A Snapshot of the Policing Practitioner and Academic Nexus:
The Search for Enhanced Public Safety and Security

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ABSTRACT

This article explores how policing practitioners and academics at the 2011 IPES meeting shared collaborative reflections and creative responses in order to improve public safety and security. Debate focused on how best to establish safer communities, but participants conceded that this will always remain a work-in-progress. This article argues that community trust and confidence in police and police having trust in communities are essential ingredients for nurturing police-community partnerships and public safety. A range of issues is discussed: evidence-based policing, research and practice interconnection, citizen surveys and observations, best practice in public order policing, global security, and crime prevention initiatives.

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Introduction

The genesis of this article was the meeting of the Twenty-First International Police Executive Symposium which was held in Karlskona, Sweden (Blekinge County[1]), at the Blekinge Institute of Technology, from 10-14 August 2011. The theme of this special meeting was "Contemporary Issues in Public Safety and Security". The meeting comprised a mixture of both police personnel and academics from a number of countries, who explored theoretical and practical concepts. The symposium was a comparative forum for shared ideas, reflections, strategies and philosophies of policing.

Although change within police organisations, especially based on academic debate and empirical evidence has been relatively slow (Stanko et al 2012, p. 328), progress is evident. Both police and academics have much to offer one another; this article highlights some of the constructive interaction displayed at the IPES meeting. Such annual meetings, in the words of IPES President Dilip Das, "comprise both structured and informal sessions to maximize dialogue and exchange of views and information" (Das 2012, p. 300). The August 2012 edition of *Police, Practice & Research* documented the intrinsic value of police-academic projects and collaboration. In all, there were forty presenters, who shared knowledge at the Karlskrona meeting. In order to highlight pivotal insights, research and recommendations, I have selected approximately a dozen presentations for exploratory comment in this article.

Themes and issues emerged from the meeting that occasioned considerable reflection and re-assessment of some policing practices. Just as evidence-based

[1] Sweden comprises approximately nine million people who are policed by 23,000 officers. The Blekinge County, in the south of Sweden, comprises approximately 150,000 people. It borders the counties of Skåne, Kronoberg, Kalmar and the Baltic Sea. The capital is Karlskrona, population approximately 33,000. It is the smallest of the administrative counties of Sweden, covering only 0.7 % of the total area.

policing is vital in the 21st century, so also, evidence is the basis of much academic research. Practical policing reforms stem from research, evidence gathering and analysis. Through a series of selective case-studies, this article argues the intrinsic value of police practitioners and academics working together, sharing information and employing lateral thinking in order to improve public safety and security world-wide. Fleming (2010, p. 139) emphasises the importance and utility of police and academics involved in "continuous communication, negotiation, and understanding" of the other's perspective in order to improve criminal justice outcomes. Too often police have been excluded from the research loop "and not quite sure where the research is at" (Fleming 2010, p. 142). Despite contrary historical cultures and differing philosophies, both police and universities are increasingly operating in a world that relies on networks and partnerships and both more than ever value collaboration whether that engagement stems from workshops, seminars, conferences, consultancies or collaborative government funded projects (see Fleming 2011, p. 386; Kratcoski 2012, p. 305). Murji (2010, p. 92) argues that the tensions between the academic and police environments offers "a creative space in which new ideas and approaches can be considered". Marks et al (2010, p. 112) explore how police and academic researchers work together in order to achieve new ways of thinking and acting within police organisations. *PPR*'s objective lauds the communication between practitioners and academics as "essential for innovative police work".

As policing operates in an unpredictable and rapidly changing environment, evidence- informed policing can set the framework for managerial and operational improvements. Evidence-based policing incorporates a scientific approach that stems from a similar drive for improved practice in medicine which de-emphasises intuition, unsystematic experience and general theoretical assumptions about the causes of problems (A. Das, 2011). This evidence-based approach has achieved some success in policing which is best exemplified in the work of the Campbell Collaboration's Crime and Justice Group. Sherman (1998, p. 1) argues that just doing research is not enough and that proactive efforts are required to push accumulated evidence into practice through national and community guidelines. Sherman (1998, p. 2) elicits the basis of change in policing: "police practices should be based on scientific evidence about what

works best", but implementation is also imperative. Many police and academics share a common methodology of evidence-based investigation or research.

