statements:

'Housing should crack down on drug dealers. They know where they are in Clarendon Vale. There is all sorts pulling up for drugs. They park across people's drive, reverse back and in general make the street involved unsafe' (Female, 36-60 years, Clarendon Vale)

'There are too many drug famil[ies]. Tenants should be screened before housing is given' (Male, over 60 years, Rokeby)

'Stress if you ask people to turn music down as a lot on drink and drugs and they tell you to move or get inside or they will do this and that to you... Where I am was great [un]til housing put one couple in our quiet spot now we live here worried when they drink and take

drugs as they mouth things outside and play loud music... Yet we don't do anything about it because we have to live here and don't want trouble' (Female, 36-60 years, Rokeby)

'Problems in the area (or particular parts of the area) stem largely from the 10-16 year olds, male and female, and aggressive males in their late 20s-30s when drinking alcohol' (Female, 36-60 years, Clarendon Vale)

Approximately, two-thirds of respondents indicated that drug and excessive alcohol use led them to feel unsafe in their neighbourhoods. However, importantly, male respondents were more likely to feel unsafe than female respondents. Although, when the data is correlated with both age and sex, the respondents to report feeling least safe about these anti-social and criminal behaviours were women under the age of 35, and men under the age of 60.

While not constituting a criminal act, many respondents identified irresponsible young people 'running riot' in their neighbourhoods as a significant issue in relation to their feelings of safety. This was especially the case for male respondents over the age of 36 and female respondents under the age of 35. In contrast to the qualitative statements provided in the OND survey, residents from Bridgewater, Rocherlea and Clarendon Vale reported high levels of safety in relation to irresponsible young people or violence and/or threats of violence in public places. However, Ravenswood respondents rated both behaviours as matter of concern. Importantly, the OND respondents reported that these criminal/anti-social behaviours were more of a problem than ABS respondents—79% compared to 15% (ABS, 2005, p29).

While residents in the nine OND research sites consistently reported similar criminal and anti-social behaviour issues in their communities, many respondents to the Residents' Survey indicated that they would feel safer—despite the higher levels of criminal and anti-social behaviour—if they felt that their own homes were more secure. In particular, respondents highlighted the need for security screens for their front doors and some windows (the latter, to allow for air circulation during the summer months), and more secure fencing around their properties. In their qualitative statements, respondents also consistently raised issues around anti-social—rather than criminal—behaviour. This may indicate that residents needed 'quality of life' issues addressed before they may be empowered to begin addressing the criminal issues, including reporting these matters to Officers Next Door or the police directly.

Housing Tasmania

In order to contextualise the issues raised by Housing Tasmania residents, a series of interviews were undertaken with Area Managers, Unit Managers, Team Leaders and Tenancy Officers in each of the nine research sites. These semi-structured interviews were primarily designed to understand Housing Tasmania officers' understanding of the aims and objectives of the program, their expectations of Officers Next Door, the primary achievements of the program, and recommendations on how to strengthen the outcomes. Seventeen Housing Tasmania officers were interviewed, concurrently with the residents' focus groups and interviews with Tasmania Police in each of the regions. In this part of the report, these factors are discussed under the framework of:

- Development, management and integration of the OND program
- Operational conditions of the program, including monitoring and liaison mechanisms, and property adjustments
- Strategies for enhancing the program

Development and Oversight of the OND Program

The success of any community policing intervention is dependent upon stakeholders' knowledge of the intervention, including the conditions for its establishment, development and management. This is especially important at the level of Area Managers. While two Area Managers and several Housing Officers interviewed for this research were part of the initial roll-out of the program—and thus, were cognisant of the original conditions for its development—many Housing Tasmania officers 'stumbled' across the program as part of their mainstream duties.

Despite a lack of induction to the program, most of the interviewees had a broad understanding of the aims and objectives of the program. In particular, respondents identified six key objectives:

1. Visible police presence in 'at-risk' communities and neighbourhoods, including informal uniformed presence such as driving/walking/jogging around the neighbourhood and role-modelling

'It's about actually demonstrating what living in a community should be like. This is how you should behave. Talking to kids; being in the neighbourhood; chatting with people; giving them advice on how to actually resolve issues rather than throwing the rocks at the roof' (Housing Tasmania, North)

'...it's walking their dogs in the community. It's around having a chat to your next door neighbour' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

2. Management of social conditions outside the purview of Tasmania Police or Housing Tasmania, such as anti-social behaviour

'Initially it was a way of trying to calm the anti-social problems down, bring the community back to normality' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

3. Informal contact point for residents encountering criminal/anti-social behaviour

'People can talk to police about their concerns. Housing can alert the OND to mingle and introduce themselves to clients, and to keep an eye on property and persons at risk' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

'...the increased police presence within the area which would make the community, the residents, feel safer' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

4. Informal communication network between Housing Tasmania, Tasmania Police and Housing Tasmania residents

'it builds up that relationship between the police, Housing Tasmania and the tenants. So you've got that three-way thing working and I think it works very, very well' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

5. Monitoring of the problematic parts of communities

'They'd ...have the knowledge of what's happening in the neighbourhood. They have ears and eyes to see what's happening. Targeted the areas where maybe they believed there were issues. I think that's important. There's no point in putting a police house in a street where there's no issues' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

'The only understanding I have is that they're there to keep an eye on the most serious part or serious streets in our neighbourhood' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

'...being able to stabilise a small section of Housing Tasmania area or street or whatever where we've got some criminal activity happening or anti-social behaviour' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

6. Local police involvement in community policing initiatives

'...they were highly encouraged to be involved in one program, whether it was a school Adopt-a-Cop or Neighbourhood Watch or things like that' (Housing Tasmania, North)

However, respondents involved in the early stages of the program identified a policy drift with the Officer Next Door program. One Area Manager believed that in the first instance, the OND program aimed to protect Housing Tasmania properties from arson and vandalism, and to manage difficult clients. Without clear oversight mechanisms from either Housing Tasmania or Tasmania Police, this original goal shifted, consolidating eventually under the management of Inspector Waterhouse to a community policing initiative that sought to reduce clients' fear of crime and capacity to self-manage anti-social behaviour. This led, in some cases, to a reduction in the use of the program to achieve Housing Tasmania objectives, and, in turn, scaling down the placement of ONDs in some

communities. Some Housing Tasmania workers were also concerned about the cross-purposes that arise out of some anti-social behaviour encountered by both Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police.

'We're tenancy, we manage rent accounts, we liaise and negotiate with neighbourhood issues but ...police crime, that's their area so I think they probably have lots of valuable information that we could utilise' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

'Feel the roles are too different, we work under Tenancy Act, police have different legislation. It takes a lot to remove a tenant because of crime, but not for rent default' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

'we get a lot of calls ...they say to us, 'we phoned the police and the police told us to phone Housing' ...and you say, 'but that's not our responsibility. There is nothing that we can do' ...sometimes staff here probably say to people when they phone about an issue, 'phone the police' because sometimes it's easier to refer someone elsewhere' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

'The new complaints mechanism but we have restrictions on this. I feel that sometimes police and housing are actually working against each other especially in neighbourhood disputes' (Housing Tasmania, North)

Further, respondents talked about a range of strategies employed by the department to remedy some of the anti-social and/or criminal behaviours—many of which that had clear connections with the work of Tasmania Police's community policing unit—yet, Officers Next Door were not involved or notified about these strategies.

'Housing Tasmania instigated the Neighbourhood Watch. It was the Tenancy Officers ...that actually did the door knock to get all the signatures and then the police came on board' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

'...we had an Information Day and we held that at the Elderly Citizens Club. We ...the police attended, the fire brigade attended and Jackson's, the locksmith, attended and the community nurses, so it was sort of like an educational thing' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

'...the local development team did a lot of that sort of work... things like safety, around even fire, personal safety around fire, that sort of

thing... just small things where people need to have security measures in place because of the fear ...As a program we've actually been putting window locks on everything... But also, like where there's a sliding window, small things like teaching to put some dowel – you know, it's just little common sense things that our Tenancy Officers do on a day-to-day basis with individuals' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

On the other hand, the policy drift towards community policing objectives—rather than tenancy management objectives—was constructed as a positive development; especially, inasmuch as the program became more professional (including the development of performance measures; albeit, self-reported measures). Other Housing Tasmania officers indicated that as the program developed, they increasingly drew upon the contributions of some ONDs, and sought to integrate the goals of the OND program into wider Housing Tasmania objectives.

'I think it fits really comfortably into the framework that we work within now. In that whole broader community responsibility, agency responsibility. We've always had a good relationship in each of our areas, particularly with police... So I see it meshes in just really, really well now' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

This increased integration is not just at the level of policy and frameworks. Respondents also talked about the increased integration—and possibilities for integration—at the level of operation:

'The police, if they've got a warrant, can actually ring us and get a master key... They usually get it from me or from the area manager. So they can go in with the least amount of fuss and without damage to our property and whatever else. If there's an emergency, if someone's concerned and they rang the police, we can actually meet police on site... the other thing that we do is when we're going to do inspections and we know the client's a bit difficult or dangerous history, we can actually ring and say to the police, 'Can we have the police on site to keep the peace?' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

'...tenants are often unwilling to report anti-social issues through retribution - nothing is ever done and therefore we can't take any action. So, if we're aware of it through the Officer Next Door program ...we can sit down and resolve it ...by working together rather than as individuals ...it means that Housing is more aware of the situation and then can think outside the square around how to

keep that confidentiality and yet at the same time do something within our legislative ability to make some change' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

The integration of the OND program across policy and operational frameworks appears to be remedying some of the crime and safety issues raised by Housing Tasmania respondents. However, a serious overall management issue that arose through both the residents' surveys and interviews with Housing Tasmania officers was the lack of support for the program from residents. While some Housing Tasmania respondents had received positive feedback from residents, this was a minority perspective. The predominant response from residents to Housing Tasmania officers was a lack of knowledge about the existence of ONDs, let alone, successful intervention by ONDs. With the exception of a localised effect on some residents' sense of safety—largely due to the personal characteristics of the Officer Next Door—Housing Tasmania respondents were concerned about the lack of 'brand recognition', and understanding about the limitations imposed on off-duty officers. Both residents and Housing Tasmania officers were also troubled by the temporal limitations on the program. While placement of an OND may temporarily reduce anti-social behaviour, if the Officer Next Door resigns from the program and the OND property is returned to general allocation, residents reported that crime and safety issues return.

Operational Conditions of the Program

As part of their tenancy agreement with Housing Tasmania and their service agreement with Tasmania Police, all Officers Next Door must provide a bi-annual report of their activities (a summary of these reports is provided in the next section). These reports provide Tenancy Officers and Area Managers with an outline of the major issues faced by ONDs over the previous six months. However, some of the Housing Tasmania respondents indicated that these reports were insufficient to their tenancy management needs as the information often came too late for time-sensitive interventions with difficult clients. Further, respondents indicated that more could be extracted from these reports if they were integrated into tenancy meetings. Although, one respondent was concerned about how identifiable information—such as that provided in some OND reports—could lead to inappropriate, non-professional communication and stereotyping of specific tenants.

In addition to the formal reports provided by ONDs, there is an expectation that ONDs liaise with Housing Tasmania officers—whether Tenancy Officers and/or

Area Managers—and Tasmania Police District Community Policing Officers. Unlike the formal reporting mechanism, respondents indicated that liaison strategies are ad-hoc, and largely directed by the commitment of ONDs, the needs of Housing Tasmania and/or Tasmania Police, and the convergence of concern on the part of all stakeholders around specific crime and safety issues. According to one respondent:

'I... personally doubt that the person looking after that part of the suburb now, even knows that she [the OND] exists... Or even met her'
(Housing Tasmania, North)

In large part, liaison occurred when Inspector Waterhouse 'rattles the cage' or when specific events led to a meeting between ONDs and Housing Tasmania staff. Sometimes this was simply a matter of a Tenancy Officer dropping into an OND property when visiting other tenants, or an OND dropping into the Housing Tasmania office when in the area. However, as with policy drift, liaison was not intended to operate on an ad-hoc basis; it simply 'dropped off the radar' (Housing Tasmania, North). In an earlier era of OND, liaison was integrated into tenancy management:

'we had a folder set up; Officer Next Door... there was a guy that used to do it ...he used to attend meetings. And we would ... sit with him and we'd go through the book and this was the expectation, and this is, if you like, this was the agreement between the police and Housing' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

'we need to actually put a greater emphasis on ...having that contact on a more regular basis between the tenancy officer within that area and the officer for that area' (Housing Tasmania, North-West)

Several respondents believed that the OND program would better meet the overall objectives if liaison was once again formalised and integrated into the operation of tenancy management and coordination of Housing Tasmania responses to anti-social behaviour.

The final operational condition dictating the efficacy of the OND program is the environmental modifications undertaken—such as the provision of additional security measures—to protect ONDs from unintended consequences such as being a target of residents' anti-social behaviour. When the program was initially implemented, these modifications were considered essential, however, over time, as with the policy and reporting drift, the measures have become ad-hoc. Perhaps due to the lack of induction to the program, new ONDs are unaware of

the original agreement between Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police about the provision of the security measures. However, importantly, when modifications are requested by ONDs, Housing Tasmania is normally willing to make whatever adjustments are necessary. This willingness to modify properties may be fundamental to the long-term success of the OND program if Housing Tasmania wishes to expand the program, and place officers in more 'at-risk' areas.

However, problems may arise with these modifications. Not only do the modifications create a distinction between OND and mainstream Housing Tasmania properties—and thus, create a sense of deserving and undeserving Housing Tasmania clients—the significant financial investment in these properties means that these will remain OND properties. If the OND program is to remedy anti-social behaviour—and this anti-social behaviour shifts depending on the client composition of neighbourhoods—then officers need to be able to be placed in different places over time. Upgrading OND properties may inadvertently increase the standard of security for all residents if ONDs are constantly moved throughout the suburb to target shifting patterns of anti-social behaviour. However, it will be costly for Housing Tasmania.

