

Citizen Participation in Community Safety

A comparative Study of Community Policing

in South Korea and the United Kingdom

Kwan Choi

Doctor of Philosophy

2013

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**A comparative Study of Community Policing
in South Korea and the United Kingdom**

Submitted by

Kwan Choi

A thesis submitted in total fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Faculty of Arts
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ABSTRACT

Changes in demand for public security together with additional pressures placed upon police have tested the powers and resources of traditional policing and have given rise to a search for new methods of policing, including the desire for citizens to take a more active role in law enforcement and crime prevention. This study presents a comparative analysis of citizen participation in community policing in South Korea and the United Kingdom. The present study is based on a structured questionnaire survey developed around key themes derived from the literature that seek to explain why individuals decide to participate in community policing. Data was collected from 400 participants across the two countries.

Using SPSS, the data was coded and analysed using three statistical tests: Multiple Linear Regression (MLR) to assess the relationship between dependent and several independent variables; Chi-square tests were used to evaluate the relationship between the different kinds of dependent and independent variables; and Chi-Square tests for independence to ascertain whether or not a difference existed between two completely separate samples.

The comparative analysis of community policing in South Korea and the United Kingdom provided a basis for evaluating the strengths of current theorising on this subject. The study revealed that participation in community policing was not a spur-of-the-moment emotional decision but was carefully thought about and planned before undertaking. The study revealed that the British participants were attracted to community policing by individual factors, that is factors that primarily benefitted them as individuals and only secondarily to prevent community crime. By contrast, for the South Korean cohort, participation in community policing was extension of their commitment to community. The research findings in effect highlighted two different models of community

policing; one underpinned by commitment to community and desire to enhance crime prevention and community safety, and a second model underpinned by personal gain and where community policing is valued as a stepping-stone to formal policing. These two models emerge from the fact that community police work is a full-time paid job in the United Kingdom, whereas it is purely a voluntary activity in South Korea.

The research findings make a significant contribution to ‘citizen participation in community policing’ by contributing to our understanding of why individuals choose to participate in these activities. The comparative study additionally helps to raise questions regarding current theorising regarding community policing and particularly when examined in a cross-cultural context.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

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Choi Kwan

27/06/2013

Date

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABA	American Bar Association
ACPO	The Association of Chief Police Officers
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCS	British Crime Survey
BSC	British Society of Criminology
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPA	Citizen Police Academy
CCTV	Closed-Circuit Television
CIP	Community Involvement in Policing
CPTED	Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
CRC	Criminology Research Council
FECQ	Further Education College Qualification
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
JNPA	Japanese National Police Agency
KIC	Korean Institute of Criminology
KNPA	Korea National Police Agency
LMPS	London Metropolitan Police Service
LEIN	Law Enforcement Information Network
MPS	Mini-Police Station
MLR	Multiple Linear Regression
NHS	National Health Service
NIM	National Intelligence Model
NPP	National Policing Plan
NW	Neighbourhood Watch
OEO	Office of Economic Opportunity

PCSOs	Police Community Support Officers
PCPVs	Police Crime Prevention Volunteers
PCR	Police and Community Relations
SK	South Korea
SMPS	Seoul Metropolitan Police Service
SPCs	Special Police Constables
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
UK	United Kingdom
VCPS	Voluntary Community Patrol Scheme
112 CRS	112 Crime Reporting System
112 PC	112 Patrol Car

Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

For at least the last two centuries across the developed world, the police have been responsible for maintaining order in society.¹ However, rapid changes in the police environment including factors like globalisation, democratisation, localisation and advanced capitalism have vastly increased the demands on the police, and more communities have been exploring ways of capitalising on the involvement of the community to promote public security. Globally, police forces are under pressure to identify and create effective ways to meet increased demand for their services. At the same time, as quality of life has improved, the desire to seek a democratic and courteous police service has increased. Rising crime rates, combined with the fluidity of crime across borders, have made policing more difficult (Pepinsky, 1989; Ren *et al.*, 2006). These changes in demand for public security, together with the additional pressures placed upon police, have tested the powers and resources of traditional policing, and have given rise to a search for new methods of policing, including the desire of citizens to take a more active role in law enforcement and crime prevention. The focus of the present study is on voluntary community policing.

Volunteering

The Australian Government's *National Volunteering Strategy* (2011, p. 8) notes that "Volunteering involves freely giving time to help others or support a cause".

It acknowledges that volunteers offer their services in a variety of ways:

Volunteering can be regular or episodic, formal or informal, pre-planned or a spontaneous response to emergencies. It can be done through an organisation, the workplace or individually, in person or online. It can involve professional or other work skills, generic skills or manual labour. Some people are reimbursed for the cost of volunteering; others are not. Volunteers work in the private and public sectors and for not-for-profit organisations. (2011, p. 8)

Nowadays volunteering has become an integral part of effective and engaged communities and organisations. Pope and Wei Zhang (2010) argue that one of the measures of the strength of a community is the "opportunities [for citizens] to volunteer in local groups". More than this, Flick, Bittman, and Doyle (2002, p. 1) argued that volunteering has become "an important index of civil society... [and] an indicator of the social health and connectedness of communities". McCurley and Vesuvio (1985, p. 14) state that "the only thing that can be said with any degree of certainty about the volunteer community is that it can never be described as monolithic".

People volunteer their services for any of a number of reasons in accordance with cultural backgrounds (Schervish & Havens, 1997, p. 241). Some participate in voluntary activities to improve the quality of life for their neighbours and communities (Flanagan *et al.*, 1999, p. 149). Sundeen (1992) argues that people motivated by individual values such as personal interest and religious beliefs are

more likely to participate in voluntary activities, although on their own individual explanations do not fully account for this phenomenon that has grown into a social movement (Ladd, 1999, p. 72; Smith 1998, p. 39). Smith (1994, p. 247) explains that the decision to become involved in voluntary activities is a rational one and not a spur of the moment response to exceptional circumstances; people who do so have thought about taking this action and their levels of commitment. Raskoff and Sundeen (1995), Gallagher (1994), Segal (1993), and Menchik and Weisbrod (1987) share the view that volunteering is less motivated by personal gain, even though the activity can be rewarding for the individual by enhancing their social and community standing. Further, volunteering is not motivated by monetary rewards even though some volunteers receive some level of remuneration.

The present study focuses on a specific category of volunteering, namely community policing.

Voluntary community policing

Bayley (1986, p. 1) describes the notion of community policing as “ambiguous but provocative”, explaining that

Community policing does not entail changing the historical purpose of the police. It represents a new way of more effectively achieving traditional goals.

Writing some 25 years ago, Bayley (1986, p. 28) was not convinced of the value of the role of volunteer police and believed that “community policing should not be touted as the wave of the future.” His apprehension, however, is almost

drowned out by the proliferation of voices promoting community policing and advocating greater engagement with the community for the prevention of crime and the promotion of law and order. Oliver (2000, p. 367) states that “Community policing has become the primary formulation for police practices and the provision of police services.” Eck and Rosenbaum (1994, p. 3) argues that it has become the new orthodoxy of policing. Gowri (2003, p. 591) describes it as “a successful ‘new paradigm’”. It is the model of policing implemented across a range of nations, including in the United States, Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and Iceland, Latin America, Asia, including South Korea (Lum, 2009; Oliver, 2000). The reality is that nowadays the involvement of the community in policing is part of a much wider process that has contributed to a re-drawing of the relationship between the state and its citizens (Lum, 2009).

Garland (1996) points out that while in previous generations the idea of community policing may not have been considered a serious option for crime prevention, the state now promotes community involvement as part of a broader notion of *responsibilisation*. Instead of generating feelings of insecurity and the fear of crime leading citizens to remain apathetic and uninvolved in crime prevention, policies are now being adopted by communities across the globe that capitalise on citizens to promote and instil greater community responsibility for areas of activity that once were wholly the responsibility of the state. The idea of *responsibilisation* combines with other important developments in policing, including community policing that is now increasingly used in most jurisdictions. As Hinds and Grabosky (2010, p. 95) note, the state on its own “is not responsible to prevent and control crime” independently from its citizens.

The challenge now is to create greater opportunity for individuals and the community to become more involved with government agencies, such as the police, in the cooperation process for community safety.

Citizen participation in policing is not a new phenomenon. It has its origins in the communal system of policing in the middle ages (Newburn, 2008). Anglo-saxon codes of Law emphasised the obligations and responsibilities of the community for maintaining law and order. For instance, in the UK the Athelstan Lawⁱⁱ had a regulation that a thief who fled “shall be pursued to his death by all men who are willing to carry out the king’s wishes” (Crick & Houts, 2011, p. 121). Members of each community were actively recruited, took an oath not to steal, and were assigned roles in promoting crime prevention (Rawlings, 2003). Other members of the community acted as watchmen who guarded the entrances and streets of the city to promote safety. Current interest in community policing in the UK builds on this history of crime prevention. A host of other communities that do not share in the UK’s rich historical background have embraced the practice of community policing and now similarly see value in providing for greater community engagement in policing.

The increase in the community taking some responsibility for crime prevention has coincided with other important developments in policing. One strategy that is increasingly used in many countries is the involvement of community residents in community policing. Wilson and Kelling (1982), the architects of the “broken windows” theory, define community policing as the preventive and proactive role of the police with citizens’ supports in identifying causes of crimes and issues affecting the quality of life of community residents in the community. At

present community policing is the dominant policing style in many developed countries, including the United Kingdom. Community policing generally incorporates four types of engagement: community-based crime prevention, the involvement of community volunteers in patrol deployment for non-emergency interaction with the public, active participation in responding to requests for service not involving criminal matters, and the introduction of mechanisms for grassroots feedback from the community.

One reason for the increase in community participation in policing is that the traditional policing style that revolved around rapid and reactive response to crime has been proving less effective in controlling and preventing crime and improving the relationship between community residents and police. A consequence of this is that communities around the world began considering the importance for citizens to actively and positively participate in maintaining security. It is now generally acknowledged that the state cannot guarantee the safety of the community and acceptance that successful crime prevention requires the collective efforts of government and its citizens (Taylor, 2004).