Serious problems can arise if policing policy lacks a sufficient evidence-informed basis. My home state of Victoria, Australia, provides a contemporary example of such a deficiency, not the result of police inadequacies but rather political populism. As Stanko et al (2012, p. 328) argue, if policing policy fails to incorporate academic debate and empirical evidence, politicians and moral entrepreneurs focus on the narrow and populist view of crime-fighting. The Liberal-National Coalition in November 2010 won Victoria's state election with law and order as a key plank of its campaign. One aspect of the "tough on crime" approach was the promise of employing 940 Protective Services Officers (PSOs) by November 2014. Two PSOs, armed with semi-automatic guns, are to be deployed on every urban, suburban and regional train station between 6pm and 3am; many on dark, isolated and often deserted stations. But the evidence to substantiate such deployment is virtually non-existent: significant problems have been experienced at only three major train stations; 116 stations experienced no assaults in the 2008-2009 period; and some have not reported any violence for ten years. Most Melbournian train stations do not experience any serious crimes for months on end (Sexton, 2012). Violence is a more common phenomenon in the home (Le Grand & Ferguson, 2012). The political opportunism occasioned by fear of crime has been fuelled by the tabloid media. Victoria Police has been entrusted to train and incorporate these PSOs. Due to a void of evidence-based planning, problems have already emerged: only twelve weeks training for the PSOs compared to thirty-three weeks for a Victoria Police officer; inadequate supervision of these armed personnel late at night; lack of toilet facilities at stations; difficulties of transporting PSOs to and from train stations; arrest powers yet to be tested in court; and problems of recruitment and low pay. The Victorian Government has recently stated that it is transferring the responsibility to the Victoria Police to ultimately decide the deployment and location of PSOs (Sexton, 2012).

The academic tests one's hypothesis by gathering and analysing the appropriate data. Conclusions are based on that. The police and the academic approaches similarly advocate and implement evidence-based policies and practices. Both

police and academics in their spheres of influence need to follow an appropriate model of research, undertake data analysis and seek practical solutions. A bulwark to improvements in public safety and security is sometimes lack of persistence by some police leaders and academics in striving to overcome barriers to reform and progress.

This article is selective and eclectic: it targets and highlights some of the incisive and cutting-edge approaches to tackling but a few of the issues and practices pertinent to contemporary public safety and security.

(i)   Trust

Trust is a vital ingredient, a fundamental but elusive quality, of police and community partnerships to enhance public safety and security, and thus quality of life experience. Community trust in the police is advantageous for public safety and information sharing, and police having trust in community can achieve improved crime reduction results. However, the trust between police and citizen varies markedly from country to country. Emisem and Abonia (2011) depict Nigeria, a country with more than 250 ethnic groups and only one police officer for approximately every 1,000 people, as a vast country with serious crime and safety issues confronting the criminal justice institutions.

Angela Workman-Stark (2011), Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer and academic, explores the meaning of a legitimate police organisation and how the concept of police legitimacy impacts upon efforts to improve police effectiveness. The police legitimacy theory implies that when the public trust the police as legitimate and consented authority, they are more likely to voluntarily comply with the law and to cooperate with the police. Stanko et al (2012: 328) assert that police legitimacy is advanced "by building of policing relationships with individuals and communities". Workman-Stark (2011) argues that low legitimacy clearly has a negative impact on police effectiveness which impinges adversely upon public safety.