Strategies for Enhancing the Program

Reassurance policing strategies such as the Officer Next Door program elicit strong reactions from stakeholders, not least because some perceive community interventions aimed at quality of life issues—rather than explicit crime reduction—as taking resources away from the 'frontline'. Respondents in this research do not differ from the recorded research in this field. While some Housing Tasmania officers fully supported the goals of the OND program, others were more sceptical about what it could achieve. However, of these latter respondents, caveats were often attached to their comments. For example:

'I don't know how much impact it's had on reduction of crime. However, I would say that's probably minimal... But what it's actually done is it's actually provided a sense of security for other people who live nearby ...And it does tend to stabilise the areas down' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

'Not 100 percent, no. No, definitely not. I guess it depends on the officer... I think it really depends on how active that person wants to be' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

Despite these negative perceptions about reassurance policing, there appeared to be a great deal of good will in relation to the stated goals of Officer Next Door. Respondents believed that even if achievements were localised and/or short-term, these kinds of strategies helped communities—sometimes, only individuals—to feel more confident about reclaiming their neighbourhoods. This increased social capital influences not only crime and safety issues, but also feeds into larger urban renewal. So while appearing to have a minor effect on the immediate anti-social behaviour or crime problems, many Housing Tasmania officers believed that the OND program was part of an intricate collection of community building strategies that will ‘pay-off’ in the longer term; years after individual ONDs, have influenced the community, or residents have been influenced by the program.

Few Housing Tasmania respondents believed that the program should be folded. Even these few respondents believed that if significant changes could be made to the selection of ONDs, the integration of OND activities into wider Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police strategies, and the assessment of ONDs’ involvement in the community, that the program could be justified in terms of financial and human resources allocated. At senior management level, Area Managers and Unit Managers were divided over their commitment to the program. While North-West and South-East Managers believed that the program continued—or could continue—to solve some of the tenancy management issues that arise in broadacre estates, in the North region, the program had already been scaled back to the bare minimum. In the North, some managers believed that the financial resources allocated to the OND program could be better spent on housing additional families, and that the duties of crime management should be placed firmly back in the hands of Tasmania Police—in particular, in the provision of additional visible foot or bike patrols.

When asked about their suggestions about enhancing the OND program, Housing Tasmania respondents focussed their attentions on two areas: communication strategies, and the selection of ONDs and OND properties. The majority of respondents believed that the most significant factor in developing the program was a consistent communication strategy—between and within ONDs, Housing Tasmania (both Tenancy Officers and Senior Management), Tasmania Police and residents. Several respondents were concerned that recent changes in staffing and staff resourcing, had created a gap in the knowledge of the program and the expectations of ONDs. It was suggested that in addition to an induction program for ONDs, that Housing Tasmania develops a briefing program for Tenancy Officers responsible for neighbourhoods that

include OND properties, and that the OND program becomes an agenda item for all tenancy meetings.

'I think definitely better communication between the officers and the appropriate persons within housing. And I think that's important because otherwise you're feeding information ad-hoc all over the place and there isn't a central decision-making ability around actions that you can take... Re-training, refreshing why the program is there and what it's best used for with all new staff as they come through so it has to be built into that whole induction process. And it built into a Housing policy which is an active policy rather than a partnership agreement which gets buried in [the] files and you never find it again'
(Housing Tasmania, South-East)

Other respondents suggested that more work needed to be done in relation to residents' knowledge and understanding of the program, especially residents' expectations about what ONDs could and could not do in their roles. Respondents also recommended that community development on the issues of crime and safety needed to be focussed on solutions rather than a constant process of identifying problems, and that Housing Tasmania facilitate the involvement of 'good citizens' rather than focus on the 'troublemakers'.

'[we're] too busy dealing with the arrears and the anti-social behaviour, the abandoned properties ...to actually deal with the good people' (Housing Tasmania, North)

There was also a suggestion that an advisory board is created in each of the OND regions that would ensure that:

'activity reports are not just words on paper. There's evidence that there's a real connection there and there's some value in it. Maybe there's a community advisory body or something that... maybe the Neighbourhood Watch [and Neighbourhood Houses] has a greater role in that' (Housing Tasmania, North)

Several respondents also believed that creating better liaison mechanisms—between all stakeholders—would lead to more timely notification of issues, and thus, intervention in neighbourhood issues before they escalate to a level requiring formal police involvement.

Finally, one respondent believed that the Officer Next Door program was a unique success story that deserved to be showcased to the community, and beyond the community:

'it would be nice to [be able to] market this as a positive story in our communities. It would be really good to be able to say, actually, we've got a formalised relationship. This is what the relationship actually looks like. And being able to market it, not only to our tenants but our communities and to the service providers as being seen as something that we're doing proactively in order to enhance people's capacity to actually live in those communities' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

The other set of major recommendations for enhancing the OND program related to the selection of OND properties and Officers Next Door. In particular, several Housing Tasmania respondents were concerned about the tendency for OND properties to be located to suit the needs of prospective ONDs rather than the need for managing anti-social behaviour in specific sections of communities. Respondents also believed that more needed to be done to review where and when OND properties are retained:

'Like, we have these properties and police officers go in and out, in and out and we just keep them. And the issues are no longer there, where the houses are and so that should be reviewed and looked at. Okay. We don't have a problem in this area any more. Maybe we should have a house here' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

It was also suggested that this selection of properties and officers needed to be tied to a performance framework; when there appeared to be no clear changes to anti-social behaviour, respondents believed that the placement of the OND property and/or Officer Next Door should be reviewed.

With the exception of a more effective communication strategy, the most cited recommendation provided by Housing Tasmania respondents related to the selection of the 'right person for the job'. Rather than accepting candidates for the OND program through self-selection, the majority of respondents believed that the program would be enhanced by a more formal selection procedure that took into account not only candidates commitment and skills in community policing, but also the specific community policing requirements of each region. Further, respondents also voiced a wish that Housing Tasmania personnel were involved in this selection process, and that they were given the opportunity to undertake an exit interview with those officers who chose to withdraw from the program.

In addition to general community policing skills, respondents indicated that there were personal attributes that better suited the job of an Officer Next Door:

'...probably not families because we're putting children in a situation that's pretty volatile anyhow. I suppose it doesn't matter whether it's female, whether it's male, as long as they're proactive. They're seen and they're seen to be strong role models in that community. And that they take the job on seriously and it's not just they'd have cheap rent' (Housing Tasmania, South-East)

Further, respondents also suggested that some police officers would never be able to fulfil the role of an Officer Next Door due to their position within Tasmania Police. To facilitate role modelling on good citizenship and participation in the community, it was recommended that ONDs are not plain clothes or undercover officers; rather, respondents preferred to have officers who were general duties officers who had an extensive experience in working with 'at risk' communities. Thus, Housing Tasmania respondents were also sceptical about the ability of new recruits being able to fulfil the role of an Officer Next Door given their limited engagement with these communities. This is despite the higher likelihood of newer officers having a much better understanding and commitment to community policing principles.

With the exception of a few senior Housing Tasmania managers, an overwhelming majority of Housing Tasmania interviewees fully supported the aims and objectives of the Officer Next Door program. Many believed that the program plays an important, additional role in managing difficult Housing Tasmania clients, and assisting others to feel more capable of taking action in relation to criminal and anti-social behaviour themselves. Yet, in spite of this support for the program, most respondents believed that strategic change is essential, especially in relation to the recruitment and retention of ONDs, and the integration of the program across Housing Tasmania initiatives. Increased oversight at the local level—from both Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police, and including the participation of residents in the development of the program—was perceived to be fundamental to the long-term success of the program.

Tasmania Police

As with Housing Tasmania respondents, semi-structured interviews were undertaken with Tasmania Police officers—both Senior Officers from each of the districts, and past and present Officers Next Door. All interviews included base questions relating to the overall aims and objectives of the program, the ideal characteristics of Officers Next Door, and suggestions on how the program could be enhanced. However, Senior Officers were also asked to discuss how the OND program was—or could be—integrated into wider policing strategies, and the operational risks associated with the duties of ONDs and the management of the program. On the other hand, ONDs were asked to discuss the work they undertook as ONDs, the major issues raised within their communities, the operational demands of the position, the resources provided to ONDs to assist them in their roles and the advantages/disadvantages of being an OND. As with the Housing Tasmania interviews, the issues raised in the interviews with Tasmania Police Officers can be grouped around three major categories:

- Aims and objectives of the OND program, and expectations of ONDs
- Operational conditions of the program, including officers' reasons for participating
- Suggestions for enhancing the program

In addition to these interviews, the police perspective on the Officer Next Door program has also been contextualised by a quantitative analysis of the OND reports submitted from January 2005 to February 2008. This data set includes 77 reports from the nine OND research sites. Despite changes to the reporting instrument, these data provide an insight into the conditions of OND tenancies, including the reported contributions ONDs have made to community based initiatives. Before turning to a critical discussion of Tasmania Police Officers' understanding of the OND program, the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the OND Reports will be provided. These reports offer a unique perspective on the program, and the reported experiences of criminal and anti-social behaviour.

OND Reports

In the addition to the pre-existing crime data provided by Corporate Review Services, Tasmania Police also provided copies of the Officers Next Door Reports. These report forms were implemented in the early stages of the OND program in order for both Tasmania Police and Housing Tasmania to monitor ONDs work in

their communities. Completed forms are required every six months of an ONDs' tenure in a Housing Tasmania property. Over the ten-year period of operation, the OND report form has changed three times to reflect the changing priorities for monitoring the program. In particular, questions were added in later years to monitor the number of uniformed officers involved in the program, and whether an OND property was strategic to either Housing Tasmania or Tasmania Police operations (such as placement next to problematic clients, or a location known to have a significant number of crime reports). While these report forms offer a snapshot of ONDs' work in their communities, the six-month delay in providing this information to stakeholders was perceived—by both ONDs and Housing Tasmania officers—as counter-productive to a speedy response to changing circumstances.

Despite the wealth of information provided in these report forms, several factors make this information difficult to use as a basis to evaluate the success—or otherwise—of the program. In the first instance, these self-completed forms are submitted six months after the recorded incidents and actions of ONDs. Some ONDs indicated in their interviews that they kept an ongoing record of their work; though, most completed the forms without a daily record from which to document their actions. This could lead to some incidents/actions being forgotten, and others, perhaps, remembered incorrectly. In a worst case, ONDs may augment their reporting to give the impression to Tasmania Police and Housing Tasmania that they are more involved in their communities. Further, once the data from 2005 to 2008 (YTD) was entered into SPSS, it is clear that there is a lack of consistency in completing these forms—with some key variables often ignored—and a lack of policy on who should complete these forms. This latter issue is particularly a problem when two or more Tasmania Police officers reside in the same OND property. Some ONDs who shared a property, shared the task of completing these forms; whilst others left the task to a single officer (usually the OND who initially moved into the property).

These inconsistencies and problems with the report form make it impossible to provide a reliable analysis of the data. However, a remedy may exist for future evaluations of the program. Some ONDs, in their interviews, suggested that the report form—and all information about the OND program—should be integrated into the existing online reporting system. This would enable all Tasmania Police officers to have access to the local information generated by ONDs, and may lead to speedy responses to the issues raised by ONDs. In an ideal circumstance, if ONDs were resourced with a Tasmania Police computer at home, they may also be able to immediately report their actions and incidents within their communities, rather than wait until the end of the six-month reporting period.

For the reporting periods between January 2005 and February 2008, there were 77 reports from 31 ONDs in the nine research sites. These reports related to 21 OND properties, some of which are no longer active. On average, the length of tenure for these 31 ONDs was 2 years; though tenure ranged from 6 months to 4.5 years. Apart from general duties, ONDs reported that they were located in a range of non-territorial policing units such as Forensic Services, RDS, SOG Coordination Unit and SCPS. Of the 13 completed report forms where ONDs were asked about their uniformed status—a question introduced in 2007—only 60% recorded that they were uniformed officers.

KEY REPORTING VARIABLE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Rent was paid in advance	29/31	94%
OND was a uniformed officer	8/13	62%
Family member was co-resident	7/31	22%
Property was inspected during reporting period by Housing Tasmania with OND present	9/21	43%
OND involved in community program during at least one reporting period	18/31	58%
OND had contact with Housing Tasmania during at least one reporting period	24/31	77%
OND had contact with Tasmania Police DCPO during at least one reporting period	20/31	65%
Average number of Incident Reports (per reporting period)	3.2	
Average number of Radio Dispatches (per reporting period)	2.4	
Average number of Infringement Notes (per reporting period)	0.8	
Average number of Informal Advice given to residents (per reporting period)	0.9	

ONDs recorded that the last four of these reporting variables consistently related to hooning and irresponsible use of trail bikes and push bikes (such as riding without helmets), vandalism, and, in the case of informal advice given to residents, domestic violence. In the next section, these criminal and anti-social behaviours raised in the OND reports, and raised in the interviews with ONDs and Senior Officers will be discussed in light of the overall success of the OND program.

Aims and Objectives of the Program

As with Housing Tasmania Managers, Senior Officers in Tasmania Police were also unclear about what were the original objectives that informed the creation of the Officer Next Door program. However, all four Sergeants acknowledged similar outcomes that identified the OND program as a successful reassurance policing initiative:

- Visible police presence
- Early intervention in anti-social behaviour, especially for young people
- An avenue for two-way communication about crime and safety, including breaking down barriers between the police and community
- A community contact point for non-criminal matters

As outlined in the literature review, a central component of all community policing initiatives is the provision of a visible police presence, whether this is increased foot patrols, or, in the case of OND, the placement of visible officers in neighbourhoods (which is similar to the principle of the *kōban* system in Japan). The respondents stated that at the very least, the OND program undoubtedly provided communities with a visible police presence that gave communities a sense that assistance was nearby if required. However, as several officers highlighted, the capacity for a visible police presence to achieve a reduction in crime and fear of crime is significantly reduced by the inappropriate appointment of plain-clothes officers, or officers who spend little time in their communities. Yet, this presence visible can be enhanced by the informal 'drop in' of on-duty colleagues in patrol cars.