Community policing also grew out of the application of a market model to security (McLaughlin, 2007; Stoecker, 2005) that challenges the traditional dualism of viewing the state as the supplier of public security and the citizens as consumers of that service. Increasingly the idea of active participation of the community was embraced as a strategy for both improving the level of service offered to the community while at the same time reducing costs (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997). As suppliers of public safety services the police benefit from this strategy because it contributes to enhancing their relevance, restoring any

lost confidence and re-establishing police links with citizens and communities as customers (Baker & Hyde, 2011).

The focus of traditional police-focused crime prevention is on situational crime prevention, not least because this lessens the need to pay attention to improving the social environment (Gilling, 1999). Newburn (2008) and Maguire *et al.* (2007) note that the focus of situational crime prevention is on reducing crime by altering the balance of risk and rewards. Criminals are deterred from committing criminal acts when the returns from their criminal acts are reduced (Felson & Clarke, 1998). In this sense the provision to engage greater citizen participation in policing is a form of deterrence by uncoupling the crime-reward association. Through such schemes as Neighbourhood Watch or working directly with the police on consultative committees or on patrols, citizens can act as community guardians. The participation of the community in crime prevention shifts the balance of risk and gain for the criminal and thus impacts on crime rates locally. As a result, the sense of fear that citizens feel decreases, as does the crime rate of the local community. Through cooperative efforts between police and citizens, crime prevention becomes more effective.

The vocabulary used to promote this emphasis of engaging the community in crime prevention – with concepts of community policing, cooperation, situational crime prevention and community crime prevention – signal the fact that this is achieved through the participation of citizens both as collaborators and consumers of a public security service. As Garcia *et al.* (2003) and Friedman (1994) note, criminal justice agencies cannot make significant contributions without the support of the community and citizens. Not surprisingly, citizen

cooperation of policing has become a key concept and a valued philosophy of contemporary policing. There are now some 24,000 British Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) and 30,000 Special Police Constables (SPCs) in all 60 British police forces. In South Korea there are over 101,000 Police Crime Prevention Volunteers (PCPVs) in the Korean National Police Agency that cooperate in community safety programmes associated with community policing.ⁱⁱⁱ

Despite the fact that community participation in policing and crime prevention is now almost common place, there are discernible gaps in the research literature on this theme, particularly regarding why residents involve themselves in community policing. This question remains largely unanswered (Garcia *et al.*, 2003, p. 2; Renauer *et al.*, 2003, p. 10; Correia, 2000, p. 2; Maguire & Mastrofski, 2000, p. 6). Bennett (1998) argues that more research is needed to better understand the role of individual and community factors that influence citizens to become involved in policing (Renauer *et al.*, 2003). This study seeks to provide insight as to why individuals choose to participate in community policing.

A comparative approach

The study presents a comparative examination of citizen voluntary participation by focusing on community policing in metropolitan London (UK) and metropolitan Seoul in South Korea. There is much to be learnt from a comparative study of such practices. Bayley (1999, pp. 3-5) argues that a comparative study that seeks to understand community policing in different and

contrasting contexts is part of doing scientific enquiry into policing, and could prove instrumental in challenging taken for granted assumptions about current practice and alternative possibilities. Comparative analysis enables researchers and policy makers by “extending scholarship of feasibilities, developing more powerful insights into human behaviour, gaining the opportunities of successful reform, and procuring perspective on ourselves” (Bayley, 1999, cited in Mawby, 1999, p. 6). A comparative approach also provides insight into the need for cooperation in a global community; cross-national comparisons of criminal justice practices and policies can provide important insights into corroborative transnational and international crime prevention and control efforts. Therefore an understanding of the differences and similarities in policing between countries can play a pivotal role in developing both practical and theoretical insights for the administration of criminal justice (Emsley, 2007, p. 235).

There are many variations in the way police are organised and the way police policy is implemented. In the absence of comparative studies, it is sometimes difficult to find alternatives for local problems. Comparative, cross-national studies take advantage of ‘the vast living laboratory of naturally occurring experiments’ in police policies and practices (Bayley, 1996, p. 245). For instance, South Korean police could learn the pros and cons of British police decentralisation, case screening methods, styles of management, strict application of the rule of law, and the relationship of police with prosecutors. Conversely, British police could benefit from understanding the strengths and limitations of close supervision experienced by South Korean police officers, ‘police box’ (i.e. a sub-police station), competition among officers, the national

identification system, informal police interactions with the community, and ‘all case resolution policy’. A cross-national understanding of police structures and practices has the potential to make a contribution to each country, especially the development of alternative police policies.

Finally a comparative approach to policing and criminal justice enables researchers to elevate their study of policing from a preoccupation with understanding technical processes to an interest in broader theoretical concerns (Bartels & Richards, 2011).

Aims of the study

The present study presents a comparative analysis of citizen participation in police crime prevention in the Republic of Korea and the United Kingdom. There are numerous combinations of public and private agencies involved in crime prevention in addition to the regular police forces in both countries, including for example, the PCSOs, SPCs, PCPVs, the Marine Fellow Soldier Club, and Neighbourhood Watch. The focus of the present study is on citizens, paid and unpaid, who participate in police crime prevention. The study seeks to understand the reasons citizens give for participating in crime prevention activities in South Korea and the United Kingdom. A second goal of the study is to present a theoretical framework for understanding the role of citizen policing in South Korea and in the United Kingdom.

The research has been developed around a handful of themes that emerged from an examination of the available research literature on community policing. The

themes highlight possible factors influencing citizens to become active participants in community crime prevention, including:

- An individual's experiences as a victim of crime (BCS; Lavrakas *et al.*, 1981);
- Sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime (BCS; Pattavina *et al.*, 2006);
- Confidence in the police and their work in the community (BCS; Cunningham & Wasgtaff, 2006);
- Participation motivated by personal gain (BCS; Carr, 2003);
- A strong sense of attachment to community (BCS; Cunningham & Wasgtaff, 2006);
- The extent to which their own community has a crime problem (BCS; Sampson & Morenoff, 2006);
- Participation in other local crime prevention schemes (BCS; Carr, 2003).

The above themes establish the broad contours of the survey questionnaire for quantitative research that forms the basis of the present study.

Community police in the UK and South Korea

Both the UK and South Korea can celebrate having well developed voluntary community policing programmes. However, there are some significant differences in the types of roles occupied and duties that community volunteers carry in the two countries. At one level the divergences are so significant that one question whether a comparison of the two quite different community policing systems has any merit. At another level, rather than viewing the

differences between the UK and South Korea community policing as irreconcilable, the fact that the two operations have many things in common serves to make the comparative study all the more valuable; each presents a valuable platform for highlighting strengths and for exploring the limitations of the other.

The United Kingdom was arguably the first country to have a modernised, professional police force and is at the forefront of community policing. Created by the British Police Reform Act 2002, the British PCSO^{iv} is renowned as a particularly successful programme. The studies of Johnston *et al.* (2004), Johnston (2007; 2006; 2005; 2000), Cooper *et al.* (2006), and Cunningham and Wagstaff (2006) highlight that the dual functions of the PCSO has proved successful both in promoting and enhancing the public image of the police service, and in promoting the visibility of uniformed police in the community. The United Kingdom thus has a model of police crime prevention activities that is worth emulating by other countries. The UK PCSO programme has been selected as a component of this research to learn the ‘know-how’ of British policing and PCSOs, the contribution of PCSOs in community safety, and to present a foil against which to analyse and better understand the voluntary community policing program in South Korean. The focus of the present study is on PCSOs and SPCs in the UK, and on PCPVs in South Korea.

In the context of Asian police, the South Korean police programme is generally not cited by the media or by the Korean and international research communities as successful (Pyo & Park, 2001). Pyo and Park’s (2001) observation makes it all the more pertinent to hold up a magnifying glass to the South Korean Police and

compare them to the United Kingdom as a way of understanding and differentiating the two. This will help develop an understanding of successful and unsuccessful policing and help bridge the gap in criminal justice systems between the United Kingdom and South Korea.

Table 1.1

Voluntary South Korean PCPVs, British PCSOs, SPCs and Regular Police Officers

	Community Volunteers in General	South Korean PCPVs*	British PCSOs**/**	British SPCs**/**	British Regular Police Officers**	South Korean Regular Police Officers*
Authority	None	Limited police powers	Limited police powers	Full regular police powers	Full regular police powers	Full regular police powers
Uniform	None	Similar uniform like police uniform	Similar uniform like police uniform	Similar uniform like police uniform	Blue Police Uniform	Blue Police Uniform
Role	To assist the police to community safety	Visible and accessible policing and engaged with the public	Visible and accessible policing and engaged with the public	Crime prevention and investigation activities	Community safety	Community safety
Activities	Report, when watching crime	Spend most of their time on foot patrol and in the community	Spend most of their time on foot patrol and in the community	Spend little time on patrol and in the community	Crime prevention and investigation activities	Crime prevention and investigation activities
Training	None	One month	From 3 weeks to 3 months	Two months	1 year professional training	1 year professional training
Working hours	Anytime	More than 20 hours a week	37 hours a week	4 hours a week	Full time work	Full time work
Salary	Un-paid work	Un-paid work	Paid work (£15,000)	Traditionally un-paid work, but some forces provided with local allowance	Paid work (£23,000)	Paid work (£21,000)
Legal Authority	None	Legal Management guide for PCPVs	British police reform act 2002	Act for amending the laws relative to the appointment of SPC 1831	Police Law 1829	Police Law 1945
Totals	10 million	101,000	24,000	30,000	137,000	128,869

Source: * Korean Police Agency (2011);
 ** British Home Office Website: www.homeoffice.gov.uk/;
 *** <http://policerecruitment.homeoffice.gov.uk/index.html>

It is important to understand the similarities and differences between community policing across the two countries. Table 1.1 presents a summary of the different

types of police officers in terms of community safety activities, including their employment status, roles and relationships with regular police officers. A cursory reading of Table 1.1 reveals that the volunteer community police programmes in the UK and South Korea have much in common. The two countries have similar numbers of police officers relative to their populations; both have a two-tiered police system consisting of regular police officers and community police officers. And, on the whole, UK and South Korea community police perform relatively similar roles vis-as-vis regular police. At the same time, however, there are some significant differences between their community police.