According to Fleming and McLaughlin (2012, p. 261), "public trust and confidence are fundamental" aspects of police research and policy implementation. These concepts are often ignored, but they were often repeated

by IPES delegates when discussing police-community partnerships. Police in western democracies are beginning to focus more on building trust and confidence in their role and services as they respond to "the conflicting demands and needs of an increasingly complex society and ever-expectant citizen-customers" (Fleming & McLaughlin, 2012, p. 261; see also Baker & Hyde, 2011). Police rely on adequate public support and cooperation to perform their mandated role in society. A trusting public are more likely to invest police with greater cooperation, support and revenue. The procedural justice policing model offers scope for establishing police fairness, trust and legitimacy (Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Reisig & Lloyd 2009). Police effectiveness needs to be measured in terms of evaluations of public confidence and trust, and balanced by the traditional indices of police performance. Public confidence and trust in police is vital for legitimate policing and enhances the criminal justice procedures (Tyler and Huo, 2002). If police treat people with dignity and respect, people will accept legal authority and be cooperative. Tyler and Huo (2002, pp. xiv, 203) contend that communities accept legal decisions, even if unfavourable, as long as they can trust the motives of police and legal authorities and believe that the procedures are fair.

(ii)   Crime Prevention and Reduction Initiatives

British Columbia's crime reduction model, based on United Kingdom experiments and experiences and instrumental in the most significant crime reduction in Canadian history, focuses on stakeholder groups working closely together to target habitual and persistent criminals (Plecas, 2011). Previously, some Canadian cities had been beset by escalating crime rates, low clearance rates, deteriorating police response capacity and declining effectiveness; and spiralling costs of investigation.[2] Vancouver was depicted as the property crime capital of Canada. Declining public confidence in policing was associated with shrinking financial resources (Plecas, 2011). However, there were success stories elsewhere: the "great successes" of New York's capacity to transform the city into

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[2] For instance, the notorious "pig farmer case" cost $164 million Canadian to investigate. Robert Pickton, a former pig farmer, was sentenced to life imprisonment in British Columbia in December 2007. The serial killer confessed to an undercover police officer that he had murdered 49 women.

a safer place, and some spectacular crime reduction strategies and initiatives in the United Kingdom [35% crime reduction between 1997 and 2009] (Plecas et al, 2009, p. 3).

Deputy Commissioner Gary Bass of the RCMP in conjunction with the University of British Columbia's team led by Darryl Plecas instigated the vigorous crime reduction model that envisaged police as one stakeholder amongst a number who worked collaboratively to achieve results. This crime reduction strategy, acknowledging police inadequacies to respond to crime, comprised "a comprehensive, community wide, intelligence-led, and evidence-based response to the problem of crime" (Plecas et al, 2009, p.1).

This crime reduction model initiative (similar to problem-oriented policing that has emerged in parts of the USA, the United Kingdom and Australia, but with different results) centres on known prolific offenders, based on the criminological theory that getting them off the streets will reduce crime significantly (Plecas, 2011). Since most crime is committed by a small element of the criminal population, targeting prolific offenders can result in significant reduction in crime rates. The primary focus is on offenders, not offences. Plecas et al (2009, p. 4) argue that "certain offenders are highly recidivistic and responsible for a disproportionately large volume of crime". Controversially, Plecas et al (2009) support "a full application of the law" against prolific and priority offenders in order to reduce "the revolving door syndrome". However, the program also aims to connect non-prolific offenders to the necessary resources to reduce the underlying causes of criminal behaviour and to attack the underlying cause of their crime, such as addiction, poverty, mental illness or lack of education (http://www.ufv.ca/MarCom/newsroom/crimereduction.htm). This comprehensive model, which is based on the total criminal justice system, ensures that all social and community partners including police, youth counsellors, health care, education, social services, corrections, housing, and children and families agencies are directly involved in treating such offenders to increase their chances of rehabilitation.

Plecas (2011) bluntly asserts the worth of this model in forging a safer community: "Nothing else has had such a great impact on crime. We're seeing cooperation across parts of the system, and a unified focus on addressing the

problem of crime, that we've never seen before." Through this multiple stakeholder intervention, Plecas (2011) claims that British Columbia in recent years has had three times the crime reduction of other parts of Canada. He confidently estimates that crime will "plummet" in British Columbia over the next five years by at least another 50% (Plecas et al, 2009, p. 3). The one impediment would be government reduction in law enforcement resources.