'...he's tripled the number of marked police vehicles that are seen in that neighbourhood... they're doing nothing but going to his house, parking in the driveway, having a coffee. But even that, I think, is reassuring, because it provides a focal point where people who seem to have urgent problems, or not even urgent, a chronic problem, can just tap on his door' (Tasmania Police, North-West)

Tasmania Police respondents also indicated that the OND program provided an ideal mechanism for early intervention in anti-social behaviour. In addition to providing a role model of good citizenship, ONDs, unlike on-duty police officers, were able to engage with young people within the community on an informal level that minimised confrontation. One senior officer argued that as most anti-social behaviour is opportunistic, having an OND in communities offered an early intervention to short-circuit the opportunities to participate in this behaviour. Several ONDs mentioned that they were successful in transforming young

people's behaviours in relation to safe bike riding by simply talking to them about why a safety helmet was important. This early intervention work was also important in cases of neighbourhood disputes and family violence, whereby ONDs were able to provide a sounding board for victims about options for formal police intervention.

One of the most significant achievements of the OND program—identified by both ONDs and senior officers—was the increased capacity for two-way communication about crime and safety issues in the community. This outcome is consistent with most community policing research over the last twenty years, and points to one of the biggest achievements to be extracted from the OND program. Sergeants stated that informal communication between the police and community was fundamental to the larger policing project of reducing crime.

'...in terms of intel gathering I think that there definitely is a benefit in that. I mean we live and die on the nature of the intelligence we get'
(Tasmania Police, North)

Increasing the lines of communication between the community and police also assists in breaking down stereotypes about the police and about the community, and, in turn, opening up the opportunities for informal intelligence gathering and information sharing about crime and safety.

'...for me, it's all about one of my biggest challenges since I've been here at Bridgewater is actually reducing the perception of police versus the public... it's reducing the perception on both sides. Not just from the police side but also from the community side. My understanding is having police officers who live in the area which are able to provide ...more intelligence, more information but also reducing the barriers of communication between police and the public. So that's really important as well' (Tasmania Police, South-East)

Several ONDs mentioned that over time they had created strong neighbourhood relationships with individuals and families. While this was initially one-sided, with the officer providing advice on safety issues, over time particular neighbours became important informants on anti-social and criminal behaviour in the community. This was highlighted for one OND when his property was vandalised, and a neighbour was able to provide the local police with details of the suspect, who was later arrested.

The last outcome identified as a significant overall objective of the OND program was the provision of a contact point for crime prevention matters. Acting as an

informal advisor assists the community to become co-producers of their own safety. This is especially the case with proactive crime prevention advice such as the example of the use of bike helmets, but also includes information sharing about matters such as car registration, home security and the procedures for intervention orders. Of the latter, several ONDs were able to get a clearer idea about the safety of their female and younger neighbours, and empowered these victims with knowledge about their rights *and* the fact that someone knew what was happening. While this contact may not have led to criminal charges being laid, it created a strong link between the OND and the community, which, in the long term, may lead to increased flow of information about criminal matters. Much of this informal exchange of information did not occur through organised events or community projects, but happened as part of the everyday encounters ONDs had when walking through their neighbourhoods or even getting milk at the local shop.

Importantly, while these four main outcomes are perceived and constructed as the aims and objectives of the program by senior officers, when it comes to Officers Next Door, there is far less clarity about the purpose of the initiative. Some ONDs argue that this is because there was limited information provided in the promotional material; though, other officers took it upon themselves—and in one case, the partner of an OND took it upon herself—to investigate what the position entailed. With these caveats aside, it was clear from the ONDs' responses that too little information is provided at the beginning of tenure, especially in relation to expectations on involvement in the community—both level of involvement and type of involvement. Some respondents believed that there was an obligation to participate in local Neighbourhood Watch programs (and one officer believed that this was the only obligation) but this was the extent of ONDs knowledge about involvement in formal organisations. Most ONDs talked about vaguer obligations such as:

'Basically that it was just to be part of the community. Sort of eyes and ears for Housing as well as police and just have a general presence there I guess' (Tasmania Police, North)

'...it was a community based thing where I had expected that pretty much everyone in the area knew who you were and that you were available for them, if they wanted something' (Tasmania Police, North-West)

'I actually expected people to come and knock on my door and ask me about things... But I never got that once. No one knocked on the door once. Everyone knew I was a police officer' (Tasmania Police, North-West)

'...I believe it's there to help obviously promote a safer environment or whatever and to provide information if there are incidents going on in the area but not to act on that information yourself' (Tasmania Police, South-East)

Perhaps as a result of this lack of real knowledge about what officers were to do in their roles, many ONDs voiced a desire to be better inducted into the program, and that a clear statement or contract is developed to assist them in defining how they engage with their communities. However, several officers did not believe this should be proscriptive; performance management of the OND program through measures such as infringement notices or active participation in the local Neighbourhood Watch were perceived to be too restrictive. A few officers also mentioned that some actions that worked in their communities (such as talking with young people on the street) could not be quantified or measured, but in the longer term, had created fundamental shifts in attitudes and social behaviours.

Operational Conditions of the Program

The conditions under which ONDs participated in the program informed these officers' perceptions of the success of the program. However, their initial reasons for becoming an OND may be the most significant factor in the overall achievements of the OND program. With the exception of two officers, ONDs reported that their primary reasons for agreeing to become an OND related to personal, largely financial reasons. The most cited reason was the cheap accommodation—this suited younger officers wanting a larger disposable income, officers with young families who were saving to buy their own homes, and officers who had been transferred to a different part of the state. There were also two other officers who became ONDs due to a relationship breakup. Obviously, a desire to make a difference in the communities in which they are placed should be the primary motive; however, this was only raised by a handful of officers (and in most cases as a secondary motive).

However, once in the role of an OND, the officers could see other advantages to being part of the program. While 'virtually no rent' continued to be cited as the

most significant advantage, more altruistic advantages were also raised. These advantages were evenly split between (1) good for my job as a general duties officer, (2) good for developing information about crimes in the area, (3) good for the community. Some officers also talked about how their perceptions of the community had been transformed by their involvement in the OND program, and the opportunity to do community-based work that they enjoyed (such as working with youth).

'being able to actually speak to people out of work and see what issues really did concern people. They might be very, very trivial in a policing point of view but they're quite big things to some people. So then to be able to go and do jobs that are similar, you could really understand what people were saying and what they were talking about' (Tasmania Police, South-East)

'...probably one of the most positive things out of it is I have a lot of interaction with the kids there. All the kids know that I'm a police officer... I know all the kids that live in that area and whenever I pull up home they always come running over and have a chat and all that sort of thing... So it's nice that a lot of kids you can have a chat with them. Like the kids across the road... when they're kicking the footy I'll go and have a quick kick with them or something like that and just, I suppose, break down the barriers between police and the society out there' (Tasmania Police, North)

On the other hand, ONDs also identified several factors that detract from the pleasure of participating in the program. For officers with families, these factors, in large part, related to the social environment in which their children and partners operated alongside themselves, but often with devastating consequences (as will be discussed in more detail below under security issues). For the majority of ONDs, the primary disadvantage of participating in the program related to a feeling that they were on duty 24/7, and could not completely relax in their own homes. However, several officers pointed out that this would be the case for them wherever they lived, as part of being a police officer—on or off duty—was caring about the safety of others. More importantly, several officers indicated that the biggest disadvantage was a feeling that their actions were futile—that they were making no significant difference to the community. This was especially in relation to what ONDs perceived to be a lack of action on the part of Housing Tasmania.

'They've put us there to do a job. We're doing the job but nothing's been done with that work that we're putting into it. So we're getting disheartened, dispirited. The residents are getting dispirited and then they're saying, 'Well, what's the point?' Because at the moment it's entirely pointless' (Tasmania Police, South-East)

Finally, a couple of ONDs stated that one of the most significant disadvantages about participating in the program is the lack of support they receive from their fellow officers. One officer stated that ONDs were perceived to be 'stingy' for being 'a \$5 copper', and that there was a stigma attached to being an OND.

Despite most officers indicating that the primary motivation for participating in the program related to the cheap rent, when asked if this compensated for the duties they undertook as ONDs, several officers stated that it did not make up for the loss of privacy, a social life, or the unmet expectations of neighbours (such as the belief that the officer was empowered to 'clean up' the community for them). Most officers believed that the extra work they undertook required compensation, but on the other side of the debate, a couple of officers believed that it was too cheap, and led to feelings that it was 'just this side of corruption'.

Perhaps a defining characteristic of the success of the OND program is the level of engagement with neighbours and the community. While the majority of officers knew their neighbours, and their neighbours knew they were police officers, it was shocking that one officer stated that he had no real interest in getting to know who was part of his community. While this is a minority perspective, it sharpens the focus on the expectations, and skills sets of ONDs, and how these factors can determine the success or failure of the program in specific areas. At the other extreme, some officers had resided in the OND property for so long that they were part of the community in every sense and considered their neighbours friends to such an extent that they exchanged Christmas presents, and invited each other to dinner at their homes. Again, this was a minority perspective, with most officers sitting somewhere in-between; having cordial relationships with some neighbours, whilst never engaging with others. This cannot be solely attributed to officers themselves. Any good neighbourly relationship is a two-way process, and several officers stated that they had attempted to engage with their community, but their community was unprepared to engage with them—whether because their neighbours had acrimonious relationships with the police generally, or alternatively, because they just 'kept to themselves'.

A significant factor that informs these relationships with the community was the sense of security and safety that officers felt in being part of the OND program. All four Sergeants interviewed for this evaluation raised the issue of safety. While these senior officers believed that the ONDs should be aware of the risks of taking on the role prior to recruitment, they were also concerned about how the expectations of the community could lead some officers to take risks.

'Is it a community expectation that police officer go down and sort it out? If it is then they haven't got their gear. There's issues... under Workplace Health and Safety Act... because we're not properly kitted out to go and do the job. But then that'll create a customer service complaint. The troops – because we're, I suppose, an occupation that attracts a lot of complaints where there's legislative and punitive sanctions placed, the troops will say, 'Stuff it. Not interested. Don't want to get involved.' Someone knocks at the door, closed go the curtains; don't want to talk to anyone, which then starts this circular thing of Housing saying we're not getting value for money and so on and so on and so on' (Tasmania Police, South-East)

At the core of these senior officer's concerns was the lack of equipment to assist them in dealing with a situation—such as the brawl involving 30 people, which occurred on the front lawn of one OND property. From a management perspective, the senior officers expected three things: (1) that ONDs exercise common sense and not engage in risky situations (even if this resulted in a reduction in community support for the program), (2) that ONDs are informed at the beginning of their tenancy about the Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police expectations in relation to critical or dangerous incidents, and (3) that security modifications to OND properties are mandatory.

From the perspective of Officers Next Door, security and safety issues were dependent upon the community in which they lived, and with whom they shared their OND house. The need for security modifications to their homes, and the need for support from Tasmania Police were informed by these two factors. The majority of OND interviewees shared—or had shared—their OND houses with family members (including partners and children), or friends and other officers (who were not part of the OND program). While the majority of ONDs that shared with the latter group—friends and other officers—reported feeling safe in their homes, and experienced 'nothing serious' in relation to safety risks, those that shared with the former group—family members—reported mixed responses to living in these communities. Some officers recognised the additional pressure

placed on their partners and children, especially as they were rarely at home during the day. This led some officers to have an increased respect for their partners, and their partner's capacity to deal with situations they had never encountered before. However, for a small minority of officers, the risks to their children were unacceptable and lead most to give up their role as an OND. In particular, one officer stated:

'...[my son] went to just play with other kids of a similar age. Swearing was the first sign I had that this wasn't going well... and then he came home and he'd been whacked pretty badly across the face and then he got the nickname 'piglet' which he couldn't understand and I found it difficult to explain to him... I remember his seventh birthday. No-one would come to his birthday party from his school. So that was the warning bell that I think really started to get our attention... He suffered at school. He suffered emotionally I think' (Tasmania Police, North)

At the other end of the scale, several officers talked about how their children, while initially apprehensive about moving in these communities, actually facilitated better relationships between the OND and their community—'[children mix well. Somehow it's easier with children' (Housing Tasmania, South-East). In the case of one officer, his daughter was '...born into it. I was in an Officer Next Door program when she was born... so she has only known the house that I live in' (Tasmania Police, North-West), and, as with other parents, believed that it broadened their children's perspective on life.

In addition to the composition of OND properties, interviewees' sense of safety and security was informed by the community in which they lived, and the support (including modifications made to their properties) they received from Housing Tasmania, Tasmania Police and the local community. While most officers encountered none—or a few minor incidents—that made them question their decision to participate in the OND program, other officers became a 'lightening rod' for the community. For one Sergeant, this was one of the most significant factors informing his opinion about the OND program. In his words: 'We've had one of the officer's houses burnt down. How much closer are we going to get?' (Tasmania Police, North). And one OND stated that one serious incident, involving a shooting, was a 'bridge too far', that led to her resignation from the program.

From the perspective of ONDs, the risks associated with these minor, and in some cases, serious incidents were ameliorated by the support provided by Housing

Tasmania and Tasmania Police. In particular, most interviewees discussed the modifications—or lack of modifications—made to their properties. In the early years of the OND program, security modifications such as garages, alarm systems and security doors were mandatory for an OND property. However, over the years, these modifications have become ad-hoc, and in most cases, only made on the request of the ONDs. It appears from the perspective of Housing Tasmania that the costs associated with these modifications are balanced against the advantages to be extracted from the program in terms of reducing crime and anti-social behaviour, and reducing residents' fear of crime. Where there is a perception that these goals have not been achieved, Area Managers have been reticent about making the security modifications. Even where security modifications have been implemented, there is a tendency for these to be partially implemented. Several officers mentioned that they had alarm systems installed in their properties but that these were not working, were not monitored, or that Housing Tasmania was unable to tell the OND how they worked. In two cases, the OND themselves paid for the installation of security and the monitoring system, and in another case, the OND had independently installed security doors screens and fences.