While both British PCSOs and SPCs and South Korean PCPVs all participate in community crime prevention activities, there are key differences between these groups. One key difference is that British PCSOs are paid while SPCs in the United Kingdom undertake voluntary service. In South Korea PCPVs carry out their duties strictly on a voluntary basis.

In this sense there is no direct equivalent in South Korea of the citizen policing group in the UK. Individuals in the UK volunteer to be involved in, for example, Neighbourhood Watch and assisting as youth club workers, but do not have direct connections with the police. In contrast, South Korean PCPVs are directly involved in police work alongside regular police officers on the street, particularly for community safety. PCPVs were created by the “Legal Management Guide regulation for Police Crime Prevention Volunteer Scheme” in 1996 and are involved in activities that are very similar to those undertaken by full-time police officers. They do not have the same powers as the regular police but they do patrol and interact with the public in a way that is similar to them;

once they have completed a period of police training. PCPVs wear uniforms and are a visible presence in the streets. The major similarities between PCSOs in the UK and South Korean PCPVs are that the two groups have similar powers, and their duties and activities are comparable.

There are two types of citizen policing groups in the United Kingdom. A citizen policing group is an organisation conducting police-like work by non-regular police force. A citizen policing group is a body of people who are motivated for whatever reason to perform certain pseudo-policing functions but who are positioned outside the regular police force. British PCSOs were created as a result of the British Police Reform Act 2002^v to reduce the ‘re-assurance gap’ between the public’s confidence in the police and crime rates, and to increase the visible presence of policing through foot patrolling. According to Cooper *et al.* (2006), the PCSOs support the work of their local police force and provide a visible and re-assuring presence on the streets. The second group is the SPCs, a group established in 1831 by the “Act for amending the laws relative to the appointment of special constables”. SPCs are part-time workers^{vi} but have powers similar to regular police officers. SPCs are involved in activities more closely related to full-time police officers. SPCs are trained to work with and support the local police. They receive eight weeks of training in the British national training curricula while working as police officers in regular evening shifts (Johnston, 2006; 2000).

South Korean PCPVs are a voluntary organisation under the Police Crime Prevention Volunteer Scheme in the Republic of Korea established to promote community crime prevention. The organisation is comprised of local citizens

who work cooperatively with a local, mini-police station. The PCPV scheme typically consists of between three to five citizens who cooperate with local, regular police officers in patrol and crime reporting in both the local area and at hotspots at midnight. After the ‘War on Crime’ in South Korea in 1990, the South Korean police launched the “Legal Management Guide for Police Crime Prevention Volunteer Scheme” in 1996 and changed ‘Police Crime Prevention Volunteer of ‘00’ Sub-Police Station’ to re-organise the Police Crime Prevention Organisation. As of 2010 there were around 3,856 Police Crime Prevention Organisations and over 101,000 PCPVs. In 2010 at least 767 criminals were arrested and some 6,299 crime reports were received with the help of Police Crime Prevention Organisations (Korean Police Agency, 2011).

Personal perspective

It is not uncommon for social researchers to acknowledge that their autobiographies have played a role in the construction of their research. Atkinson and Shakespeare (1993, p. 8) argued that “Personal histories are germane to the conduct of research and construction of knowledge”. In some instances the researcher’s biography can influence and shape the whole research enterprise, from choice and area of study, the experience of fieldwork, analysis of data and writing (Okely, 1992, p. 1). The present study similarly embodies a personal history. It benefits from and draws on my five years as a full-time police officer in the Seoul Metropolitan Police of the Korean National Police Agency (KNPA).

My work in the police force regularly involved working alongside PCPVs, often accompanying them on foot patrols in the community. During the patrolling we

regularly met with community residents and engaged with them in conversation regarding community policing and crime prevention. These encounters, also, resulted in discussions relating to personal issues such as family. On some occasions PCPVs showed evidence that they understood more about the community than I did as a police officer.

These occasional exchanges with PCPVs proved useful for becoming more familiar with community policing: they provided insight into a community's past, what was happening there at the time, and about the problems in that area. The PCPV enabled me to liaise better with the community. Although residents may have had a poor relationship with police in the past and held ambivalent attitudes, they seemed more comfortable when I was accompanied by the PCPV.

My exchanges with PCPVs were conversations in the true sense of the term and not exchanges of power where they responded passively to my police-related questioning. It became evident through these relationships that this close association with and working alongside PCPVs living in the same community gave police additional visibility and enhanced citizens' trust of the police officers. Moreover, the experience of undertaking patrol work with PCPVs prompted me to want to know more about the involvement of community volunteers and to ask myself the question: why do community volunteers wish to be involved with the PCPVs? I arrived at the view that an exploration of this topic would make a worthwhile contribution to the area of criminal justice.

Structure of the study

The thesis is divided into ten chapters. The first three chapters discuss the background to the research and field of study, and outline the theoretical and methodological frameworks that inform and shape the thesis. Chapter 2 presents a review of the relevant literature focusing specifically on community policing and crime prevention.

Chapter 3 outlines the relevant literature in community engagement crime prevention and the role of police. It also presents a critical review of selected theories of crime prevention policy. Chapter 4 presents a rationale for the research methodology and discusses the research tools used for the present study. The chapter also presents an overview of the data generated and the method of analysis.

Chapters 5 to 9 focus specifically on the field findings. Chapter 5 identifies demographic factors predicting involvement in community policing activities in the UK and South Korea; specifically, sex, socio-economic background, education, occupation, and age. The chapter examines the sample data, alongside national data for both nations. Chapter 6 outlines the results of Linear Regression analyses of community policing data gathered from South Korean and UK participants. The reasons participants gave for being PCPVs and PCSOs are interpreted in light of the seven key themes that emerged from the literature reviewed in Chapter 2.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 present the core findings of the study. Chapter 7 explores the reasons participants gave for becoming PCPVs and PCSOs, focusing specifically on the emotion of ‘fear of crime’ as motivation for involvement. Chapter 8 explores the predictive value of passion in citizen involvement in community policing activities. Chapter 9 explores whether and to what extent attachment to community was a factor influencing participation in local crime prevention.

Chapter 10 provides summaries of the present study’s findings, and demonstrates how this study contributes to the field of citizen policing. It also details the limitations of the study and proposes an appropriate way forward for future research.

Endnotes

ⁱ In the UK, this has been the case ever since Sir Robert Peel, the British Home Secretary, passed the first Metropolitan Police Act in 1829.

ⁱⁱ Athelstan was the first king of a unified England from 927AD. A large number of law codes were introduced during Athelstan's reign.

ⁱⁱⁱ www.homeoffice.gov.uk/; Korean Police Agency, 2011

^{iv} PCSO stands for:

^v Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2001; 2002; 2004)

^{vi} Basically it is un-paid work, but several police forces have started to provide local allowances now.

Chapter 2

Community Policing

Introduction

Writing in relation to the American health care system, Morone and Kilbreth (2003, p. 271) declared that community participation in health care is “a lost ... ideal”: “today there is no clamor for citizen participation in health care”. The authors contrast this absence of citizen involvement in health care with the community’s participation in crime prevention where, they argue, “citizens are in the thick of the law enforcement system” (2003, p. 285). Morone and Kilbreth (2003, p.271) contend that “A broad invitation to participate in health policy is likely to recruit a new set of actors — and inject a new set of public health values — into local politics.” Citizen participation in community activities, they contend, effectively affirms the principle of transferring “power to the people” (Morone and Kilbreth, 2003, p.271). Not surprisingly Oliver and Bartgis (1998, p. 490) declare that “Community policing has often been touted as ‘an idea whose time has come’ and has been seen as a ‘revolution’ and a ‘paradigm’ in the way we look at policing in the USA, if not the world.”

Community policing has had a long history of engaging with the community. Researchers often point to the influence of Sir Robert Peel, Home Secretary in Lord Liverpool’s Tory Cabinet, as the originator of community policing with the establishment of uniformed police or ‘Bobbies’ on the streets of London in 1829.

However, it was during the 1960s and 1970s that community policing began to be adopted as a key policing strategy across the world. Implicit in this strategy was recognised that programmes of crime prevention are most effective when the police work closely with and involve the community. Since that time almost every country across the globe boasts of embracing some form of community policing as a policing strategy. One evidence of the ‘globalisation’ of community policing is the fact that in 2010 a *Global Community Policing Conclave* was held in Kerala, Indiaⁱ specifically for the purpose of:

[bringing] police researchers and practitioners together to facilitate cross-cultural, international and interdisciplinary exchanges for the enrichment of Community policing practices to correlate and codify the various practices in community policing, that exist in various parts of the globe...

That community policing has become a global strategy is also reflected in the proliferation of research literature and formal reports highlighting programmes and activities across different countries.

This chapter does not seek out to present a history of the evolution of the practice of volunteer community policing. The chapter has the more conservative goal of drawing on the range of literature so as to highlight how researchers understand the concept of community policing and the philosophy that underpins the practice. As well, the chapter outlines the form that community policing can take when implemented. Finally the chapter draws attention to the reasons researchers give why individual citizens choose to become volunteer community police.