Plecas (2011) identifies key factors that contribute to crime reduction:

- Committed partnerships between police and communities create results, when they are prepared to be decisive and contribute resources. The RCMP acts as the facilitator and community motivator.
- Evidence-based and information-led approaches yield knowledge for action and evaluation of programs.
- An easily accessible, single information data base is required for police organizations (at present, Toronto Police has over 800 databases). Intelligence analysts should share information across police districts. Criminal justice academics should have access to appropriate police data in order to assist police planning.
- Strong leadership is vital as the leader directs and motivates the crime reduction initiative. Police chiefs need to be held responsible for performance and removed if crime reduction is not achieved.
- The focus should be on the offenders as most crime is committed by a relatively small group of people who need to be removed from society until rehabilitated.
- Agencies, police and others, need to cooperate and share information.

Specific strategies reinforce the worth of local police-community crime prevention initiatives. Police in Karlskrona (Sweden) have utilised "Citizen Satisfaction Studies" as a guide to local policing and its problem-oriented police operations on the streets (Svartz, 2011). These surveys, based on collective rather than individual responses, feature local concerns, and the customers' perspective of police actions. Karlskrona at night has been transformed from a perceived unsafe city to a safer one, with considerably less assaults in the Central Business District in 2011 than in 2005. The citizen surveys have formed the base line for police action in curbing alcohol-fuelled violence in the Karlskrona CBD (Wikander, 2012). As a result of the customer surveys, police in Karlskrona have identified and monitored "hot spots"; worn reflective yellow vests for high visibility at night around hotels and discos; established voluntary night patrols;

assisted environmental improvements such as security walks; used powers in relation to alcoholism and drunkenness as crime prevention tools to detain drunken people for eight hours; and collaborated with multiple stakeholders including restaurateurs and doormen at hotels and clubs. Like the larger British Columbia model, the Karlskrona strategy relies on persistent, clear and direct police messages about targeting aggression and violence, and collaboration between community and police.

(iii)   Public Order Policing Variables

Public order policing, an explicit IPES theme, is central to any discussion of public safety and security. This section is confined to an analysis of a few selected aspects of the policing of aggression and violence on the street.

Football matches across Europe, such as the policing of football violence and ethnic hatred in Bosnia and Herzegovina, have represented national animosities and hence are potential events for violence and ethnocentric hostilities (Palmiotto et al, 2011). Violence and unruly behaviour at sporting events, particularly at football matches, is an international problem and it has spread rapidly across European countries (Simonovic, Durdevic & Otasevic, 2011). While football violence is prevalent in Europe, the USA is experiencing spontaneous, unorganized violence (Madensen & Eck, 2008, p. 2).[3]

In his contemporary analysis of the Egyptian Police response to the Egyptian Revolution of 25 January 2011, when demonstrators inspired a revolution that culminated in regime change and the ousting of President Hosni Mubarak, Abelmottlep (2011) argues that police violence and abusiveness toward the demonstrators turned them into an angry mob, further exacerbating their hostility toward the government resulting in the fall of the Mubarak regime. In the early

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[3] The paper of Simonovic, Durdevic and Otasevic (2011) at IPES examined the European standards of police procedures and practices at sporting events in Serbia and also sought to construct international standards football matches. The authors argue that, as the problem of violence at sporting events is becoming more complex, the need for both specialized personnel and specialized organizational units within the police, prosecution and the courts has accelerated considerably. Serbia needs to introduce contemporary European standards of police procedure to control violence and hooliganism at sports events.

stages of the crisis, Egypt was reliant on its police, who had no clear understanding of how to confront and control a modern large protest movement (Abelmottlep, 2011). The Egyptian police service is in need of both drastic reform and transformation from being a mere security tool of government to a professional police force charged with serving the public. Practical recommendations for modernization of the Egyptian Police include: the police service should be placed under the control of elected officials; the concept of a civilian policing should be promoted; a culture of excellence, innovation and creativity needs to be fostered; the internal organizational structure demands modernization; police training and education must be reformed; technological utilization incorporated into policing; some police services should be privatized; and new security and public safety strategies should be adopted (Abelmottlep, 2011). Such reforms would allow the police to focus on the core business of public safety, crime prevention and other policing services.