The second mechanism identified by interviewees as significant to their—and their families'—sense of security and safety was support from Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police. Most officers indicated that their local patrols understood the situation of living in these communities, and provided immediate support when required, including driving past their property when the OND was away. However, several officers stated that this kind of support was not always forthcoming, which led the ONDs to question both their safety, and the commitment of Tasmania Police to the OND program. One officer stated that his requests for the support of on-duty police officers was regularly ignored by the local patrol, which left him and his family feeling at risk, and without support.

This lack of support—both security modifications and police back up—occurred in a minority of cases, and may be related to the types of incidents that ONDs encountered in their roles. While several ONDs faced critical incidents that they would not have encountered had they not been in an OND property, the vast majority of incidents could have occurred anywhere, especially in areas with large numbers of younger people testing the boundaries of the childhood/adulthood divide. Almost without exception, the primary issues reported by ONDs in their Reports and in the interviews were hooning and traffic offences—often related to young children riding bikes without helmets, or trail bikes through open reserves. The other major type of incident encountered was interpersonal

violence, especially domestic or family violence, which was thought to be fuelled by alcohol and drug-related issues. These criminal and anti-social behaviours were the main concerns for ONDs and residents alike, and constituted the bulk of the prevention, intervention and community engagement work undertaken by ONDs in their communities.

Perhaps as a result of the lack of induction into the program and a clear statement of expectations, many ONDs responded to these incidents in an ad-hoc, informal manner with little thought to how they could make a strategic intervention in their communities. While a significant minority of ONDs were involved in either a Neighbourhood Watch program or their local Adopt-a-Cop program, the majority of officers tended to react to minor incidents of anti-social behaviour by building community capacity for 'co-production' of law and order by advising residents about reporting these matters to Housing Tasmania or their local patrol. Some ONDs took on the duty of reporting these matters to the local patrol themselves; though, most did not inform Housing Tasmania about these reports, except as part of their six-monthly reports. There was also a clear distinction between their responses to anti-social behaviour and criminal behaviour. The former was most often dealt with at the time, in person, especially if the officer knew the people involved. The latter was dealt with at 'arm's length' through formal infringement notices and reports to the radio room. In light of the safety and security issues raised by both ONDs and Sergeants, this response is not surprising. However, importantly, when the matter related to violence against women and/or children, there was tendency for ONDs to be more immediately pro-active, including providing their homes as a refuge from the violence.

Strategies for Enhancing the Program

As experts, literally, in the field, Officers Next Door can provide insights into the OND program that no other stakeholders are capable of generating. Despite many officers failing to engage fully with the principles behind the OND program, all ONDs were able to identify the major factors that can—or have already—detracted from the success of this type of intervention. As with Housing Tasmania respondents, most ONDs stated that the program is almost entirely dependent upon the type of person recruited into the program. As mentioned above, finding the right type of officer will not come from promotional material based on the financial advantages to be extracted from participation. Nor will success be achieved in the vacuum of no or limited induction to the program. However, OND respondents also suggested that the personal characteristics of recruits are

also vitally important. Consistently, ONDs stated that the very nature of the program required officers that are comfortable with engaging with other people, and that they enjoy 'having a yarn' with people from very different social and economic backgrounds. While it should be expected that this is a pre-requisite of being a police officer, at times, it appears that this skill was pragmatically deployed, and that it ceased the moment officers are off-duty. Several respondents stated that it was essential that ONDs had good communication and negotiation skills, and a capacity to walk a thin line between policing and just being a good neighbour. An ability to be 'thick-skinned', patient and have a high tolerance level was also identified, as respondents argued that, in many cases, the community was 'never going to forget you're a police officer'. A further issue identified by both ONDs and Sergeants was the need for recruits to be well established in their policing careers before taking on the role, and, preferably, already involved in, or committed to the principles of community policing. In sum:

'One of the biggest improvements I think is the selection... It's just not open to anybody. Some police officers you'd never ever consider putting them into areas like this to work, let alone to live. So therefore it's really important that selection process and the criteria. The personality of that particular person is conducive to that environment. And you can't put a square peg in a round hole. And that's exactly what's happening here in some of these situations where, in fact, we've got some police officers who ...really don't want to live there but because they're going to build another house or they're going to have the opportunity to save some money, then they'll go there... the police officers [must] realise that they have to integrate into the community. The community don't have to integrate with them'
(Housing Tasmania, South-East)

The social circumstances of ONDs were also recognised as being significant to the success of any community-based intervention. Of those who shared their homes with family members, there was an equal division between officers who believed that having young children was an advantage, and those who believed that the risks were too high to have family members recruited into the program. One Sergeant argued that there was a contradiction in the program in that one of the primary goals was to provide a critical, positive intervention in the lives of children living in these communities, yet recruits who had children—either permanently in the houses, or in the case of divorced officers, as part-time visitors—were putting their children and their children's future at risk. Yet, ONDs with children, argued that it made their job easier.

Finally, it was suggested that as with policing generally, participants in the OND program needed to be beyond reproach. The OND program places officer 'on show' to the community. As such, one officer believed that this meant the officer must model the good behaviour that the program is attempting to generate, including how the presentation of their homes—such as good gardens and lawns—exemplifies respect for themselves and their communities.

Beyond the personal and social characteristics of the ONDs, respondents also identified a range of reforms necessary to make the OND program a success. While some of these suggestions were originally integrated into the program when it was established ten years ago, over time, these have slipped off the agenda, or come to be thought of as an added extra undertaken by a few committed participants. Consistently across all regions, and from both ONDs and senior officers, the main recommendation for enhancing the program involved increasing the communication channels between ONDs, Housing Tasmania, Tasmania Police and residents. In the first instance, ONDs suggested that there was a need for a mechanism for ONDs to communicate with each other in order to transfer good practice models across the program, and to ensure that ONDs are supported by others who understand the work that they do. Respondents also suggested that there was a need for greater communication between ONDs and Housing Tasmania; and not just at the beginning of the tenancy. Both ONDs and Housing Tasmania respondents suggested that ONDs are integrated more fully into the work of Housing Tasmania, including Housing Tasmania briefing the officers on 'hot spots', 'hot topics' and the legislative framework in which Housing operates.

Some respondents also believed that beyond Inspector Waterhouse, there was a need for Tasmania Police via local patrols to better understand and respect the work of the ONDs, and the role that they could play in mediating between the community and the police. However, this could only be achieved if the community knew about and understood the role of ONDs, including the expectations about intervention in crime and anti-social behaviour. Survey responses from residents consistently suggested that they needed more police, not more ONDs. But this may be the result of a lack of understanding of community policing principles—long term social change rather than immediate intervention—and a belief that this was a zero-sum game: more OND would result in less general duties policing. As a consequence of these factors, OND respondents believed that it was essential to the long-term success of the OND program that residents—both social and private residents—were informed about their role in the community. This could take the form of a newsletter distributed in the community, or regular meetings between the community and the ONDs

(mediated by Housing Tasmania or the Neighbourhood House). As one respondent pointed: 'you don't just live in a house, you live in a community' (Tasmania Police, North-West). There was also a suggestion that OND properties are identified in a similar way to Safe Houses, with a sticker, and that the community is informed about how and when they can approach these officers for assistance.

Another major factor identified by ONDs as a way to enhance the program is for officers to be provided at the beginning of their tenancy with a contact or agreement about what is expected of them, suggestions of local programs that they could get involved with, and a briefing from both Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police about the social and criminal conditions of their neighbourhoods. This would empower them to focus their attention on those issues and neighbours that most need a community-based intervention. However, several officers believed that any agreement or contract between the stakeholders should not be proscriptive, as the neighbourhood conditions change over time and between OND properties, and the social circumstances of officers change—especially, when officers change duties or shifts. Instead, these officers argued that the contract or agreement should be something that is negotiated at the level of the community, including the Tenancy Officer responsible for that region, and the local patrol (especially, the District Community Policing Officer).

Finally, ONDs recommended that the selection process for both ONDs and OND properties be reviewed. In the first instance, as with Housing Tasmania respondents, several ONDs recommended that recruitment into the program is a joint process between Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police—with one officer also including residents or a representative of residents in this process (such as the Manager of the Neighbourhood House). There was also a suggestion that participation in the OND program is operated on a rotational basis so that more officers gain the skills and knowledge of working closely with 'at-risk' communities. In addition to the selection process for officers, several officers suggested that greater attention needed to be directed at where OND properties are sited. This suggestion came from officers who were:

- living in areas with few anti-social or criminal issues;
- living in areas with too many OND properties too close together, or
- living in a house that had been an OND property for so long that it was no longer making any difference to the social circumstances of the wider neighbourhood.

One respondent argued—perhaps from the perspective of a successful intervention—that there was a need for more OND properties. Ironically, this

suggestion came from an officer in the region where Housing Tasmania believed the program was no longer effective.

Concluding Remarks

The terms of reference directing this review and evaluation of the Officer Next Door program were primarily aimed at critically analysing the role of OND in Housing Tasmania's management of criminal and anti-social behaviour in nine of its public housing estates. While other OND sites may have specific, localised issues that have not have been raised in this limited study, in large part, these findings are transferable across the state, and provide a preliminary analysis from which to develop strategic housing and policing interventions. However, it is important to reiterate that this constitutes the first review and evaluation of the program since its creation ten years ago. Despite the level of detail provided in this review, it is by no means comprehensive. Community policing research over the last twenty years clearly shows that it is the people of the community—and their commitment to finding local solutions to crime and anti-social behaviour—that makes community policing programs work. It is therefore important that both Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police assess the institutional arrangements for the management of the program to maximise the suitability of this program to the specific geographical and socio-cultural needs of the each of the communities.

Case Study of Clarendon Vale

From the outset of this review and evaluation of the Officer Next Door program, key stakeholders identified Clarendon Vale as a key site for analysis. This is not only because of the perception that this community faced extreme issues of crime and anti-social behaviour, but just as importantly, Clarendon Vale has been the host of many Officers Next Door—some of whom are considered the most successful participants in the program. The following case study of Clarendon Vale has been developed out of the qualitative and quantitative data collected for this project. This information is by no means comprehensive, having been developed as a state review rather than a local mapping of the issues. However, from this analysis (of the experiences of crime, fear of crime, and stakeholder perceptions of the OND program), it is clear that while the OND program appears to have had a localised effect on some of those residents living within a block of the OND properties, more detailed investigation of the local issues could lead to a strategic intervention in the community. This intervention, though, will not succeed in the long-term unless it is part of a comprehensive program of community capacity building, and the development of tailored government services.

As can be seen in the map of Clarendon Vale below, this community is a cul-de-sac of cul-de-sacs. With only two main roads into the community—both of which begin from South Arm Road—Clarendon Vale is not a suburb to be travelled through, or in fact, entered without a reason. Further, there are limited social and business services that would draw people into the community. For a large part of the day, Clarendon Vale is only serviced by public transport on an hourly basis, with no services after 10.30pm. Clarendon Vale, in this sense, is a forgotten community, hidden from the passing traffic. When the community does come under the public gaze, it is invariably because of a range of criminal and anti-social behaviour, particularly the deliberate and accidental burning of Housing Tasmania properties.

As highlighted in *Demography of the Field*, Clarendon Vale residents have a low median age, low home ownership rates, high unemployment, low individual and household incomes, high rates of single-parent families, and low education levels. These variables have been correlated in previous research to low up-take of community building and participation in crime prevention programs. However, under the right circumstances, this relatively time-rich population could also be ideally suited to the development of positive social capital, and critical community interventions that may radically transform the lives of residents.

Experiences of Crime

As discussed in Experiences of Crime, the level of reported crime varies considerably across the nine research sites. The variability in experiences is also present when the analysis is funnelled down to the level of Clarendon Vale. Further, there are clear differences in experiences of crime, especially when key sites (streets within the suburb) are compared. However, the heightened crime rates in Clarendon Vale, and specific areas of Clarendon Vale, do not map directly against the reported perceptions of safety and fear of criminal activity and anti-social behaviour. Before turning to an analysis of the disjuncture between experiences and perceptions of safety, in this section, the results from offence reports collected by Tasmania Police will be compared and contrasted. A comparative analysis have been provided between Clarendon Vale and the overall offence results, and Clarendon Vale compared to the results from two hotspots—Mockridge Road and Saladin Circle.

As can be seen in Table 2 and Figure 12, reports of criminal activity are not received equally across Clarendon Vale. Crime rates across the suburb are significantly higher than most of the other eight OND research sites (with a high of 20% in 2003). However, within Clarendon Vale, crime rates in particular streets are much higher. Specifically, up to 36% of incidents in Clarendon Vale were reported having occurred in Mockridge Road, or the victims or suspects resided in Mockridge Road. Rockingham Drive, Marston Street and Mockridge Road combine to create a circle that cuts through the whole suburb. Rockingham Drive and Mockridge Road are long streets that offer the opportunity for hooning. The street-based nature of recorded incidents in these streets is illustrated by the percentage of reports tied to the street rather than a property. Of the 465 incidents recorded against Mockridge Road, over a third occurred on the street: these were predominantly assault, vehicle or drug offences. This same pattern was also present in the reports allocated to Rockingham Drive, though to a much lower extent, with 8% of incidents recorded a street-based offences.