Defining community policing

Turner and Wiatrowski (1995) state that our understanding of policing has become almost synonymous with community policing. Bayley and Shearing (1996, p. 604) content that “community policing must become the organizing paradigm of public policing”. Surprisingly, however, as Oliver and Bartgis (1998, p. 491) state, “the actual definition of the concept remains elusive”. Cordner (1996, p. 1) explains, “There is no ironclad precise definition of community policing or a set of specific activities that must always be included.” The present study concurs with Oliver and Bartgis (1998, p. 491), namely that most definitions draw attention to the increase in “police and community interaction”, decentralization of police power, the effectiveness of neighbourhood patrols and problem-solving policing.

Researchers highlight that community policing is a preventive measure and a proactive police strategy for responding to crime and promoting the quality of life in a community (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Community policing was developed partially as a response to research that exposed traditional police approaches and tactics, such as random automobile patrols, rapid response to crime scenes, and reactive investigation, as ineffective both in controlling and preventing crime, and in improving the relationship between citizens and police. Supporters of community policing emphasise the need for re-defining and expanding the role of the police into order maintenance, problem-solving, and the provision of services (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Despite the absence of a shared definition of community policing, the various definitions draw attention

to a number of common themes (Trojanowicz *et al.*, 2002; Goldstein, 2000; Cordner, 2000; Manning, 2000).

First, community policing relies on “organisational decentralisation and a re-orientation of policing in order to facilitate communication” between police and the community (Skogan, 1998, p. 160). Williers (2009), and Skogan and Hartnett (1997) note that the traditional police force was created based on a hierarchical and authoritarian system that is characterised by rules, regulations, orders and a strict chain of command. With community policing the emphasis is on devolved policing operations and formally granting community police officers the decision-making authority and rights to function effectively.

Second, community policing broadens the focus of police work, with greater emphasis placed on community involved policing, problem-oriented policing, and intelligence-led policing (Skogan, 1998, p. 161). A key feature of traditional policing is that it is reactive in style (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997); the traditional police response to crime and anti-social behaviour is reactive and to confront the community. By contrast community policing is oriented toward prevention and strengthening the sources of the community ahead of problems and crimes.

A third principle of community policing is that police respond to the communities “when they set priorities and develop their tactics” (Skogan, 1998, p. 162). Williers (2009), Skogan (2005), and Skogan and Hartnett (1997) share the view that the reactive approach of traditional policing is not able to prevent the levels of crime in the 21st century, and advocate a need for a policing that is less reactive, less authoritarian and more proactive.

Fourth, definitions of community policing assume that crime prevention is the product of a community-police partnership (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997). Skogan (1998, p. 163) points out that citizen cooperation with police has become part of the rhetoric of community policing since the 1970s. In other words, addressing crime is not the sole responsibility of the police, but now involves a much expanded criminal justice community with community members taking greater responsibility. According to Skogan (1998, p. 163), “these efforts include Neighbourhood Watch programmes, patrolling by community residents, and education programmes stressing household target hardening and the rapid reporting of crime”. In this sense community policing differs significantly from the traditional professional model of policing in terms of its philosophical, organisational, strategic, and programmatic features.

The reforming of professional policing

The level of innovation that community policing entails is best understood when seen against the backdrop of a gradual process of reforming the professional model of policing. Reform is a gradual process, and in this instance the reforming of policing emerged as a reaction to the corrupt and politicised state of the police in the late nineteenth century (Reiner, 2010).

Reformers considered politics at the heart of the problem and attempted to insulate the police from politics (Kelling & Moore, 1988). By the turn of the century reform ideas coalesced around the idea of professionalization. Reformers shared a set of assumptions and reform proposals, and even though many of the reform ideas were not embraced immediately, they served as the intellectual and

organisational base for the subsequent moves for change. For instance, early advocates for changing policing highlighted two aspects of police professionalization: managerial efficiency and social work (Ponsaers, 2001). Many reformers thought highly efficient modern cooperation as the proper model of police. To this end, they emphasised the importance of highly centralised structures that enable police executives to exercise more direct control over operational police matters (Newburn, 2008). Others emphasised the importance of social work as a strategy for preventing crime and rehabilitating offenders, an emphasis that suggests that the police work is not done simply with the arrest of criminals. Newburn (2008) and Walker (1977) note that the incorporation of new techniques, including the introduction of women police officers, juvenile bureaus, and in some instances procedures to divert defenders from the criminal justice system, are examples of a more social oriented policing.

The 1930s marked an important turning point of police reform (Savage, 2007). A few reformers played key roles in expanding the ideology of professional policing, including August Vollmer who introduced many of the key principles that underpin modern policing and police training. O.W. Wilsonⁱⁱ likewise made a contribution with his influential work in police administration that contributed to redefining the role of police and establishing the crime-fight image of the police. He also provided eligibility and training standards of recruits. By the end of 1930s professionalism in the United Kingdom had become the standard which police departments should follow and the terms of professionalism remained largely unchallenged until the 1960s (Ponsaers, 2001). The reform movement

mainly focused on managerial efficiency rather than the social work role and service provision of police.

However it was during the 1960s that we witness the most significant changes to structures and practices of policing (Ponsaers, 2001). The professional model claimed “an impartial law enforcer who related to citizens professionally and on neutral terms” (Kelling & Moore, 1988, p. 6) and the official role of the police was defined in terms of crime control and criminal apprehension. Social service activities, which were provided by the police in the political era, were gradually excluded from police work. The effectiveness of the police was measured mainly by crime rate, number of arrests, and arrest rates. Police departments were reorganised according to the scientific or classical theory of administration. To maximise managerial efficiency, police departments opted for hierarchical bureaucratic organisational structures by which police executives could have effective control over patrolmen allowing minimal discretion to them in implementing laws (Savage, 2007). The professional model of policing thus kept in check the relationship between police officers and citizens by limiting the involvement of citizens in police work. Voluntary citizen action in crime prevention was restricted to calling police and bearing witness in court. Indeed the ‘thin blue line’ between law-abiding citizens and danger is an apt metaphor for the professionalised police force (Kelling & Moore, 1988).

This is not to suggest that the professional model of policing remained altogether unchanged. It encouraged, for example, the embrace and implementation of technological applications to many aspects of police work: foot patrol was considered outmoded and inefficient and was replaced by automobile patrol,

while motorised preventive patrol became a symbol of policing (Robin, 2000). With the aid of two-way radios in police cars, patrol officers could immediately communicate with headquarters, and headquarters could control patrol officers. Computer-aided dispatch systems were established throughout the United States of America and elsewhere. These technologies aimed to create an effective crime-fighting apparatus honed to rapid-response criminal apprehension (Robin, 2000).

The professional model of policing contributed to better organising police efforts and modernising police work (Savage, 2007). With the emphasis on crime control, police departments were made operational by relatively autonomous and competent leaders. With the ideology of professionalism, more police forces were staffed with better educated and trained individuals. Police became better equipped with modern technologies, which in turn improved rates of criminal apprehension (Skogan, 1998), while the introduction of computer-aided law enforcement strategies increased the efficiency of information exchange with other police agencies. By the early 1960s the professional model of policing could be said to have become an efficient crime-control machine.

The modernised policing model, however, was proving to be inadequate for responding to the challenges of the late 1960s and 1970s. Notwithstanding its professionalization, the modernised police force of many developed countries were failing “to meet their own or the public expectations” concerning crime prevention and control (Kelling & Moore, 1988, p. 8). Researchers point to the fact that the modernised and technically equipped police force was still falling short in ensuring public and community safety. Skolnick and Bayley (1986)

notes that neither the increase in police numbers nor the use of technologies that ensured more thorough investigations contributed to reducing crime or increasing the rate of criminal apprehension. Klockars (1988) claims that even patrol units equipped with two-way radios did not improve the rate of criminal apprehension. If anything, the insulation of police from citizens and the encroachment of unfettered political influence contributed to an increase in violence and the abuse of minority citizens. Trojanowicz, Kappeler, and Gaines (2002) go so far as to argue that as far as the community problems are concerned, the modernised police force had become part of the problem instead of providing solutions, that police unfairly harassed minorities and killed, beat, and arrested disproportionately high numbers of African-Americans or African-British in major cities across the UK. The professionalization of police forces also resulted in the separation of police from their clients, which increased citizen complaints about the police.

Viewed against this backdrop, community policing signals a radical departure from traditional policing by calling into question and the refocusing of police work.

Community policing versus reactive policing

The community policing implemented in parts of the world since the 1970s represents a new model of policing. On this key point there is general agreement among researchers (Oliver & Bartgis, 1998; Pelfrey, 1998; Trojanowicz *et al.*, 1998; Kratcoski & Dukes, 1995; Rosenbaum, 1994; Trojanowicz, 1993; Skolnick & Bayley, 1986). Faced with the failure of reactive policing to

effectively control social un-rest and to develop good relationships between police and the community, community policing heralded a change in direction for the police. According to Weisburd *et al.* (2002), the incorporation of community policing has resulted with some significant changes in contemporary policing. A brief comparison of community policing and professional reactive policing highlights that changes in three key areas: expanding the role of police, redefining the relationship between citizens and the police, and the structuring of the police force, including the empowerment of line officers.

The emphasis of community policing is on prevention and the proactive role of the police to identify causes of crimes so as to benefit the quality of life of residents in the community (Schafer, 2000; Goldstein, 1990; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Community policing is a response to the apparent shortcoming of traditional policing and the perception that random automobile patrols, rapid response to crime scenes, and reactive investigations do not effectively control or prevent crime, and certainly do not contribute to improving the relationship of police with the community. Community policing also responds to calls from citizens on the need to re-define and expand the role of the police into order maintenance and the provision of services (Reiner 2010; Edwards & Hughes, 2005; Carter & Radelet, 1999; Avery, 1981).