Rather than analysing violent clashes between police and protesters, much of the Baker's research (2008, 2011a) has highlighted attempts by both police and protesters to avoid violence at major disputes, protests and events. Historically, public order clashes between police and protesters in Australia have been intermittent and erratic, but police responses were often repressive and violent (Baker, 2005). By the 1990s, police leadership generally was advocating communication, negotiated management and a less coercive approach to large-scale protests. With the exception of extreme militants, police dialogue with union organisers and protest leaders is now accepted practice in Australia.

The 1998 Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) industrial dispute saw modern-day police leaders aware of the risks of attempting to crash through large-scale picketing. Similarly, union leaders saw the folly of physical confrontation with police, who were not the adversary in the dispute (Baker, 2005). Police adopted "softer" policing tactics during the prolonged MUA dispute partly because their desired results matched union needs to avoid violence. However, police still largely conduct order maintenance and peace-keeping on their own terms (Waddington, 1994). As police determine what is acceptable and what is unacceptable behaviour at the union picket-line and as they are backed by both the law and the potential use of legitimate force including advanced paramilitary

weaponry, police negotiate the ground rules from a position of superiority (Baker, 2012).

The policing of the APEC summit in Sydney's Central Business District of 2-9 September 2007 represented the largest security operation in Australia's history. During APEC preparations, terrorism fears meshed with plans to control protest activism that was directed against foreign dignitaries. APEC presented the NSW Police Force with a unique array of circumstances and challenges as the Force prepared to balance the lawful right for peaceful protest with both public safety and the security of twenty-one world leaders accompanied by 5000 officials and 1500 international journalists (Baker, 2008).

"Show" – displays of force and messages of danger – was central to police APEC preparations. The early intervention involved quick, direct and surgical removal of identified troublemakers from the scene. Combined police-military exercises were staged prior to APEC, a display of strength to discourage dissent. Prior to the event, the NSW Public Order Riot Squad displayed its state of the art riot technology: a fleet of ten black Hummers specially-equipped with sidewalks; special broad horizon cameras; disorientating high-beam torches, high-speed boats, modified helicopters and its newly-acquired and intimidating $700,000 water cannon vehicle. The water cannon was not used, but it was available and, more importantly, potential protesters were aware of its deployment availability.

In a less violent setting than many European and American counter summit confrontations (Baker, 2012), APEC 2007 witnessed senior police and other security officials, who were empowered with unprecedented powers and who instigated extensive "exclusionary zones" (security perimeter) that covered the Sydney business district. Sydney was a sight of empty streets with concrete barriers, a five-kilometre 2.8 metre high fence, riot squad sharpshooters and helicopters. In accordance with some European public order strategies "tending to exclusion instead of inclusion" (della Porta et al., 2006, p. 37), the objective was to prevent violence and confrontation by keeping potential protesters away from the proximity of APEC delegates. According to Baker (2008, 2012), the threat of police force, rather than its actual implementation, restrained potential protest participation and thus limited violence. Exclusionary zones have been tried and found effective in preventing confrontation at some major protest events but the

negative is the potential deterrence to genuine protest expression and activity. Protest in Australia takes place in distinctive geographic and political contexts and the general Australian police experience is that only a minority engages in unlawful protest behaviour.