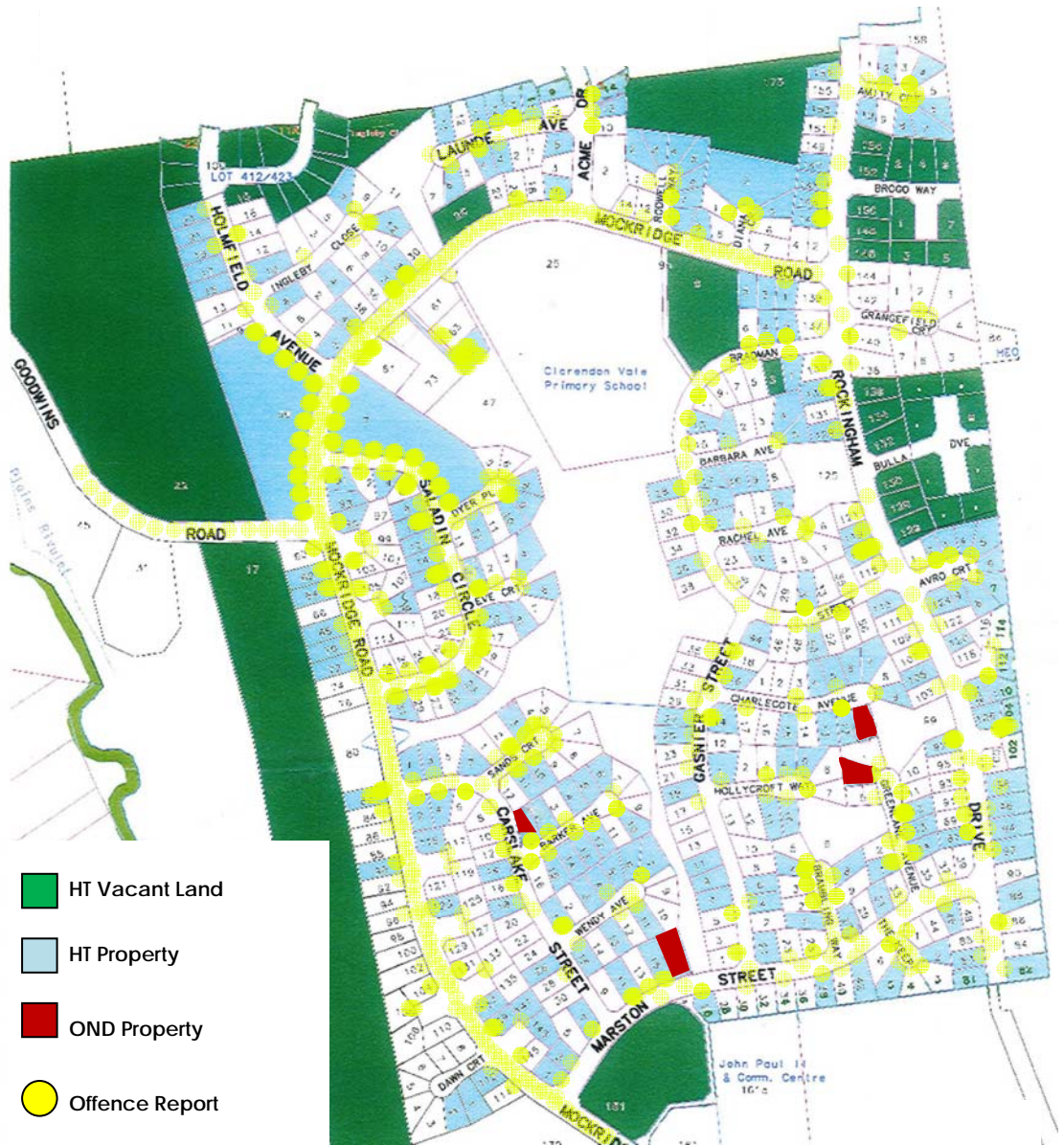
This pattern contrasts with the other two Clarendon Vale streets with a relatively high number of reported incidents. Both Saladin Circle and Bradman Street—which are geographical mirrors of each other, and are connected via the park land running through the middle of Clarendon Vale (see Figure 12 below)—have a high proportion of reported incidents despite being very short streets, with few properties. In the case of Saladin Circle, there are only 27 houses and 38 in Bradman Street (with over 529 separate dwellings recorded in the 2006 Census). These streets, therefore only constitute 5.1% and 7.2% (respectively) of the properties in the suburb. While Bradman Street has a lower crime rate than

Table 2: Number of Offence Reports and Crime Rates for Clarendon Vale (2003-2008YTD)

Offence Reports & Crime Rate ³	Brambling Way	Greenlane Ave	Sands Crt	Gasnier St	Barker Ave	Marston St	Bradman St	Rocking. St	Saladin Circ	Mockridge Rd	All Other Streets ⁵
2003	12	10	6	3	10	9	15	25	45	90	62
2003 %	4.2%	3.5%	2.1%	1.0%	3.5%	3.1%	5.2%	8.7%	15.7%	31.4%	21.6%
2004	1	5	4	4	10	7	15	27	32	71	44
2004 %	0.5%	2.3%	1.8%	1.8%	4.5%	3.2%	6.8%	12.3%	14.5%	32.3%	20.0%
2005	5	6	13	11	9	11	9	30	34	73	50
2005 %	2.0%	2.4%	5.2%	4.4%	3.6%	4.4%	3.6%	12.0%	13.5%	29.1%	19.9%
2006	10	5	6	13	7	10	19	18	45	88	62
2006 %	3.5%	1.8%	2.1%	4.6%	2.5%	3.5%	6.7%	6.4%	15.9%	31.3%	21.9%
2007	7	9	3	7	3	10	11	26	47	84	50
2007 %	2.7%	3.5%	1.2%	2.7%	1.2%	3.9%	4.3%	10.1%	18.3%	32.7%	19.5%
2008	2	2	6	1	1	5	16	22	23	59	27
2008 %	1.2%	1.2%	3.7%	0.6%	0.6%	3.0%	9.8%	13.4%	14.0%	36.0%	16.5%

justified by the number of properties, the crime rate for Saladin Circle (15.5%) is three times higher than would be reflected in a simple breakdown ratio of properties to number of crimes.

Figure 12: Distribution of Offence Reports in Clarendon Vale (2003-2008YTD)



From this analysis of the crime reports, it is clear that two streets in Clarendon Vale represent the primary sources of criminal activity and anti-social behaviour. While crimes recorded against Saladin Circle appear to be predominantly based around the actions of people living in the street and acrimonious neighbourhood relationships—only 5% of reported offences were based on the street. On the other hand, an effective response to criminal activity on Mockridge Road would

need to be tied to the physical environment (in particular, the suitability of Mockridge Road for hooning). However, it is important to note that criminal activity generated out of Saladin Circle, and the actions of residents of Saladin Circle would have an impact on the reported crime of Mockridge Road given that the former feeds into the latter.

As can be seen in the geographical representation of offence reports in Figure 12 above, a large proportion of these are connected to Housing Tasmania properties in and around the north entrance to the community—at the intersections of Goodwins and Mockridge Roads, Saladin Circle and Holmfield Avenue. Not only does this inform the ‘feel’ of the community as soon as residents and visitors enter the broadacre estate from this approach, it also affects the security of services and businesses at that end of the community. However, it is also important to note that offence reports for other hotspots in the community (such as Sands Court, Brambling Way and Rockingham Drive) are largely connected to private properties. It is important, therefore, not to respond to criminal and anti-social behaviour in Clarendon Vale by only looking at the actions of Housing Tasmania residents; whatever response is generated must be suburb-wide, and include private and public tenants, and homeowners.

Residents’ Perceptions of Criminal Activity and Anti-Social Behaviour

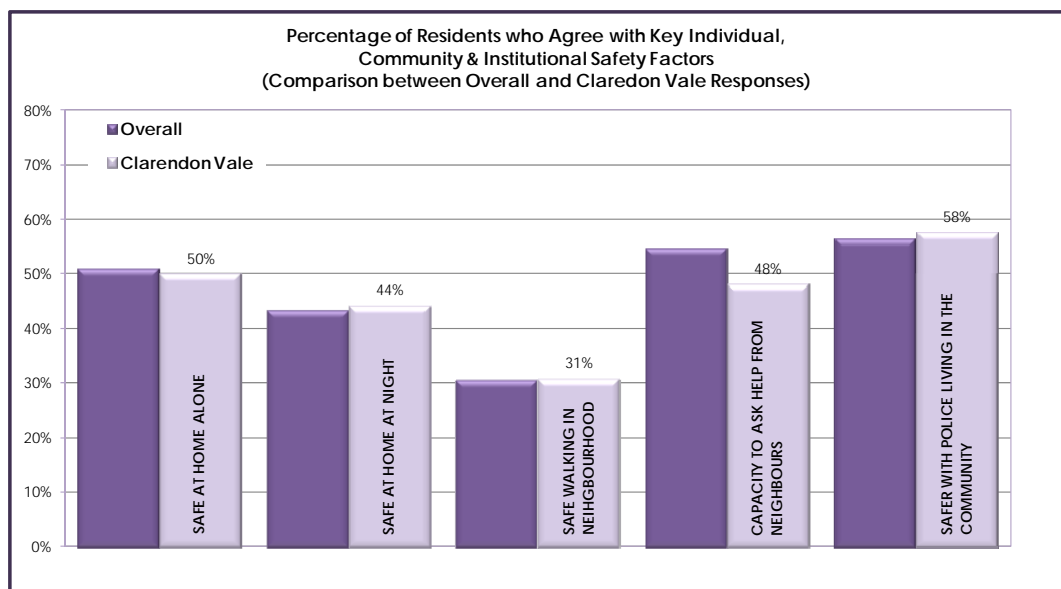
As part of the evaluation of the Officer Next Door program, residents were asked to assess their feelings of safety in relation to key ‘fear of crime’ variables, and 12 types of criminal and anti-social behaviour. In Three Perspectives on Officer Next Door it was shown that residents in the nine OND sites had much lower rates of perceived safety than Australia-wide research has shown. Ditton and Farrall (cited in Roberts and Indermaur, 2006, p13) argue that traditional ‘fear of crime’ questions are deeply flawed as they create “elevated and artifactual readings” of the situation. While Clarendon Vale residents reported much higher levels of ‘fear of crime’ than their Australia-wide peers, their feelings of safety are marginally higher than all other research sites, except in relation to being able to ask for help from neighbours, and drug crimes.

Feelings of Safety in Relation to Individual, Community and Institutional Factors

As can be seen in Figure 13, despite experiencing higher levels of actual crime (as represented by offence reports from Tasmania Police), between a third and a half of all Clarendon Vale residents felt safe at home alone, at home at night and

walking around the neighbourhood. However, as mentioned, respondents did not feel as confident about their ability to ask help from neighbours (48% compared to the overall figure of 55%). It is important to note however, that nearly a third of Clarendon Vale residents were neutral on the question of asking for help from neighbours. This is perhaps the result of respondents feeling capable of asking some neighbours for help, but not others. Several older respondents believed that this ambivalence was the result of Housing Tasmania failing to consider the tenancy mix in some areas of Clarendon Vale, with one respondent arguing in favour of age-based apartheid—all young people living together; all older people living together. Further, whilst not reported in the figures below, comparatively more Clarendon Vale residents believed that the issues of crime, anti-social behaviour and fear of crime were the responsibility of Housing Tasmania.

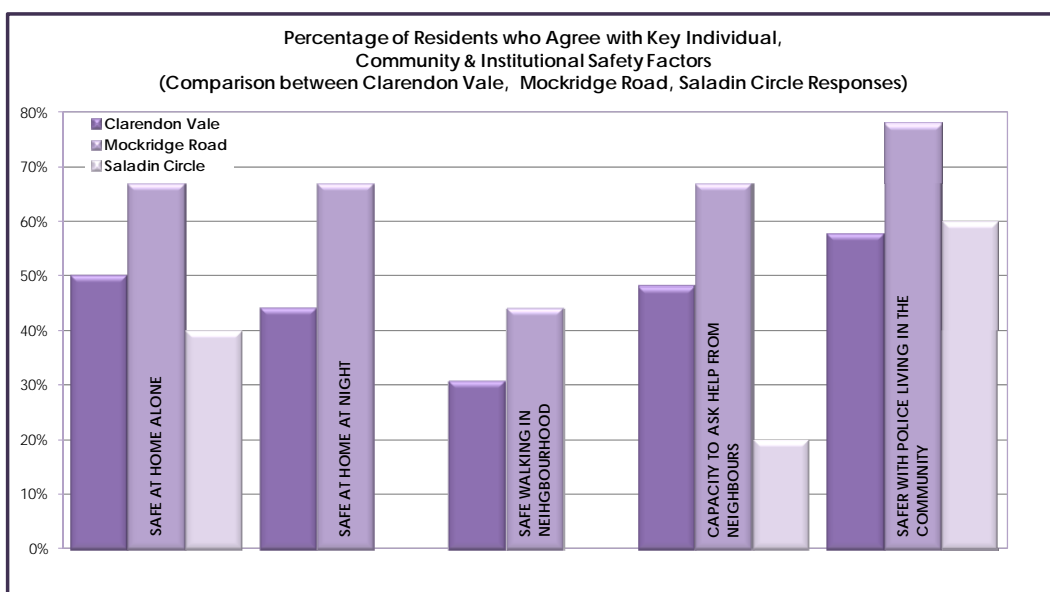
Figure 13: Percentage of Residents who Agree with Key Individual, Community and Institutional Factors (Comparison of Responses from All and Clarendon Vale Respondents)



While the aggregate figures for these safety variables—with the exception of asking for help from neighbours—appear to be consistent across the nine research sites, when the data is disaggregated to the street level, these figures change dramatically. It is important to note however that definitive claims about these differences cannot be made given the same sample size when data is disaggregated to the street level. In the discussion of experiences of crime in Clarendon Vale (above), it was noted that four streets stand out as being the primary sites of reported criminal activity in Clarendon Vale. In particular, the crime rates for Mockridge Road and Saladin Circle are significantly higher than would warrant given the number of properties in these streets. While there are sufficient numbers of offence reports for these streets to justify a disaggregated

analysis, unfortunately, there are too few Residents' Survey responses to make definitive, valid claims (Mockridge Road, 9 responses; Saladin Circle, 5 responses). With this few responses to the Residents' Survey, the beliefs of one or two people may dramatically skew the results. With these caveats aside, as can be seen in Figure 14, residents of Mockridge Road reported much higher rates of safety across all five 'fear of crime' variables than the general Clarendon Vale population. In contrast, the five respondents from Saladin Circle reported significantly lower rates of safety, particularly in relation to being safe at home at night, and walking around the neighbourhood.