According to Wilson and Kelling (1982), social disorder such as theft of automobiles and broken windows, and human disorder such as drug dealing, public drinking, and prostitution can lead to more serious crimes by eroding the sense of community. Social crimes reinforce fears among residents that the police are not able to exercise control over problems in their communities, and

therefore police need to re-focus on order maintenance to prevent minor crimes from leading to serious crimes. Moore *et al.* (2000) state that a core belief in community policing is that solving individual crimes reactively is but a temporary solution because crimes are not necessarily separated from each other, and that police work should refocus to addressing underlying conditions that cause particular crimes and disorders. Schafer (2000) therefore notes that in community policing, police corroborate with residents and other agencies in the community to proactively identify and re-solve underlying conditions in order to accomplish long-term solutions.

A special relationship develops between citizens and the police through community policing liaison. In professional reactive policing, police make concrete efforts to separate themselves from the community: (a) police perceive themselves as the experts in dealing with crime because they were professionally trained to enforce the law, thus, they do not need any help from the public who do not have any knowledge about how to deal with crime; and (b) widespread use of technologies in policing such as automobiles and two-way radios accelerated the separation between the police and the community (Schafer, 2000). However, the consequences of separation from the community is the perpetuation of negative relationships between police and the community and especially minority communities, so as to exacerbate the capacity of police to effectively and efficiently reduce and prevent crime (Walker, 1994).

Cooperation between citizens and the police is a core concept in community policing (Moore *et al.*, 2000; Schafer, 2000). Moore and Trojanowicz (1988, p. 9) argue that:

community institutions such as families, schools, and neighbourhood associations are key partners to the police in the creation of a safe environment. Community policing acknowledges that police cannot succeed in achieving their basic goals without both the operational assistance and political support of the community. (Moore and Trojanowicz, 1988, p. 9)

The community features as a very important resource for successful policing and control of crime (Schafer, 2000). Police can significantly enhance their ability through partnerships with the community. According to Kelling (1988), partnerships with the community create mutual trust sufficient to reduce hostility among local people and engender a better understanding between police and citizens in a community.

The paramilitary structure of traditional policing with its centralised command system and limited discretion of patrol officers contrasts radically with the values of community policing presents to the traditional, (Weisburd *et al.*, 2002; Schafer, 2000; Trojanowicz *et al.*, 1998; Franz & Jones, 1987; Jermier & Berkes, 1979; Bittner, 1970). The community policing model embraces a non-central control system, and makes provision for greater responsibility and discretion to community police officers (Weisburd *et al.*, 2002; Trojanowicz *et al.*, 1998; Meese, 1993). By emphasising the preventive and proactive role of police officers and the cooperation between citizens and the police, line officers have a significant level of discretion and perform their duties proactively (Meese, 1993). They are encouraged to join in the decision-making process of local policing, to utilise their expertise, and also to understand community-specific issues such as crimes and social structural problems (Schafer, 2000; Meese, 1993). The high level of discretion and responsibility ascribed to police officers

are a corollary of a decentralised structure that delegates to line officers capacity for innovation in solving crime and improving quality of life for communities (Trojanowicz *et al.*, 1998; Meese, 1993).

Philosophy of community policing

By empowering the community rather than dictating to it, the philosophy of community policing inverts traditional policing. In effect community policing can be viewed as an ideological system that emphasises co-operative relations between the police and the community (Trojanowicz *et al.*, 2002; Cordner 2000; Goldstein, 2000; Manning, 2000). It is hailed as constituting:

A major paradigm shift from the ‘professional’ model of policing – with its emphasis on expertise and centralized. Bureaucratic command structure – to an inclusive philosophy based on encouraging partnerships between the police and communities in a collaborative effort to solve crime and disorder ... (Flemming & O’Reilly, 2008, p. 139)

The community policing philosophy elevates to front of stage the three important principles of broad police function, citizen input, and personalised services (Cordner, 2000).

With respect to broad police function, community policing promotes the view that social problems and crime are more effectively addressed when police cooperate with community residents in creative ways (Trojanowicz *et al.*, 2002). Community policing does not confine police to ‘crook catching’ and law enforcement; it extends to a variety of community concerns including maintenance of order, social service provision, protection of and assistance to

vulnerable people, including youths, the elderly, minorities and the homeless. Kelling and Moore (1988, p. 11) suggest that “the community strategy emphasises crime control and prevention as an indirect result of, or an equal partner to, other activities”. The multiple goals of community policing are a direct and necessary outgrowth of the underlying principle that the police should be responsive to the priorities of the community.

Citizens are relocated from recipients to active participants in policing. They are the valuable resources with the capacity to make a community better and safer place. Community policing thus encourages and invites active citizen participation in police policy and decision making. An intimate relationship between police and citizens is considered essential to the quality of life in a community (Kelling & Moore, 1988). Community policing seeks to empower citizens to deal with crime and demands direct citizen involvement in problem solving, including participation in foot patrol, citizen surveys, crime-control meetings between police and citizens, and consultation (Trojanowicz *et al.*, 2002). While community policing does not amount to ‘full or uniform enforcement of law’ (Trojanowicz *et al.*, 2002), the philosophy emphasises the provision of quality, personalised police services in a way that reflects local norms, values, and individual needs (Cordner, 2000).

The programmatic features of community policing

The ideas, philosophies, and strategies of community policing need to be translated into concrete programmes, practices, and behaviours. The two salient programmatic features of community policing are most evident at the level of

implementation: problem solving and partnerships with communities (Newburn, 2008).

Community policing redirects police work from its earlier approach of incident orientation to a problem-solving orientation (Goldstein, 1990). Goldstein explains:

the concept offers an integrated, coherent scheme for the delivery of services; for the recruitment, training and reward of police personnel; and, most especially, for making more effective use of police officers directly involved in providing routine services. (Goldstein, 1990, p. 14)

With this approach, the focus is on addressing underlying problems and conditions rather than on rapid responses to specific criminal activities. The problem-solving orientation adopts a public-health approach that calls on policing to address causes as well as symptoms (Cordner, 2000). There are three features of the problem-solving approach: it should be the standard operating method of policing and not an occasional special unit; be practised by personnel throughout the ranks and not just by specialists or managers; and should incorporate, wherever possible, community input and participation, so that the community's problems are addressed and the community shares in the responsibility for its own protection (Cordner, 2000, pp. 326-331). In other words, community policing presents as a good fit with the problem-oriented policing model that presents a more integrated approach to community problem solving.

With respect to partnership with the community, community policing abandons the assumption that controlling disorder and crime is the exclusive domain of police (Trojanowicz *et al.*, 2002). Instead, community policing tries to empower the community in an effort to improve its ability to handle problems. Community policing, therefore, pursues co-operative work with citizens and civic groups: the cooperation of police services instead of just selling an image of the police to the public. In that sense, it distinguishes itself from the idea of Police and Community Relations. Building a partnership with the community is considered an essential step to induce greater cooperation between the community and the police. Active citizen participation in various activities, including problem identification and problem solving efforts, crime prevention programmes, neighbourhood revitalisation, and youth-oriented education and recreation programmes, is desirable (Cordner, 2000). Advocates of community policing argue that the police should adopt a whole-of-department to community problem solving so as to encourage and induce citizens and civic groups to engage in these activities and work with other governmental and private agencies.

The heart of community oriented policing is the importance attached to police cooperating with the community.

Policing in cooperation with community

The meaning of cooperation in the context of community policing is that citizens and formal government organisations work together to formulate solutions to shared problems (Kiser, 1984). In recent years the subject of cooperation has become a hot topic in the community safety and policing fields throughout the

world. This section examines definitions and requirements of cooperation, the relationship between cooperation and community policing, and the fact that cooperation is integral to community policing.

Kiser's definition is a broad conception of cooperation and therefore very loose in operation. It would help if we traced its earlier conceptions. According to Lancaster (1966) and Becker (1964), to tighten the definition, the theory developed from economic theory on household consumption, as applied to citizen activities in the public area. Some scholars (Ostrom & Ostrom, 1977; Garn *et al.*, 1976) later applied it to how public sector agencies demanded that citizens become involved in the production process of services for consumers. According to Kiser (1984), productions from the public sector are finished when clients consume the services to change themselves and their current status for the better. Community residents use policing services to gain information and knowledge in terms of crime in their community and how to prevent these issues, or use advice about high risk neighbourhoods for personal safety. It can be argued that productions made by the public sector are not finished until clients spend them and are ready to use them. Citizen-Consumers are thereby involved in the public product making process itself.

Spiegel (1987) argues that cooperation has two meanings: individual citizen participation and collective neighbourhood development. Citizen involvement views citizens as being part of a team in a government agency controlled from the top-down (Harwood, 1986). Conversely, citizen action is bottom-up involvement in community advocacy organisations whereby citizens often represent their own personal interests in non-public enterprises. According to

Spiegel (1987, p. 56), “many partnerships for co-producing attempt to bring into the same arena a strong senior partner and a junior partner who in reality is a limited partner.” Neighbourhood development, on the other hand, involves collective rather than individual citizen activity and it deals with spatially focused and deliberately planned and implemented activities such as improving community safety (Spiegel, 1987, p. 56). Cooperation for neighbourhood development can include both voluntary and for-profit groups, but is above all else community focused.

Cooperation aims for symbiosis between community-based organisations and formal government agencies for shared responsibility. It highlights the importance of undertaking police-community initiatives jointly and in a manner that minimises government paternalism and ensuring that citizens are not just token or minor representatives on boards and committees (Godschalk & Zeisel, 1983, p. 296; Rosentraub & Sharp, 1981, p. 508). According to Spiegel (1987, p. 57), in community policing citizens have legitimate roles as producers, advisors, monitors, and managers as members of cooperation groups.