Research of the policing of Camps for Climate Action reveals differing policing strategies to ensure public safety. The policing of these camps, loose conglomerations of affinity groups, challenges police capability not only to accommodate such protests and but also to maintain security, control and order. Analysis of the policing of two recent UK climate camps at Kingsnorth (2008) and Blackheath (2009) reveals how both internal and external inquiries have acted as catalysts for police attitudinal change for handling climate camp protests (Baker 2010, 2011a, 2011b). Although police and protesters maintain some traditional mutual suspicion of each other and although the police organizational structure is an anathema to climate-campers who shun accountable leadership, Baker (2008, 2011a) stresses the importance of meaningful dialogue and negotiation between police and protesters for the successful facilitation of peaceful protest. IPES delegates were challenged to consider how much the police of their own country utilize communication and negotiation tactics when planning to encounter public dissent and during such public order events.

(iv)   Security in South Africa

Specific criminological problems, evoking human rights concerns, have been addressed by South African academics at IPES.

The rampant growth of security measures (gated neighbourhoods, road closures, private-security villages/estates, public and private CCTV surveillance) has evolved from "an almost paranoid fear of crime and extreme feelings of insecurity" (Minnaar, 2010, p. 195). Communities that cannot afford private security have adopted self-policing activities ranging from neighbourhood watch schemes to vigilante patrols; wealthier communities have employed private security companies to install and manage security barriers, alarms and CCTV. Public surveys in South Africa identify high levels of insecurity and fears for personal safety as a major concern (Minnaar, 2010). The assumption underlying

gated communities is that crime would be reduced by installing street CCTV and controlling egress from neighbourhoods.

According to Minnaar (2011), who analysed community safety initiatives and the use of CCTV surveillance in residential neighbourhoods of South Africa, CCTV is more prevalent in the affluent districts of South Africa because it has filled a void resulting from a lack of service provided by the public police. Private-controlled CCTV raises civil rights concerns about who performs the monitoring, the storage of the data, its potential use as evidence and potential exploitation of information (Minnaar, 2010). The increasing number of "stand-alone" communities needs to be integrated within the relevant city systems. Minnaar (2011) presents the conundrum of why there is such widespread acceptance of such pervasive security and the willingness of citizens to pay for it. The answer, he suggests, lies in the fact that many South Africans are both weary and wary of being repeatedly victims of crime and that they desire a safer and more secure future. Another recommendation is that South Africa Police need to considerably improve response action times if general public safety and confidence are to be enhanced (Minnaar, 2011).

One of a number of other disturbing issues is escalating violence in schools in South Africa. In order to improve security in schools, a "safer school model" must be developed to protect scholars, teachers and property. Schools are ill-prepared for any disasters or acts of violence; therefore, greater security measures are needed to improve student safety (van Jaarsveld, 2011).

The proliferation of Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) has created the opportunity for crime through various methods of illegal access such as ram raids and gas attacks. Research indicates that rapid police responses, incapacitation of offenders, relocation of ATMs, installation of anti-ramming devices and working partnerships with stakeholders and situational crime prevention can achieve some success (Prenzler, 2011).[4] The problem of securing and combating the "bombing" of Automated Teller Machines has become rampant in South Africa. Between April 2007 and March 2009, 819 bombings took place, most of which were

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[4] Prenzler's New South Wales studies (2011) detail a range of counter-measures to combat ATM bombing and ram raids.

successful. Authorities need to be adaptive to new threats and criminal *modus operandi*. The South Africa Banking Risk Information Centre has advocated various strategies: Banknote Watch; bounty hunters (private investigators to utilize underworld sources); MEMEX data sharing; ATM alarms and Roller-shutter doors at ATMs (Sewpersad, 2011).

(v)   Police Interrogation Methods

Naturally, not all research of police practices will elicit positive evaluations. Lessons can be drawn from research which reveals inappropriate practices and conduct and which, in turn, undermines confidence in policing.