Figure 14: Percentage of Residents who Agree with Key Individual, Community and Institutional Factors (Comparison of Responses from Clarendon Vale, Mockridge Road and Saladin Circle Respondents)

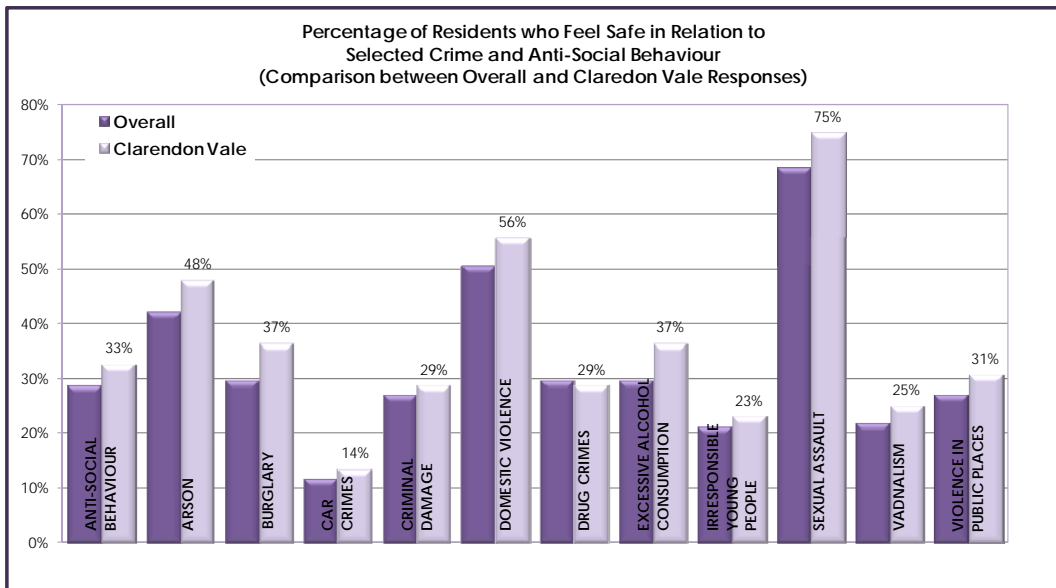


Further, while more Clarendon Vale residents (than all survey respondents) believed that the issues of safety were the responsibility of Housing Tasmania, residents of Mockridge Road and Saladin Circle reported very different responses. In the case of Mockridge Road, approximately 90% of respondents believed that this was the case. While only 60% of respondents living in Saladin Circle agreed with this statement. This is perhaps the result of the different forms of criminal and anti-social behaviour experienced in each of these streets. In Mockridge Road, the main offences reported related to crimes on the street (particularly, hooning), which could be perceived as an institutional responsibility. Whereas, in Saladin Circle, respondents perhaps believed that the crime and safety issues were a matter of individual responsibility.

Feelings of Safety in Relation to Selected Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour

As with the variables relating to ‘fear of crime’, residents were also asked about their feelings of safety in relation to 12 criminal and anti-social behaviours. Similarly to the ‘fear of crime’ variables, residents of Clarendon Vale reported higher rates of safety than other OND respondents, with the exception of drug crimes. In this research, it is not possible to identify whether this is because of higher rates of drug crimes in Clarendon Vale than other OND sites. However, it is important that in their qualitative comments, Clarendon Vale residents consistently mentioned drug crimes—along with hooning, irresponsible young people and domestic violence—as a major impediment to safely residing in the community. Some of these criminal and anti-social behaviours raised in the qualitative statements have not translated into the results from the questions. This may have more to do with not understanding the questions (or reversing the responses desired) than an actual wish to indicate that they feel safe about drug crimes.

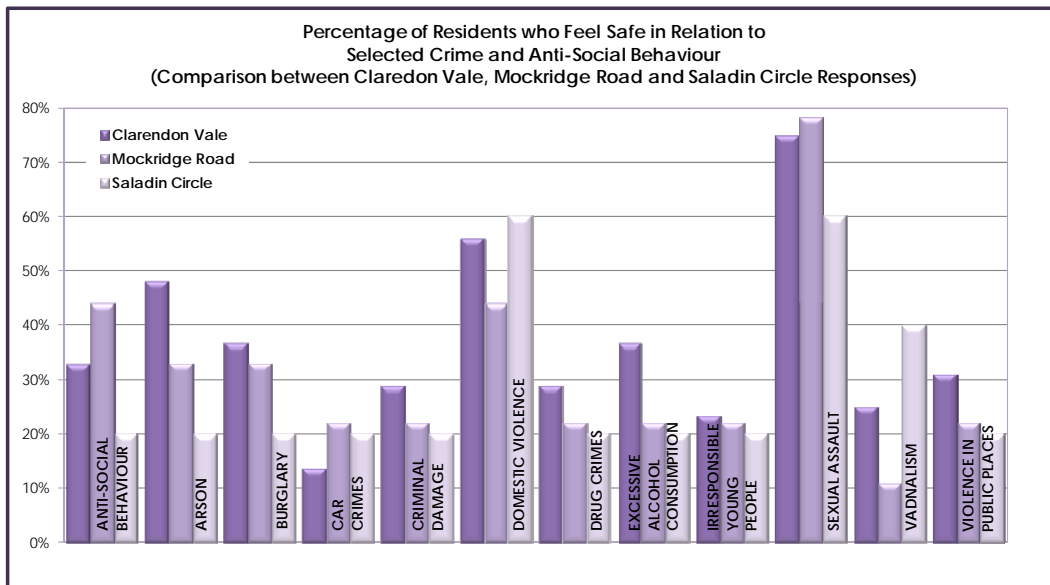
Figure 15: Percentage of Residents who Feel Safe in Relation to Selected Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour Issues (Comparison of Responses from All & Clarendon Vale Respondents)



When the Clarendon Vale data is disaggregated to the street level, this same issue of a disjuncture between the qualitative comments and quantitative data is heightened. Residents in these streets consistently cited car crimes (such as hooning) as a major issue. Further, a large proportion of reported crimes in these streets are connected to street crime rather than crime occurring in and around the home. Yet, respondents in both Mockridge Road and Saladin Circle reported feeling safer in relation to car crimes. Apart from problems with the completion of the survey instrument, this is perhaps a demonstration of the normalisation of

violence. When criminal behaviour such as hooning becomes an everyday issue, and when residents do not believe that the police have adequately responded to these reported crimes in the past, they become accepting of the situation. This is the reverse of what Ditton and Farrall (cited in Roberts and Indermaur, 2006) found in their research into ‘fear of crime’ variables. Further, although a result of the small sample size, importantly, residents in Saladin Circle also reported much lower levels of safety in relation to domestic violence, whilst Mockridge Road residents reported significantly lower levels of safety in relation to sexual assault. Neither sexual assault nor domestic violence rated highly in terms of ‘fear of crime’ in either the OND results or the Clarendon Vale results. These anomalies highlight the importance of recognising the differences between suburbs, but, just as importantly, within suburbs.

Figure 16: Percentage of Residents who Feel Safe in Relation to Selected Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour Issues (Comparison of Responses from Clarendon Vale, Mockridge Road and Saladin Circle Respondents)



Officer Next Door in Clarendon Vale

As noted above, Clarendon Vale has four OND properties—all of which are located in the one-half of the suburb—and 14 Tasmania Police Officers have taken on the role of OND in Clarendon Vale over the last three years (with some officers sharing a single Housing Tasmania property). While crime rates are significantly lower in this part of Clarendon Vale (see Figure 12: Distribution of Offence Reports in Clarendon Vale), it is not possible to claim that this is only, or even primarily, the result of the Officer Next Door Program. As noted in *Three Perspectives on Officer Next Door*, Clarendon Vale ONDs consistently reported that hooning was the major issue that they faced in their communities. In the

three-year period of OND reporting data analysed, on average Clarendon Vale ONDs made approximately four incident reports and three radio dispatches, and issued one infringement notice in each of the six-monthly reporting periods. All infringement notices issued between 2005 and 2008 related to car crimes (such as driving under disqualification, speeding and riding unlicensed trail bikes in the community).

In addition to radio dispatches, incident reports and infringement notices, Clarendon Vale ONDs indicated that the primary community-based activities undertaken were related to local schools (Adopt-A-Cop), Neighbourhood Watch, and informal engagement with local organisations, particularly those who work with young people. However, it is important to note that four (of 14) Clarendon Vale ONDs did not indicate that they were involved in their communities beyond basic, informal engagement with their immediate neighbours

It appears that most Clarendon Vale ONDs are involved in their communities in some way—largely in terms of role modelling to young people. And, while residents indicated in the quantitative data that they felt safer with having Police Officers living in their community, their qualitative statements painted a completely different picture. Of the nine research sites, it was only Clarendon Vale respondents who commented on the OND program. This may reveal recognition of the OND brand in Clarendon Vale (something not found in any of the other research sites), however, from respondents' comments, this recognition stems predominantly from a perceived failure of the program.

'The police living here appear to do nothing and receive free rental - we should be so lucky!!!' (Female, over 60 years, Clarendon Vale).

'I have a Police officer living at the end of my street but it doesn't appear to make any difference as the anti social behaviour, theft and vandalism still occurs frequently in the street' (Female, 60+ years, Clarendon Vale)

'I also feel that having police living in the community is about as useless as tits on bulls. I have never heard or seen them participating in the community since they have been living here and feel those houses could be rented to people with families who really need them' (Female, 36-60 years, Clarendon Vale)

'I have lived in my community for over thirty years and i cannot see the sense in having a \$5 a week police officer living in the area... For

what they do, they might as well sit on the roof and clap hands at the hoons in the streets' (Male, 36-60 years, Clarendon Vale).

Given that some of these comments come from people who have lived in Clarendon Vale for decades, and been involved in community organisations, it is important that Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police undertake a process of community engagement and education about the program. Without the support of established, involved residents, a program such as OND can become an irrelevancy to the community, and to community-capacity building. However, for some residents who live in the immediate vicinity of the OND properties, the presence of Police Officers has ameliorated some of the crime and safety issues faced by residents. In particular, one respondent to the Residents' Survey commented: 'Until recently the house next door to me used to be a police house for 10+ years... I am [now] afraid of my safety ...Please put the police back there' (Female, under 35 years, Clarendon Vale). This response perhaps best illustrates the strength of the program—supporting and/or protecting 'at-risk' residents—but also its greatest flaw—the temporal and geographical influence is transient.

Recommendations for Clarendon Vale

Apart from the overall recommendations suggested for the Officer Next Door program, this case study of Clarendon Vale has highlighted that beyond issues of institutional management of the program, partners in OND will also need to look at the additional local adjustments that may need to be considered to make this program more effective. These additional recommendations extend beyond the management of OND itself, to include general safety and security issues, and community capacity building around the issues of law and order. However, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, these recommendations are based upon a preliminary study of the community. Further analysis is required to tailor both OND and community responses to the issues. With this caveat aside, the following recommendations are offered as a starting point for further discussions about these issues.

- That Housing Tasmania, in conjunction with Tasmania Police undertake a comprehensive Crime Prevention through Environmental Redesign analysis, particularly in relation to the use of Mockridge Road and Rockingham Drive as hooning strips, and the use of the central parkland between Saladin Circle and Bradman Street as a cross-country trail bike circuit
- That Housing Tasmania, in conjunction with other state and Federal government departments review the use of existing community buildings and public spaces, and explore the possibilities for further development of community services in the nexus between Clarendon Vale Primary School,

local shops, the reserve and existing community buildings such as the Neighbourhood House

- That Tasmania Police consider the option of creating local resources such as Community Support Police Officers (such as developed in the UK), and a weekly 'hot desk' based in one of the Clarendon Vale community buildings or vacant Housing Tasmania properties
- That Housing Tasmania, in conjunction with Tasmania Police, work collaboratively with local community organisations (particularly, the Neighbourhood House) to source funding for bespoke, community capacity building programs (such as Men's Sheds, social and recreational events for children, and Landcare reclamations of public spaces such as the central reserve)
- That Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police develop a strategic plan on the placement and tenure of OND properties, and the recruitment of appropriate ONDs. In particular, as soon as practicable, Housing Tasmania should remove at least one of the OND properties in the south of the community (Greenlane Avenue), and develop at least two properties in the north (on or near the intersections of Mockridge Road, Saladin Circle, Goodwins Road and Holmfield Avenue)

Appendix One: Offence Reports and Crime Rates

Table 3: Number of Offence Reports and Crime Rates for OND Research Sites (2003-2008YTD)

Offence Reports & Crime Rate	Bridgewater	Clarendon Vale	Devonport	Gagebrook	Ravenswood	Rochellea	Rokeby	Shorewell Park	Ulverstone
2003	631	287	1673	380	360	225	268	73	558
2003 %	16.3%	19.9%	7.3%	13.4%	8.9%	19.5%	8.8%	4.6%	5.9%
2004	539	220	1745	389	323	167	262	49	463
2004 %	13.9%	15.3%	7.6%	13.8%	8.0%	14.5%	8.6%	3.1%	4.9%
2005	633	251	1341	466	333	113	331	73	476
2005 %	16.4%	17.4%	5.8%	16.5%	8.2%	9.8%	10.9%	4.6%	5.0%
2006	779	283	1128	502	315	135	295	82	327
2006 %	19.7%	19.3%	4.7%	17.4%	7.6%	12.0%	9.8%	4.2%	3.4%
2007	678	257	1192	404	364	151	277	92	329
2007 %	17.2%	17.6%	5.0%	14.0%	8.8%	13.4%	9.2%	4.8%	3.4%
2008	561	164	875	294	353	171	223	73	305
2008 %	14.2%	11.2%	3.6%	10.2%	8.5%	15.2%	7.4%	3.8%	3.1%



Appendix Two: Detailed Residents' Survey Results

Demographics

Table 4: Regional Breakdown of Responses

Region	Number	Percent
South	89	75
North	21	18
North West	7	6
Not Stated	1	1
Total	118	100

Table 5: Suburb Breakdown of Responses

Suburb	Number	Percent
Clarendon Vale	52	44.1
Bridgewater	21	17.8
Rokeby	12	10.2
Ravenswood	10	8.5
East Devonport	5	4.2
Gagebrook	3	2.5
Rocherlea	3	2.5
Mowbray	1	0.8
Shorewell Park	1	0.8
Not Stated	10	8.5
Total	118	100.0