A core assumption of community policing is the focus on collective citizen action (Percy, 1987; Van Til, 1982; Rich, 1980; Pennell, 1978). In community policing citizens become integrally involved in police work: citizens patrol with police officers, provide intelligence about high-risk neighbourhoods, and assist with programmes like Neighbourhood Watch. Community residents are integrated into a system of assisting policing services but which remain totally managed by the police force. Accepting the legitimacy of power-sharing by participating groups signals the beginning of cooperative work (Mittenthal &

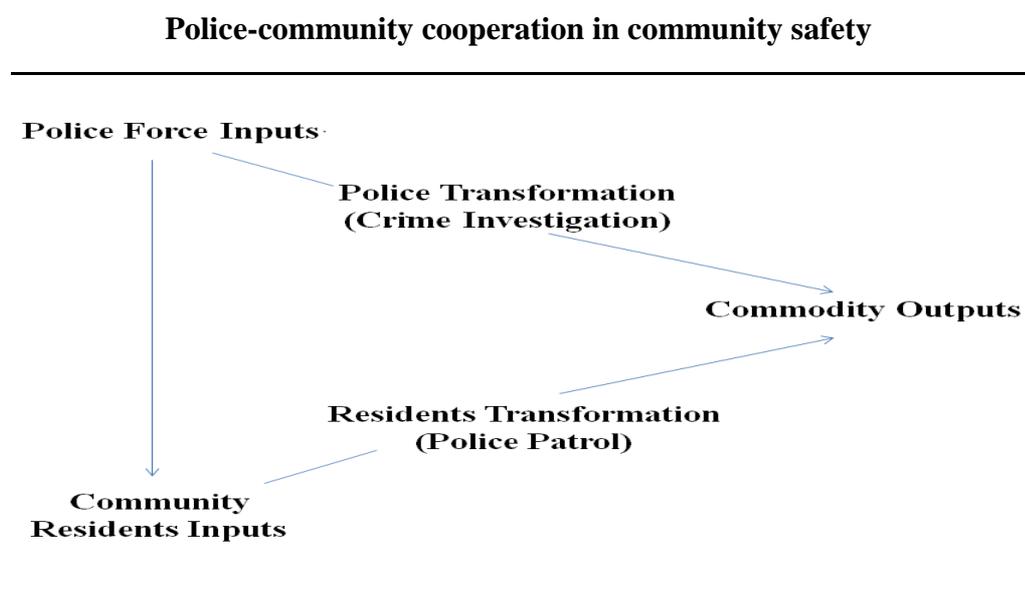
Spiegel, 1970). It is requisite when it comes to citizen participants having to deal with conflicts they inevitably face from within and without during decision-making and implementation of projects (Godschalk & Zeisel, 1983, p. 297). According to Spiegel (1987), the success of cooperation in community policing depends upon freely negotiated agreement between organisations about mutual expectations, roles, and the path to the successful accomplishment of works, and programmes. Bovaird (2007, p. 849) argues that mutually agreed conditions are taken for granted in commercial relationships and are therefore just as important in the community cooperation of schemes that takes place between citizens and public agencies. Spiegel (1987) points out that organisations that become involved in co-producing work generally show a willingness to embrace minimal standards of organisational readiness and a preparedness to project manage, negotiate, plan, and develop skills.

Economist Becker used the concept of goods and commodities to explain citizen involvement in the public sector (Kiser, 1984, p. 486). Becker saw goods as the output of traditional production processes and commodities as goods transformed by consumers, by adding time. According to Kiser (1984, p. 487), formal government agencies produce outcomes in varying degrees of public utility and sometime citizens need to transform them to make them satisfactory. Applying Becker's notion of goods and commodities to police services alerts us to the fact that in traditional policing, outputs are goods, and that in community policing the commodities refers to community outcomes that involved citizens and with their cooperation. Harwood (1985) and Kiser (1984) argued that formal government

agencies produce some products that citizens need to transform, and other products (commodities) requiring no transformation.

Figure 2.1 outlines two approaches of cooperation of community safety. In one case, let's say crime investigation services, the inputs of police are transformed directly by themselves into commodity outputs; and a second case, let's say police patrolling services, police force inputs lead to community residents' inputs and then to commodity outputs. The first is explained by the fact that crime investigation services by police, as we know, normally yield little value to community residents until they investigate, with the community co-producing crime prevention with them in order to make themselves more secure. Police patrolling, however, directly provides security, and residents can be satisfied without much more of their own efforts. It can be argued that police crime investigations are goods and police patrols are commodities in the policing sector.

Figure 2.1



Source: Kiser (1984, p. 488)

In a sense, the community policing model relates to police patrols as a commodity for cooperation. Both police and community residents work on security issues by patrolling community streets. The relationship between cooperation and community policing has long been an issue in the criminal justice area. In the last 30 years, scholarship on the issue has developed in both theoretical and political dimensions (Pattavina *et al.*, 2006). These are closely associated with social disorganisation theory, which was formulated by Shaw and McKay (1942), who emphasised the prevention and control of crime by using informal social control (Pattavina *et al.*, 2006; Sampson *et al.*, 1997; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). The social disorganisation theory was developed to explain factors of family disruption such as divorce, and single parent households as structural characteristics of disorganised communities (Sampson & Groves, 1989).

One of the central tenets of the social disorganisation theory is that citizens who live in the same areas have cooperative capacity to regulate and manage the conduct that happens in the area (Burchfield & Silver, 2012). Shaw and McKay argued that citizens' informal social control has a strong relationship with structural characteristics of a community such as poverty, racial heterogeneity and residential mobility. Although they did not give a precise definition of informal social control they claimed that a community lacking informal control was at high risk of crime. Their theory has been examined by a range of researchers (e.g. Pattavina *et al.*, 2006; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1994; Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Bursik, 1988; Byrne & Sampson, 1986) and has had a significant impact on criminal

justice policy such as modern community policing. According to Pattavina *et al.* (2006), citizens have to make close social ties within a community to manage crime risks expected or un-expected, and share values and responsibilities that work to protect their communities through a willingness to become involved in community policing. Arguably, cooperation theory and disorganisation theory can go hand-in-hand to inform research on the benefits, or otherwise, of involving community residents and police in the cooperation of crime control.

Another dimension that relates to cooperation, posited by Garland (1996, p. 445), is the concept of responsabilisation redraws the relationship between the state and the citizen in terms of responsibility of community for public safety. Garland declared that “crime is normal ... a routine part of modern consciousness ... to be assessed and managed in much the same way that we deal with road traffic” (Garland, 1996, p. 446). Underpinning the theoretical concept of responsabilisation is the idea that risk and the fear of crime are routine and common experiences in a community. However, citizens have limited powers and capabilities to prevent and control crime in the contemporary sovereign state, where rising crime rates and fear levels, and fluidity across borders are outstripping police agencies’ resources (Ayling & Grabosky, 2006; Crawford, 2006). Thus Hinds and Grabosky (2010) argued that non-government agencies and individuals have to be involved in cooperation processes with government agencies, including police, to safeguard communities.

However, it is one thing to promote the virtues of engaging the community in policing, it is quite another for individuals to accept responsibility for co-producing community safety. It may be argued that citizens will engage in

co-producing community safety when they perceive a need to do so. Roh and Oliver (2005, p. 680) point out that while there is no factually proven cause and effect relationship that “community policing” improves “the conditions of community”, a key finding of their research is that “perception of community policing decreases fear of crime”. This conclusion is supported by Zhao, Schneider and Thurman’s (2002) comprehensive review of existing research on the relationship between police presence in the community and fear reduction. The authors’s review of the literature confirmed that while the “mere police presence does not have a noticeable impact on public satisfaction with the police”, that “a successful fear reduction programme can increase public satisfaction with police services” (Zhao *et al.*, 2002, p. 296). Researchers therefore highlight that the *perception* of crime risk affects attitudes to community policing and influence some to become volunteer community police.

Innes (2004) and Hirschfield and Bowers (1997) point out that people accept a need to cooperate with the police when they perceive a risk of crime or when confronted by an awareness that their social concerns and problems of crime cannot be addressed solely by policing strategies and activities. In other words, in the context of community policing, individual citizens choose to by drawing on a sense of ‘collective efficacy’, that is, a sense of “mutual trust and willingness to intervene for the common good” (Sampson *et al.*, 1997, p. 919). Decisions to engage in community policing activities thus develop around networks of social relations where people act together to achieve shared purposes of cooperation of community policing (Hinds & Grabosky, 2010).

Sunshine and Tyler (2003) argued that satisfaction has a strong relationship with the legitimacy of police authority, as legitimacy creates an entitlement to deference and obedience. Activities such as crime reports by citizens and Neighbourhood Watch arise from the legitimacy of police authority (Tyler & Huo, 2002). On the other hand, the concept of police legitimacy can be a negative factor distorting or curtailing public cooperation in community policing (Reising & Parks, 2000) when issues of police corruption arise.

Community policing - its political dimension - is inevitably highlighted with respect to crime control. Political expediency stresses the necessity for a new model of community crime prevention through cooperation of community policing. According to Carr (2003, in Wickes, 2010, p. 426), 'New parochialism' can be one of the new cooperation models of community safety, and he suggested that parochial (community) and police (public) will be difficult to separate and are independent of each other in the 21 century. Carr (2003, p. 1249) refers to the new parochialism:

...where diminished private and traditionally parochial forms of community safety with informal control are replaced by behaviours that are a combination of parochial and police. Instead of supervision and direct physical intervention in disputes, residents engage in behaviours that are more secure and facilitated by actors from the public sphere of control.

Carr argues that cooperation via dense social ties in socially cohesive communities exercising direct neighbourhood supervision, for example, is not feasible. Citizen cooperation of community safety will be set up by a government agency administering criminal justice, like the police (McCulloch & Palmer,

2003). The main role of community residents is to prevent and control crime by indirect involvement, with some direct involvement in group-based activities with police. Normally, surveillance and control are recognised parochial activities, but according to Sampson and Morenoff (2006) they do not help structural problems such as poverty, and racial and cultural issues. Wickes (2010) and Innes (2006) argue that the new combination (cooperation) of parochial and police provides new types of cooperation activities which are based on collective action rather than grounded in social cohesion of community residents.