Larsen's in-depth case-study critique of police interrogation methods (2011) explores the legal and ethical requirements for a voluntary confession. Larsen, Milnes and Crowley (2011) investigate how impartiality was violated in the Perth case of Dante Arthurs where parts of a confession involving a child's murder were deemed involuntary. In 2003, a young girl was assaulted in Perth, Western Australia. Arthurs was taken into police custody and interviewed. However, the police record of interview was deemed inadmissible as evidence in court because the police were "too aggressive in questioning" (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2007). The charge was dropped. Three years later, Arthurs was again taken into police custody and interviewed following an eight year-old girl's murder in a local shopping centre. Detectives once again failed to meet police interviewing standards for impartiality and parts of Arthurs' second interview were deemed inadmissible (Larsen et al, 2011). The dividing line between ethical and improper conduct was crossed when police questioning became "very repetitive, very leading and persistent" (*Arthurs v The State of Western Australia* 209 55 WASC 2007) and when they did not accede to Arthurs' repeated requests for a lawyer. Police had one goal – a confession (Larsen et al, 2011).

The detectives had been pressured to find the killer; they were frustrated by Arthurs' lack of cooperation; and they believed they had their man. However, they were still obliged to remain impartial, despite their considered knowledge that he was guilty. There were few practical guidelines to assist the police who relied on informal "know-how", knowledge that does not require police officers to consider the ethical considerations of their actions, examine their emotions or

encourage impartiality. Instead, "know-how" is informed by "war-stories" or individual police "life-world" experience that fails to inhibit words and deeds (Larsen et al, 2011). Despite the police failings, Arthurs pleaded guilty on the 19th September 2007 and is now serving a 15 year prison term for unlawful detainment and murder.

Larsen et al (2011) describe the steps taken by the Western Australian Police to regain public trust following this atypical violation that outraged Western Australians. They conclude that all police officers require the ability to secure voluntary confessions by learning and practising the virtue of impartiality, the art of listening and getting someone to talk without coercion. Interrogation training, which overlooks ethical components and emotional tendencies, is likely to have limited success in preventing improper police conduct and may lead to miscarriages of justice (Larsen et al, 2011). Like the Stephen Lawrence case in the UK[5], police mishandling of interrogations required exposure before policy changes were introduced into the WA Police Academy training. The researchers advocate consideration of the ethical issues and the necessity for police detectives to hold their temper in spite of provocation. The practice of personal insight and the ability to monitor emotional excess in spite of extreme provocation require attention within Police Academy curricula (Larsen et al, 2011).

(vi)   Re-thinking Global Security

Mark Fallon (2011), program manager of the Qatar International Academy for Security Studies (QIASS), highlights strategic approaches to countering violent terrorism. The QIASS Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Risk Reduction Project is a descriptive, exploratory study, not just of "deradicalization" or "terrorist rehabilitation" programs, but also of strategic counter-terrorism approaches in France, Indonesia, Northern Ireland, Singapore and Great Britain. Reducing the risk of engagement (and/or re-engagement) in terrorism is the key and singularly the common feature across an array of programs. These collective

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[5] The murder of Stephen Lawrence in South London on 22 April 1993 highlighted problems in the relationships between the police and minority ethnic groups, especially youthful minorities. The failure of the police response and investigation of the murder further challenged community trust and confidence in policing. (See Foster, Newburn and Souhami, 2005).

efforts could appropriately be referred to as "risk reduction" initiatives (Horgan & Braddock, 2010). Some practical observations to emerge from the project include:

- In countering violent extremism, one size does not fit all (or even most). Local knowledge, with local police acting as prime sensors, is often a good place to start. Extremism is not always driven by explicit ideology or the "cause."
- Most of the studied countries have a goal in mind when countering terrorist threats, but few have a clearly defined strategy for *how* to get there. Objectives need to be clear and explicit, measurable and prioritized.
- Systems and interagency relationships and partnerships are critical for any degree of security satisfaction or success.
- Countries seeking to address the problem of violent extremism at a strategic level should carefully examine "hot spot" areas and conditions that might exist locally. They should critique a state's own actions, inactions, or reactions which might be fueling radicalization rather than mitigating militant sentiments (Fallon, 2011).