Table 6: Street Breakdown of Responses from Clarendon Vale

Street	Number
Mockridge Rd	9
Saladin Circ	5
Barker Ave	4
Diana Circ	4
Charlecote Ave	3
Holmfield Ave	3
Other*	24
Total	52

* 16 streets with fewer than three responses

Table 7: Street Breakdown of Responses from Bridgewater

Street	Number
Cowle Rd	8
Pennycuick Crt	7
Hayton Pl	3
Other*	3
Total	21

* 3 streets with fewer than two responses

Table 8: Street Breakdown of Responses from Rokeby

Street	Number
Joseph Street	9
Arden Drive	2
Landers Circuit	1
Total	12

Table 9: Sex of Respondents

Gender	Number	Percent
Female	84	71.2
Male	33	28.0
Not Stated	1	0.8
Total	118	100

Table 10: Age of Respondents

Age	Number	Percent
under 18	1	27
18-25	14	
26-30	8	
31-35	5	
36-40	4	
41-45	8	68
46-50	14	
51-55	16	
56-60	16	
61-65	8	
65+	18	
Not Stated	6	5
Total	118	100.0

Table 11: Age of Respondents x Sex of Respondents

Age	Sex			Total
	Female	Male	Not Stated	
Under 35 years	25	3	0	28
	<i>29.8%</i>	<i>9.1%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>23.7%</i>
36-60 years	38	20	0	58
	<i>45.2%</i>	<i>60.6%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>49.2%</i>
Over 60	17	9	0	26
	<i>20.2%</i>	<i>27.3%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>22.0%</i>
Not Stated	4	1	1	6
	<i>4.8%</i>	<i>3.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>5.1%</i>
Total	84	33	1	118
	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Table 12: Suburb x Type of Property

Suburb	My property is...			Total
	a flat/unit	free standing/ duplex	not stated	
Clarendon Vale	7	42	3	52
	<i>13.5%</i>	<i>80.8%</i>	<i>5.8%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Bridgewater	6	15	0	21
	<i>28.6%</i>	<i>71.4%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rokeby	5	7	0	12
	<i>41.7%</i>	<i>58.3%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Ravenswood	4	6	0	10
	<i>40.0%</i>	<i>60.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rocherlea	0	3	6	9
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
East Devonport	1	5	0	6
	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>83.3%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Gagebrook	1	2	0	3
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Shorewell Park	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Not Stated	2	0	1	3
	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Total	26	82	10	118
	<i>22.0%</i>	<i>69.5%</i>	<i>8.5%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Table 13: Sex of Respondents x Type of Property

Sex of Respondents	My property is...			Total
	a flat/unit	free standing/ duplex	not stated	
Female	19	57	8	84
	22.6%	67.9%	9.5%	100.0%
Male	7	25	1	33
	21.2%	75.8%	3.0%	100.0%
Not Stated	0	0	1	1
	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	26	82	10	118
	22.0%	69.5%	8.5%	100.0%

Table 14: Age of Respondents x Type of Property

Age of Respondents	My property is...			Total
	a flat/unit	free standing/ duplex	not stated	
Under 35 years	8	18	2	28
	<i>28.6%</i>	<i>64.3%</i>	<i>7.1%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
36-60 years	6	46	6	58
	<i>10.3%</i>	<i>79.3%</i>	<i>10.3%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Over 60 years	10	15	1	26
	<i>38.5%</i>	<i>57.7%</i>	<i>3.8%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Not Stated	2	3	1	6
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Total	26	82	10	118
	<i>22.0%</i>	<i>69.5%</i>	<i>8.5%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Feelings of Safety

Safety in the Home when Alone

Table 15: Suburb x Safety in the home when alone

Suburb	I feel safe in my home when I am alone				Total
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	26	8	17	1	52
	50.0%	15.4%	32.7%	1.9%	100.0%
Bridgewater	9	4	8	0	21
	42.9%	19.0%	38.1%	0.0%	100.0%
Rokeby	8	0	4	0	12
	66.7%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Ravenswood	3	3	4	0	10
	30.0%	30.0%	40.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Rocherlea	4	2	3	0	9
	44.4%	22.2%	33.3%	0.0%	100.0%
East Devonport	4	0	2	0	6
	66.7%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Gagebrook	2	0	1	0	3
	66.7%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Mowbray	1	0	0	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Shorewell Park	1	0	0	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Not Stated	2	1	0	0	3
	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	60	18	39	1	118
	50.8%	15.3%	33.1%	.8%	100.0%

Table 16: Age of Respondents x Safety in the home when alone

Age of Respondents	I feel safe in my home when I am alone				Total
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not Stated	
Under 35 years	10	7	11	0	28
	35.7%	25.0%	39.3%	0.0%	100.0%
36-60 years	38	6	14	0	58
	65.5%	10.3%	24.1%	0.0%	100.0%
Over 60 years	12	3	11	0	26
	46.2%	11.5%	42.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Not Stated	0	2	3	1	6
	0.0%	33.3%	50.0%	16.7%	100.0%
Total	60	18	39	1	118
	50.8%	15.3%	33.1%	.8%	100.0%

Safety in the Home at Night

Table 17: Suburb x Safety in the home at night

Suburb	I feel safe in my home at night				Total
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	23	7	21	1	52
	44.2%	13.5%	40.4%	1.9%	100.0%
Bridgewater	9	1	11	0	21
	42.9%	4.8%	52.4%	0.0%	100.0%
Rokeby	7	0	5	0	12
	58.3%	0.0%	41.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Ravenswood	1	3	6	0	10
	10.0%	30.0%	60.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Rocherlea	3	3	3	0	9
	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	0.0%	100.0%
East Devonport	4	0	2	0	6
	66.7%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Gagebrook	2	0	1	0	3
	66.7%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Mowbray	0	1	0	0	1
	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Shorewell Park	1	0	0	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Not Stated	1	2	0	0	3
	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	51	17	49	1	118
	43.2%	14.4%	41.5%	.8%	100.0%

Safety in the Neighbourhood

Table 18: Suburb x Safety in the neighbourhood

Suburb	I feel safe walking around my neighbourhood				Total
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	16	5	29	2	52
	30.8%	9.6%	55.8%	3.8%	100.0%
Bridgewater	8	4	9	0	21
	38.1%	19.0%	42.9%	0.0%	100.0%
Rokeby	5	2	5	0	12
	41.7%	16.7%	41.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Ravenswood	2	2	6	0	10
	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Rocherlea	3	1	5	0	9
	33.3%	11.1%	55.6%	0.0%	100.0%
East Devonport	1	2	3	0	6
	16.7%	33.3%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Gagebrook	0	0	3	0	3
	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Mowbray	0	0	1	0	1
	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Shorewell Park	1	0	0	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Not Stated	0	1	2	0	3
	0.0%	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	36	17	63	2	118
	30.5%	14.4%	53.4%	1.7%	100.0%

Capacity to Call on Neighbours for Help

Table 19: Suburb x Capacity to call on neighbours for help

Suburb	I feel I could ask my neighbours for help when I feel safe				Total
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	25	14	12	1	52
	48.1%	26.9%	23.1%	1.9%	100.0%
Bridgewater	11	2	8	0	21
	52.4%	9.5%	38.1%	0.0%	100.0%
Rokeby	7	1	4	0	12
	58.3%	8.3%	33.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Ravenswood	6	1	2	0	9
	66.7%	11.1%	22.2%	0.0%	100.0%
Rocherlea	5	2	2	0	9
	55.6%	22.2%	22.2%	0.0%	100.0%
East Devonport	5	1	0	0	6
	83.3%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Gagebrook	2	1	0	0	3
	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Mowbray	1	0	0	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Shorewell Park	1	0	0	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Not Stated	1	0	1	1	3
	33.3%	0.0%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
Total	64	22	29	2	117
	54.7%	18.8%	24.8%	1.7%	100.0%

Police Living in the Community

Table 20: Suburb x Police living in the community

Suburb	I feel safer by having a police officer living in my community				Total
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	30	7	14	1	52
	57.7%	13.5%	26.9%	1.9%	100.0%
Bridgewater	13	5	3	0	21
	61.9%	23.8%	14.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Rokeby	5	6	1	0	12
	41.7%	50.0%	8.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Ravenswood	7	2	1	0	10
	70.0%	20.0%	10.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Rocherlea	3	1	5	0	9
	33.3%	11.1%	55.6%	0.0%	100.0%
East Devonport	4	0	1	0	5
	80.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Gagebrook	1	0	2	0	3
	33.3%	0.0%	66.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Mowbray	1	0	0	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Shorewell Park	1	0	0	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Not Stated	1	2	0	0	3
	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	66	23	27	1	117
	56.4%	19.7%	23.1%	0.9%	100.0%

Housing Tasmania Responsibility for Safety in the Community

Table 21: Suburb x Housing Tasmania responsibility for safety in the community

Suburb	I feel that Housing Tasmania needs to do more to make my community safe				Total
	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	41	5	5	1	52
	78.8%	9.6%	9.6%	1.9%	100.0%
Bridgewater	14	4	3	0	21
	66.7%	19.0%	14.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Rokeby	6	4	2	0	12
	50.0%	33.3%	16.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Ravenswood	8	2	0	0	10
	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Rocherlea	6	2	0	1	9
	66.7%	22.2%	0.0%	11.1%	100.0%
East Devonport	5	1	0	0	6
	83.3%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Gagebrook	3	0	0	0	3
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Mowbray	1	0	0	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Shorewell Park	0	0	0	1	1
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Not Stated	3	0	0	0	3
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	87	18	10	3	118
	73.7%	15.3%	8.5%	2.5%	100.0%

Anti-Social Behaviour

Table 22: Suburb x Anti-Social Behaviour

Suburb	Anti-Social Behaviour			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	17	33	2	52
	<i>32.7%</i>	<i>63.5%</i>	<i>3.8%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Bridgewater	6	13	2	21
	<i>28.6%</i>	<i>61.9%</i>	<i>9.5%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rokeby	3	9	0	12
	<i>25.0%</i>	<i>75.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Ravenswood	1	8	1	10
	<i>10.0%</i>	<i>80.0%</i>	<i>10.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rocherlea	4	5	0	9
	<i>44.4%</i>	<i>55.6%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
East Devonport	2	3	1	6
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Gagebrook	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Shorewell Park	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Not Stated	1	2	0	3
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Total	34	78	6	118
	<i>28.8%</i>	<i>66.1%</i>	<i>5.1%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Arson

Table 23: Suburb x Arson

Suburb	Arson			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	25	27	0	52
	48.1%	51.9%	0.0%	100.0%
Bridgewater	7	12	2	21
	33.3%	57.1%	9.5%	100.0%
Rokeby	5	7	0	12
	41.7%	58.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Ravenswood	2	8	0	10
	20.0%	80.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Rocherlea	5	3	1	9
	55.6%	33.3%	11.1%	100.0%
East Devonport	4	1	1	6
	66.7%	16.7%	16.7%	100.0%
Gagebrook	1	2	0	3
	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Shorewell Park	1	0	0	1
	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Not Stated	0	3	0	3
	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	50	64	4	118
	42.4%	54.2%	3.4%	100.0%

Burglary

Table 24: Suburb x Burglary

Suburb	Burglary			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	19	33	0	52
	<i>36.5%</i>	<i>63.5%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Bridgewater	4	15	2	21
	<i>19.0%</i>	<i>71.4%</i>	<i>9.5%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rokeby	4	8	0	12
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Ravenswood	1	9	0	10
	<i>10.0%</i>	<i>90.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rocherlea	2	6	1	9
	<i>22.2%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>11.1%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
East Devonport	3	2	1	6
	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Gagebrook	1	2	0	3
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Shorewell Park	1	0	0	1
	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Not Stated	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Total	35	79	4	118
	<i>29.7%</i>	<i>66.9%</i>	<i>3.4%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Car Crimes

Table 25: Suburb x Car Crimes

Suburb	Car Crimes			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	7	44	1	52
	<i>13.5%</i>	<i>84.6%</i>	<i>1.9%</i>	100.0%
Bridgewater	2	18	1	21
	<i>9.5%</i>	<i>85.7%</i>	<i>4.8%</i>	100.0%
Rokeby	2	9	1	12
	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>75.0%</i>	<i>8.3%</i>	100.0%
Ravenswood	2	8	0	10
	<i>20.0%</i>	<i>80.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Rocherlea	1	8	0	9
	<i>11.1%</i>	<i>88.9%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
East Devonport	0	5	1	6
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>83.3%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	100.0%
Gagebrook	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Shorewell Park	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Not Stated	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Total	14	100	4	118
	<i>11.9%</i>	<i>84.7%</i>	<i>3.4%</i>	100.0%

Criminal Damage

Table 26: Suburb x Criminal Damage

Suburb	Criminal Damage			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	15	33	4	52
	<i>28.8%</i>	<i>63.5%</i>	<i>7.7%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Bridgewater	6	13	2	21
	<i>28.6%</i>	<i>61.9%</i>	<i>9.5%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rokeby	5	7	0	12
	<i>41.7%</i>	<i>58.3%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Ravenswood	3	7	0	10
	<i>30.0%</i>	<i>70.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rocherlea	1	8	0	9
	<i>11.1%</i>	<i>88.9%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
East Devonport	2	3	1	6
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Gagebrook	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Shorewell Park	0	0	1	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Not Stated	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Total	32	78	8	118
	<i>27.1%</i>	<i>66.1%</i>	<i>6.8%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Domestic Violence

Table 27: Suburb x Domestic Violence

Suburb	Domestic Violence			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	29	22	1	52
	<i>55.8%</i>	<i>42.3%</i>	<i>1.9%</i>	100.0%
Bridgewater	7	10	4	21
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>47.6%</i>	<i>19.0%</i>	100.0%
Rokeby	6	6	0	12
	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Ravenswood	5	5	0	10
	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Rocherlea	7	2	0	9
	<i>77.8%</i>	<i>22.2%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
East Devonport	2	3	1	6
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	100.0%
Gagebrook	1	2	0	3
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Mowbray	1	0	0	1
	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Shorewell Park	0	0	1	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	100.0%
Not Stated	2	1	0	3
	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Total	60	51	7	118
	<i>50.8%</i>	<i>43.2%</i>	<i>5.9%</i>	100.0%