Carr (2003, in Wickes, 2010, p. 426) researched how residents of disadvantaged communities make their decisions to become involved in collective action and community policing activities. He argued that social cohesion cannot be expected in a disadvantaged community with structural problems such as poverty and high crime levels. However, residents still wish to become involved in cooperation processes through collective action with police even though they have generally had a negative relationship with police (Wilkinson, 2007; Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998; Buerger, 1994). The lack of social cohesion in some communities and the rise of individualism in advanced capitalism might mean that new parochialism is a viable option for cooperation of community safety by community and police.

Organisational features of community policing

The professional model of organised police departments is in accord with the theory of scientific management. Professional police organisations are thus

functionally centralised. This centralised structure allows little discretion to field officers, reserving the authority to make all significant decisions for headquarters (Newburn, 2008). Advocates of community policing recognise that the centralised structure is doomed to be inefficient in implementing the new vision of policing. Consequently, they support the restructuring of police organisations that includes de-formalisation of traditions and regulations, flattening of the rank structure, and de-specialisation to enhance service provision.

De-formalisation eliminates superfluous regulations and policies, and delegates more authority and responsibilities to commanders, supervisors, and field officers so as to allow them to act more independently, and be more responsive (Cordner, 2000). Flattening reduces the number of hierarchical layers, especially in middle management, to improve communication, participative planning and management, and de-centralised decision making (Kelling & Moore, 1988). De-specialisation, reduces the number of specialised units and personnel in order to deliver police services to citizens more directly (Corder, 2000).

A corollary of community policing is an emphasis on new strategic concepts in day-to-day police operations. According to the professional model of policing, random and routine patrol is the most effective way to prevent crime with a consistent and un-predictable police presence, but also to apprehend criminals by taking advantage of good positioning and better transportation (Trojanowicz *et al.*, 2002). Community policing with its emphasis on crime prevention re-orientes policing operations and replaces reactive practices with more proactive ways of policing. Instead of waiting for emergency calls, community policing asks police officers to try to identify and target community problems and actively implement

tailored solutions to those problems. Community policing encourages the increased use of interactive patrolling methods such as foot patrol, door-to-door policing and other alternatives to random and routine patrol (Cordner & Trojanowicz, 1992).

Community policing also promotes around-the-clock responsibility for small localities. The importance of accountability to a specific geographic area is especially emphasised in the tasks assigned to patrol officers who are in a position to identify and solve community problems. Patrol officers are assigned to certain areas on a long-term basis, in order to foster familiarity between patrol officers and communities (Trojanowicz *et al.*, 2002). The familiarity achieved through intimate interactions is expected to build trust, confidence, and cooperation between police and citizens. It also makes police officers knowledgeable about the community and residents, which reduces the chance of police-citizen confrontation that often results from misperceptions and misunderstandings (Cordner, 2000).

Prevention is an important strategic element of community policing; it asks that police be proactive rather than reactive to crime and problems. This preventive orientation encourages police to engage in efforts to examine and address problems and situations that cause crime and disorder (Williers, 2009). For purposes of crime prevention, community policing encourages police officers to spend their free time on directed enforcement activities, specific crime-prevention efforts, problem solving, community engagement and interaction with residents, and similar activities (Cordner, 2000). Police are asked to pay more attention to social welfare duties, especially on behalf of

juveniles. By providing educational, re-creational, and even counselling services, police may become mentors and role models (Cordner, 2000).

Ultimately the major strength of the community policing model is the community police themselves. While we acknowledge the complexity of achieving successful community policing and the fact that its successes are very much dependent upon the attitudes and work practices of the police who have most contact with the community, one could argue with confidence that community policing is only as successful as the contribution of its engaged citizens. The following section explores attempts by researchers to identify why citizens choose to participate in community policing and community engaged crime prevention.

Motivation for volunteering

What motivates individuals to volunteer their services to community policing? Is a particular type of personality more prone to participate in citizen cooperation of community policing? Is their desire to become a community volunteer a reaction to some painful experience that compels them to want to join? Are they motivated by personal gain? Pattavina *et al.* (2006) have invested considerable effort in their endeavours to identify what it is that motivates individuals to offer their services as community policing. Pattavina *et al.*'s (2006, p. 228) multivariate analysis of survey data from a random sample, census data, and official crime and arrest data from Boston, identified a wide range of individual and community-based indicators to potentially explain citizen involvement in crime prevention. However, the one sure thing that stands out from their study is

that “citizen involvement in high-risk neighbourhoods may be affected most by the unique blend of personal, parochial, and public social control mechanisms operating in these communities” (Pattavina *et al.*, 2006, p. 228).

The literature is inconclusive whether citizen fear of crime and negative personal experiences of crime victims, has on citizen participation in community policing. Scheider *et al.* (2003, p. 363) emphasise that people who have had an experience of crime or have a heightened fear of crime are more likely to join citizen cooperation programmes with police. However, Luengas and Ruprah (2008, p. 18) and other scholars (Lim, 2001, p. 124; Greenberg *et al.*, 1982) failed to find a relationship between involvement in citizen cooperation programmes and either personal experience of crime or fear of crime. Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 225) un-ambiguously state that “neither prior victimization nor fear of crime were found to be related to citizen involvement.”

Confidence in the police as a possible predictive factor of engagement with community policing activities is also an ambivalent theme in community policing research. From their research Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 227) concluded that “regardless of neighbourhood risk level, citizen involvement was not related to residents’ perceptions that the police can prevent crime.” According to Carr (2003, p. 1259) residents are more likely to be involved in local safety schemes when they think police can do little to stop community problems such as crimes and anti-social behaviours without their assistance. Hess and Orthmann (2012, p. 241) and Carr (2003, p. 1259) argue that people who distrust police and their work are more likely to participate in citizen patrols with police to ensure the safety of their family and communities. These people feel as though the police

cannot protect the community and prevent crime without community support. However, other scholars (Kane, 2005; Hawdon & Ryan, 2003, p. 55; Scheider *et al.*, 2003, p. 367) found that people who have faith in the police tend to be participants in citizen patrol programmes.

Some studies by Wallace (2011, p. 29), Drury and Leech (2009, p. 7), McKernan and McWhirter (2009, p. 4), Reisig (2007, p. 357), Scheider *et al.* (2003, p. 363), Hawdon and Ryan (2003, p. 65) found that the visible presence of police constables on the streets of a community enhances the image of police and their work, leading citizens to take an interest in activities for community safety with police. According to Kane (2005) and Sherman (2002), lower levels of citizen involvement in policing result from a poor relationship and lack of trust in the police. During the past three decades, one of the key issues in the policing area has been that the relationship between police and the community that they serve has become estranged. This led to the development of community policing and problem-oriented policing schemes. According to Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 210), the aim of these schemes was to bring the police back into the community and build up community safety through partnerships between police and community. A major conclusion that Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 227) drew from their study of citizen participation in community policing is that:

Involvement in crime prevention activities has less to do with the public's perception of the effectiveness of this public social control mechanism and more to do with the development of personal relationships between the police and residents in these areas.

However, this was unlikely to happen in poor minority communities with a long history of having a poor relationship with police. According to Skogan (1989), a low socio-economic, minority community with a poor relationship with police knows that it will become the final target of such community policing, rather than benefiting from the programmes. Skogan argued that the success of citizen involvement in community policing is dependent on the level of trust and a strong relationship with police.

A host of researchers, including Wallace (2011, p. 26), Drury and Leech (2009, p. 8), McKernan and McWhirter (2009, p. 3), and Sampson and Morenoff (2006, p. 199) explored the idea that personal gain may be a motivator for engaging in community policing, for example, in terms of future career and financial benefits. A wide range of studies showed that active participation in community policing is clearly related to personal benefit, with studies by Maraga *et al.*, 2010; Victor & Bakare, 2004; Maskey *et al.*, 2003; Bellah *et al.*, 1985). Cunningham and Wagstaff (2006), Cooper *et al.* (2006), Johnston (2005) and Johnston *et al.* (2004) point out that this is especially the case of persons engaged in community policing in the United Kingdom, where the participants they surveyed referred to the opportunity as a 'foundation' to becoming regular police. Some British participants saw the role as an opportunity to enhance prospects of becoming a full-time regular police officer with a salary attached to the role. Thus, if benefits such as personal gains and future career prospects are withdrawn, citizens may not choose to sustain their community policing projects, including residential patrol.

Ren *et al.* (2006) argued that attachment to community correlates with citizen involvement in community policing activities. Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 224) note that “those who feel like they are part of the neighbourhood are significantly more likely to be involved in collective crime prevention”, adding:

The size of this effect is worth noting. The odds of involvement are more than 150% (Exp B = 2.69) greater for those who feel like part of the neighbourhood than those who do not have this attachment. Those who rent homes are significantly less likely to be involved. (Pattavina *et al.*, 2006, p. 224)

Neighbourhoods where people feel as though they lack an attachment to the area relate to weak and informal methods of social control, and have higher levels of crime in the community (Carr, 2003, p. 1278; Lim, 2001, p. 92). According to Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 211), some communities with high crime levels, a poor-relationship with police, and high fear of crime are still involved in collective action for community safety when they have a strong attachment to the area.

An additional set of variables deals with crime problems in the community. Hess and Orthmann (2012, p. 241), Drury and Leech, (2009, p. 8), Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 203), Sampson and Morenoff (2006), Carr (2003), and Skogan (1989) point out that people who say that their communities have a crime problem will participate in community policing activities. According to Carr (2003, p. 1249), citizen involvement is more likely in high crime areas than in low crime areas, because residents believe that the police are unable to prevent crime and disorder without their support. Similarly, Sampson and Morenoff (2006) and Phillips

(1966) note that citizens who value safety feel obligated to participate in community policing.

Conversely, Lab (1990), Bennett (1986) and Shernock (1986) showed that people who say that their communities have a crime problem will not involve themselves in community policing. According to Sampson and Jeglum-Bartusch (1998, p. 798), generally, community residents in high crime areas tend to have poor relationships with police. However, they also argued that it would be a mistake to assume that people in those areas could not become positively involved in community safety activities (Pattavina *et al.*, 2006, p. 211).