Bengt Svenson (2011), the National Commissioner of the Swedish Police, reflected on the tragic Oslo events of August 2011 as being "impossible to comprehend such hatred and violence". Modern communications and organisations are depicted as a boon to modern society, but increased movement and advancing technologies can create problems. The Oslo terrorist massacre reveals the "darker side" of how the internet can be used.[6] The National Commissioner argues that police need to utilize social media and modern computer technologies, especially for intelligence gathering and analysis. Swedish police agencies are implored to develop extensive and detailed international cooperation with policing and other law enforcement organisations to avert violent crime and enhance security (Svenson, 2011).

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[6] Mehraj Uddin (2011) reflects upon internet crimes in India and the problems that law-enforcers faced in dealing with such criminal behaviour. He argues that cybercriminals have attained considerably more expertise, especially in terms of technical know-how than the investigators and the law enforcers entrusted to deal with cybercrime. This situation, a threat to sovereignty, is exacerbated by corruption practices of cybercriminals "greasing the palm" of senior criminal justice officials. Wu and Johnsson (2011) extolled the benefits of a communication system to assist law enforcement and community security in general.

Conclusion

The selected public security and community safety issues highlighted in this article present topics for police thinking and reappraisal. There are many other contemporary policing challenges that are also worthy of such police-academic conjecture and debate. The policing of cybercrime is but one problem that requires research, intelligence analysis and practical solutions; another is occupational crime and corporate crime.[7]

The 21st IPES meeting saw both practitioners and academics collaboratively thinking and reflecting about comparative police policies, strategies and practices in relation to public safety and security. A strong commitment emerged from the meeting to improve safety ranging from the local to the global community. The objective of achieving what works best in policing to ensure community safety is a work-in-progress. Enhancing safety and security requires persistence, an on-going holistic attempt to improve safety through cooperation. Fundamental to community safety and security is the notion of "trust": both community trust in the police which is advantageous for public safety and police having trust in their communities so that they can achieve greater results. The common nexus between research and practice is important to the IPES deliberations; academic research and evidence-based policing can successfully complement each other.

Some of the research presented at Karlskrona IPES was the result of police and academic collaboration; some was not. However, the sharing of ideas and

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[7] Gottschalk presentation (2011), based on an empirical study of white-collar criminals, explores statistical differences between occupational crime and corporate crime. Corporations are better organized, are wealthier and benefit from economies of scale in corruption. While occupational crime is associated with "bad apples", corporate crime is associated with systems failure (Heath, 2008). Gottschalk's research analyses data from articles in Norwegian financial newspapers for one year from early 2010 to early 2011 where a total of 74 white-collar criminals were identified as having been sentenced to jail sentences. In money terms, the corporate criminal made more than twice as much as the occupational criminal, but occupational crime, nevertheless, was judged more severe in terms of imprisonment. The research indicates that corporate criminals are involved in more severe crime when measured in money terms, and corporate criminals pay much more income tax to public authorities. Gottschalk's research indicates that corporate criminals receive a shorter sentence in terms of imprisonment, even when their crimes involve more money than those of occupational criminals.

research can only improve practitioner-academic collaboration and hasten advances in policing science and practice. Much thinking, reflecting and learning by both police and academics can create the cauldron in which progress can be made towards greater public safety and security. This article values the meeting of stakeholders, led by both practitioners and researchers, to tackle public safety and security challenges by sharing the benefits of knowledge, experience and research.

Acknowledgments

Notes on contributor

Associate Professor David Baker is Head, Criminal Justice, Monash University, Australia. His main research interest is public order policing, especially the policing of industrial, political, anti-globalization and environmental protests. He is the author of *Batons and Blockades: Policing Industrial Disputes in Australasia*, 2005. David has written interdisciplinary articles and chapters about the policing of public disorder, police history, police leadership, police use of force, police unionism, comparative criminal justice, the Australian Federal Police, and policing the South Pacific.

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