Drug Crimes

Table 28: Suburb x Drug Crimes

Suburb	Drug Crimes			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	15	34	3	52
	<i>28.8%</i>	<i>65.4%</i>	<i>5.8%</i>	100.0%
Bridgewater	7	11	3	21
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>52.4%</i>	<i>14.3%</i>	100.0%
Rokeby	4	7	1	12
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>58.3%</i>	<i>8.3%</i>	100.0%
Ravenswood	3	7	0	10
	<i>30.0%</i>	<i>70.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Rocherlea	4	4	1	9
	<i>44.4%</i>	<i>44.4%</i>	<i>11.1%</i>	100.0%
East Devonport	1	4	1	6
	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	100.0%
Gagebrook	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Shorewell Park	0	0	1	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	100.0%
Not Stated	1	2	0	3
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Total	35	73	10	118
	29.7%	61.9%	8.5%	100.0%

Excessive Alcohol Consumption

Table 29: Suburb x Excessive Alcohol Consumption

Suburb	Excessive Alcohol Consumption			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	19	32	1	52
	<i>36.5%</i>	<i>61.5%</i>	<i>1.9%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Bridgewater	7	11	3	21
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>52.4%</i>	<i>14.3%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rokeby	5	6	1	12
	<i>41.7%</i>	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>8.3%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Ravenswood	0	10	0	10
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rocherlea	3	6	0	9
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
East Devonport	1	4	1	6
	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Gagebrook	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Shorewell Park	0	0	1	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Not Stated	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Total	35	76	7	118
	<i>29.7%</i>	<i>64.4%</i>	<i>5.9%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Irresponsible Young People

Table 30: Suburb x Irresponsible Young People

Suburb	Excessive Alcohol Consumption			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	12	39	1	52
	<i>23.1%</i>	<i>75.0%</i>	<i>1.9%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Bridgewater	6	14	1	21
	<i>28.6%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>4.8%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rokeby	2	10	0	12
	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>83.3%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Ravenswood	1	9	0	10
	<i>10.0%</i>	<i>90.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rocherlea	4	5	0	9
	<i>44.4%</i>	<i>55.6%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
East Devonport	0	4	2	6
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Gagebrook	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Shorewell Park	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Not Stated	0	2	1	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Total	25	88	5	118
	<i>21.2%</i>	<i>74.6%</i>	<i>4.2%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Sexual Assault

Table 31: Suburb x Sexual Assault

Suburb	Sexual Assault			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	39	11	2	52
	<i>75.0%</i>	<i>21.2%</i>	<i>3.8%</i>	100.0%
Bridgewater	13	3	5	21
	<i>61.9%</i>	<i>14.3%</i>	<i>23.8%</i>	100.0%
Rokeby	8	3	1	12
	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>25.0%</i>	<i>8.3%</i>	100.0%
Ravenswood	5	5	0	10
	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Rocherlea	5	4	0	9
	<i>55.6%</i>	<i>44.4%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
East Devonport	5	0	1	6
	<i>83.3%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	100.0%
Gagebrook	2	1	0	3
	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Mowbray	1	0	0	1
	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Shorewell Park	0	0	1	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	100.0%
Not Stated	3	0	0	3
	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Total	81	27	10	118
	<i>68.6%</i>	<i>22.9%</i>	<i>8.5%</i>	100.0%

Vandalism

Table 32: Suburb x Vandalism

Suburb	Vandalism			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	13	37	2	52
	<i>25.0%</i>	<i>71.2%</i>	<i>3.8%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Bridgewater	4	15	2	21
	<i>19.0%</i>	<i>71.4%</i>	<i>9.5%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rokeby	5	6	1	12
	<i>41.7%</i>	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>8.3%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Ravenswood	0	10	0	10
	<i>.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Rocherlea	2	7	0	9
	<i>22.2%</i>	<i>77.8%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
East Devonport	2	3	1	6
	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Gagebrook	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Shorewell Park	0	0	1	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Not Stated	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
Total	26	85	7	118
	<i>22.0%</i>	<i>72.0%</i>	<i>5.9%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Violence/Threats of Violence in Public Places

Table 33: Suburb x Violence/Threats of Violence in Public Places

Suburb	Vandalism			Total
	Safe	Unsafe	Not Stated	
Clarendon Vale	16	34	2	52
	<i>30.8%</i>	<i>65.4%</i>	<i>3.8%</i>	100.0%
Bridgewater	5	12	4	21
	<i>23.8%</i>	<i>57.1%</i>	<i>19.0%</i>	100.0%
Rokeby	3	8	1	12
	<i>25.0%</i>	<i>66.7%</i>	<i>8.3%</i>	100.0%
Ravenswood	1	9	0	10
	<i>10.0%</i>	<i>90.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Rocherlea	4	5	0	9
	<i>44.4%</i>	<i>55.6%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
East Devonport	3	2	1	6
	<i>50.0%</i>	<i>33.3%</i>	<i>16.7%</i>	100.0%
Gagebrook	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Mowbray	0	1	0	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Shorewell Park	0	0	1	1
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	100.0%
Not Stated	0	3	0	3
	<i>0.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>0.0%</i>	100.0%
Total	32	77	9	118
	<i>27.1%</i>	<i>65.3%</i>	<i>7.6%</i>	100.0%

Appendix Three: Research Instruments

Officer Next Door Report Fields

- Officer's Name
- Police District
- Police Station
- Property Suburb
- Property Address
- Date of Occupancy
- Date of Report
- Reporting Period Start
- Reporting Period Stop
- Rent Paid in Advance
- Another Family Member Resides at Property
- Details of family member(s)
- Housing Tasmania Inspected Property
- Previous Activity Report Submitted
- Currently Uniformed Officer
- Works in Vicinity to Property
- Engaged in Community Based Program
- Details of Community Based Program
- Spoken with District Community Policing Officer
- Details of Meeting with DCPO
- Number of Incident Reports
- Details of Incident Reports
- Number of Times Advice Given to Neighbourhood
- Details of Advice Given to Neighbourhood
- Proactive Crime Prevention Advice Given
- Number of Reports to Radio Dispatch Services
- Details of Reports to Radio Dispatch Services
- Number of Infringement Notices
- Details of Infringement Notices
- Anti-Social Behaviour Problems in Area
- Is Residency Strategic to HT or TasPol
- Reasons Residency is Strategic
- Description of Visible Presence

Interview Schedule (Housing Tasmania Officers)

- What is your understanding of the goals and objectives of the Officer Next Door program?
- What support is provided by Housing Tasmania to assist Officers Next Door?
- What strategies (other than OND) are in place to reduce the fear of crime, actual crime and/or anti-social behaviour?
- What are the common neighbourhood safety issues raised by residents?
- Have you received any feedback from residents about the OND program?
What issues have been raised by residents?
- Is there enough contact/liaison between the ONDs and Housing Tasmania?
 - Would like the ONDs to play a larger role in other Housing Tasmania initiatives or policy development?
- Do you believe that reassurance policing programs such as OND assist in reducing fear of crime, actual crime, and/or anti-social behaviour in Housing Tasmania communities?
- What could be done to enhance the program to increase its effectiveness in reducing fear of crime, actual crime and/or anti-social behaviour?

Interview Schedule (Tasmania Police District Commanders)

- What is your understanding of the goals and objectives of the Officer Next Door program?
- What support is provided by the Patrol to assist Officers Next Door?
- Do ONDs provide Tasmania Police with additional intelligence about anti-social or criminal behaviour?
- Do you believe that reassurance policing programs such as OND assist in reducing fear of crime, actual crime, and/or anti-social behaviour in at-risk communities?
- What personal and/or professional attributes are essential for good ONDs?
- Are there changes required to the program to ensure that it dove-tails with other local policing initiatives?
 - Do 'harder' policing techniques (such as crack downs on hooning etc) undermine the goals of ONDs and vice versa?
- Do you believe that ONDs are at-risk being placed in these communities?
 - Does this mean that they require additional support from the patrol to ensure their safety?
- What could be done to enhance the program to increase its effectiveness in reducing fear of crime, actual crime and/or anti-social behaviour?

Interview Schedule (Officers Next Door)

- Why did you decide to be part of the Officer Next Door Program?
- What did you think being on Officer Next Door would involve?
- Did you receive an induction to the program?
 - Should ONDs be inducted into the program? If so, what should this involve?
- Do you share the property with family members or housemates?
 - If family, what do they think about being recruits in the program?
- In what ways do you participate in the community?
 - Are you a member of Neighbourhood Watch?
- Do you know your neighbours?
- Do your neighbours know that you are a police officer?
- Do you feel safe in your home?
 - Are you having problems, or are you being harassed by neighbours because you are a police officer?
 - Are home modifications required to make your home safer?
- Do you report anti-social or criminal behaviour to your local patrol station?
 - If so, do you receive adequate support from your local patrol for the work you are doing in your neighbourhood?
- What are the most common anti-social or criminal behaviours you encounter in your neighbourhood?
- What are the advantages/disadvantages of being an OND Officer?
- What changes are needed to make the OND program more successful in:
 - Reducing fear of crime
 - Reducing actual crime
 - Reducing anti-social behaviour
- Do the reduced rental payments adequately recompense you for what you are required to do as an OND?
- Would you continue to be an OND officer if you were required to:
 - Be reimbursed your rent after showing/proving participation in your community?
 - Be required to be a member of Neighbourhood Watch, or assist in the establishment of Neighbourhood Watch program?

Focus Group Schedule

- Why did you decide to be part of the Officer Next Door Program?
- What does neighbourhood safety mean to you?
- What are the things that make you feel unsafe in your home or neighbourhood?
- What would make you feel safer?
- Do you think you could ask for help from your neighbours if you felt unsafe?
- What role do Housing Tasmania, Tasmania Police and/or the local community play in bringing about neighbourhood safety?
- Do you know about the Officer Next Door program?
If so, what do you know about the program?
- What do you think the Officer Next Door program does to assist in making communities safer?
- Are there any problems associated with having a police officer living in your neighbourhood?
- What more could the Officer Next Door program do to make your neighbourhood safer?
- Are there any issues you would like raised with Housing Tasmania or Tasmania Police in relation to neighbourhood safety?

Residents' Survey



Principal Researcher:
Project Title:

Dr Nicole Asquith
Review and Evaluation of the
Officer Next Door Program

Sex: Female Male

Age: _____ Postcode: _____

Street Name: _____

My property is: in a block of flats/units
 free standing or a duplex

Please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
I feel safe in my home when I am alone					
I feel safe in my home at night					
I feel safe walking around my neighbourhood					
I feel I could ask my neighbours for help when I feel unsafe					
I feel safer by having a police officer living in my community					
I feel that Housing Tasmania needs to do more to make my community safe					

Please turn over the page for further questions

Please rate your levels of safety in relation to the activities listed below:

	VERY SAFE	FAIRLY SAFE	A BIT UNSAFE	VERY UNSAFE
Anti-social behaviour				
Arson				
Burglary				
Car crimes (including hooning)				
Criminal damage				
Domestic violence				
Drug crimes				
Excessive alcohol consumption				
Irresponsible young people				
Sexual assault				
Vandalism				
Violence (or threat of violence) in public places				

How do you feel about living in your community? Do you have any other comments about safety in your community?

Thank you for helping us understand safety issues in your community

Appendix Four: Selection Criteria for Officers Next Door

An ideal selection criteria would include questions relating to basic demographic data relevant to the duties and expectations of Officers Next Door, and more detailed statements from prospective ONDs that illustrate their understanding of the program, community policing principles and knowledge of the community into which they will be housed.

In the first part, prospective ONDs should be asked about their personal and work characteristics, such as:

Gender	Both male and female officers raised concerns about single female officers in properties alone
Length of Service	Officers with pre-existing connections with the community (either personal or work related), or community networks were identified as better prepared for the position
Personality	Outgoing approach, with ability to willingly engage in social interactions
Motivation	Primary reasons for participation in program; in addition to financial reasons, applicants should include altruistic reasons (either for the community and/or stakeholder)
Plans	Viewing OND properties as temporary accommodation (while their own house is built or deposit saved) was viewed as counter-productive to community engagement
Household Arrangements	Planned and possible co-residents, including friends, partner, and children, and whether these are aware of the aims and expectations of the program, and the possible consequences of moving into the community. Children were considered an advantage to community engagement, but they may also be most at risk of facing safety issues. Equally, partners and friends may encounter the same treatment from the community as a police officer.

In the second part of the selection instrument, prospective ONDs should be required to provide two brief written statements. In the first statement, applicants should demonstrate:

- their understanding of community policing principles,
- their previous experience in community events and/or organisations, or neighbourhood engagement
- their experience of negotiating with people from different backgrounds, and ability to mediate conflict situations

In the second written statement, applicants should demonstrate:

- their knowledge of the aims and expectations of the Officer Next Door program
- their knowledge of the community where they will live

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Endnotes

- ¹ The number of unemployed persons expressed as a percentage of the total labour force. The number of persons in the labour force expressed as a percentage of persons aged 15 years and over. The number of employed persons expressed as a percentage of persons aged 15 years and over.
- ² The 2008 data is 'year to date' only. The offence data were extracted on 22 October 2008 and include all offences reported until 21 October 2008.
- ³ The crime rate is based on a calculation of gross incident numbers as a proportion of total population in each of the research sites. The 2003-2005 crime rates are based on the 2001 ABS census numbers and the 2006-2008YTD crime rates are based on 2006 ABS census numbers. The population totals are based on the ABS State Suburb data for all research sites, except for Devonport (which is based on the ABS Statistical Local Area) and Ulverstone (which is based on the ABS Urban Centre/Locality). These latter two population measurements more closely reflect the Tasmania Police data collection for these regions.
- ⁴ The focus group for Clarendon Vale and Rokeby were combined and held in the Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre, and the focus group for Bridgewater and Gagebrook were combined and held in the Bridgewater Neighbourhood Centre.
- ⁵ All Other Streets includes 19 streets in Clarendon Vale with fewer than 35 reported incidents over the six years under study in this research.