The seventh key theme highlighted as influencing participation in other local crime prevention schemes relates to individuals taking a personal interest in the community. Wandersman and Giamartino (1980, pp. 219-220) point out that the characteristics of community members such as concern for, knowledge of, and participation in local crime prevention schemes can serve as catalysts for citizen involvement. Fraser (2011, p. 7) argued that social characteristics such as interest in community safety are important factors in the involvement of voluntary citizen patrollers. Reisig (2007, p. 357) poses the question of whether or not community residents have enough time to become actively involved. Residents already involved in other local crime prevention activities know, through experience, that community safety requires cooperation from citizens and formal government agencies, such as the police and city councils (Gray, 2009, p. 326).

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the multiplicity of factors listed above to account to citizen involvement in community crime prevention

programmes. The first is that it draws attention to the difficulties of making accurate comparisons because there is no uniform understanding of “citizen patrol participation” (Lab, 1990). Sometimes researchers have in mind citizens patrolling in a community alongside regular police officers; at other times citizen involvement refers to participation in a range of different community programmes, including Neighbourhood Watch, the installation of locks, and providing assistance with security surveys. Comparing already existing programmes and newly started programmes is also problematic.

Other articles that have sought to explain citizen involvement in community crime prevention are not based on the outcomes of empirical research. For instance, Lavrakas and Lewis (1980) tried to isolate this variable empirically through secondary data from a government report. However, the authors failed to find a relationship between surveillance and citizen participation. According to Lab (1990, p. 471), although their study tried to clarify the realm of citizen patrol participants, they did not subsequently use the identified dimensions to determine who was positively involved in the various types of citizen cooperation in community safety activities.

It can be argued that this oversight of previous studies and discussion of participatory determinants of citizen cooperation in community policing highlights a need for further research. The present study extends the previous work in a number of ways. First, the present study seeks to test the participatory variables noted in previous research. The seven factors gleaned from the literature and noted above, form the basis of a questionnaire to undertake a survey of factors influencing citizen participation in community policing.

Second, whereas much previous research used multiple surveys or secondary analysis of data from various sources, the present study uses just one standardised survey instrument to surveyed South Korean PCPVs and British PCSOs using the same (translated) questionnaire.

Conclusion

This chapter has been preoccupied with outlining the philosophy, principles of policing and salient features of community policing. It has shown that in addition to making provision for the involvement of individual citizens in policing and crime prevention, community policing promotes a particular type of organisational structure that is less hierarchical, more inclusive and consequently less bureaucratic. The different dimensions of the participatory model of policing drives the point home that community policing is not just the expansion of traditional professional policing with the inclusion of volunteer citizens, but an altogether different and distinct type of policing with its own set of values, priorities and strategies.

The present study draws on seven themes identified in the research literature form the basis of the questionnaire survey to explore citizen cooperation in community policing. These themes become the independent variables for the present study which investigated why citizens become involved in citizen cooperation in community policing in South Korea and the United Kingdom.

Endnotes

ⁱ <http://www.iawp.org/pdf/GlobalPolicingConclave2010-India.pdf>

ⁱⁱ Orlando Winfield Wilson (1900-1972) was one of the influential leaders in policing fields, having served as Chief of Police in California, and authored several books on police area including community policing.

Chapter 3

Community Crime Prevention

Introduction

Anselin, Cohen, Cook, Gorr, and Tita (2000, p. 213) argue that “the new century brings with it growing interest in crime *places*” (author’s italics). These authors suggest that this interest in ‘place’ is sparked by attempts to understand the aetiology of crime, and develop effective strategies to prevent crime and anti-social behaviour. This chapter discusses citizen participation in community crime prevention, the relevance of *place* (i.e., country), and how community involvement as a strategy has impacted on criminal activity.

Engaging the community

According to Sutton *et al.* (2008) crime is one of contemporary society’s main problems, affecting many people’s lives. Serious crimes against people and property induce considerable fear within the community. Crimes such as theft, break-and-enter, sexual assault, and murder pose serious threats to the safety of the community. It has been argued that a heightened sense that these types of crimes are being committed locally causes community members to restrict their movements and prevents them from participating fully in community activities (Felson, 1998). In particular, some groups of community residents perceive that they are more vulnerable to crime (e.g., the elderly, women and the disabled) which causes them to avoid both (1) certain perceived dangerous areas, and (2)

activities held at times late at night (Lupton, 1999). Many different strategies are needed to combat the complex issues of crime and anti-social behaviour, and these should include techniques to reduce people's fear of crime (Hancock, 2012). Community engagement with the police and citizen participation in crime prevention are possible strategies.

Traditionally, communities turn to the police and the criminal justice system for protection from criminals and anti-social behaviour. Recently, however, some crime prevention initiatives for community safety are operating outside of formal agencies such as the police (Crawford, 1998).

Traditional criminologists such as Merton (1938, in Brown *et al.*, 2010, p. 240), Park, Burgess, Shaw and McKay (1942, in Brown *et al.*, 2010, pp. 258-259) and Sampson and Morenoff (2006) from the Chicago School, have argued that the wider, macro-social structure of contemporary society is intrinsically related to deviant behaviours such as offending and anti-social behaviours.

The term 'community crime prevention' is regarded as preferable to 'crime prevention' by practitioners because it stresses the idea that strategies for preventing and controlling crime should be coordinated and managed locally, rather than by a disengaged government or a distant, hierarchical police Command. According to Newburn (2008), crime has a significant direct impact on the everyday lives of community residents, and therefore the plan and strategy of crime prevention should focus on the microcosm of community or neighbourhood. Zhong and Broadhurst (2007) suggest that communities have a

locus of informal social control constituting an important force in reducing crime.

The Neighbourhood Watch (NW) programme is usually regarded as the showpiece of community crime prevention and as its most recognisable and explicit operation. NW is the most successful voluntary community activity for preventing crime. According to Crawford (1998), the primary aim of NW is the reduction of crime, particularly opportunistic crimes such as residential burglary; although crimes involving vehicles (e.g., motor theft) and criminal damage are also seen as problems that NW could significantly influence. The second aim of NW is reducing the community's fear of crime by increasing awareness of (1) crime prevention activities, and (2) improvements to domestic security. However, this aim is also achieved by facilitating greater contact between neighbours and improving liaisons between the community and the police (Sutton *et al.*, 2008). How well this aim is achieved depends on how many NW members actively and positively look out for suspicious behaviour in each community; they become 'the eyes and ears of the police' (Coward *et al.*, 2004, p. 4).

Theories of traditional expectations, modes of analysis of criminology and criminal justice may no longer be sufficient for the task (Brown *et al.*, 1996). An understanding of community culture is important in preventing crime and anti-social behaviour in the community. How do we explain the fact the United Kingdom, more than any other country, has embraced CCTV cameras in public spaces, and has a successful voluntary NW programme, as well as a paid work community policing system, the PCSOs? How do we explain the fact that South

Korea, more than any other country, has embraced the Marine Fellow Soldier Club, involving voluntary activity in public spaces by ex-marines, and the voluntary community policing system, the PCPVs? Government policies can be fixed around the idea of citizen partnership and cooperation of community security services (Ling *et al.*, 2006). Government can use citizen groups and community resources for crime prevention which is particularly beneficial when there is shortage of police resources. They offer important opportunities in managing society.

Discussions of community crime prevention programmes invariably note two common facts (Sutton *et al.*, 2008; Schneider, 2007). According to Lord Scarman, the first is that official agents of social control such as the police cannot prevent and control crime and disorder without citizen cooperation (Tilley, 2000). The second is that engendering citizen involvement in crime prevention is difficult; successful community crime prevention with participating community residents is elusive (Schneider, 2007). Most of the current programmes reveal a wide range of success and failure. One obstacle, perhaps, has been a lack of attention to the distinction between implementation failure (failure due to practical difficulties in implementing community crime prevention programmes) and theory failure (failure of measures to produce community crime prevention outcomes) (Rosenbaum, 1986). If preventive measures are perceived to be inappropriate, unacceptable, costly or impracticable by those whose cooperation is required to put them into practice, then it is unlikely that they will be implemented, let alone demonstrate success in reducing and preventing crime and anti-social behaviour (Hope & Lab, 2001).

According to Ling *et al.* (2006), citizen cooperation in crime prevention is an old tradition in the criminal justice field. Citizens involved in community safety were, at first, peace officers patrolling the streets, and had an important role for public safety prior to the advent of the modern British police force. Since then, the crime prevention activities of citizens has become a very common element of contemporary community crime prevention activities.

According to Newburn (2008), citizen involvement in community safety was encouraged, even though the formal crime rates decreased during the early 1980s. One reason for this was that decreases in the formal crime rates were only modest in comparison to increases prior to the 1970s, and involving the community in community safety programmes was good public relations for the government. The second reason was that criminologists predicted that decreases in formal crime rates were temporary and likely to rise again in the 1990s when some of the baby boomer generation reached the age when they could become adult offenders and engage in anti-social behaviour (Renauer, 2007). Another reason was that fiscal conservatism emphasised the budgets allocated to police for community safety was limited (Renauer, 2007). Therefore, police had to find other, less expensive methods of crime prevention and control, and hence citizen participation in crime prevention activities was explored and expanded.

That said, little attention has been paid to how ordinary citizens view community crime prevention, or to the kinds of activities they are prepared to engage in for community safety (Ling *et al.*, 2006). According to Crawford, (1998), most policy interest has been with developing mechanisms to 'supply' crime

prevention to the community - whether, for example, through the development of an infrastructure of statutory agencies (The Crime and Disorder Act, 1998), by encouraging multi-agency partnership working at local levels, or putting into service organisations to adopt more crime-preventive practices for community safety. Ekblom (2000) argued that the intended purpose of most of these mechanisms is to influence the behaviour of private citizens in the community, primarily to forestall their chances of becoming victims. Private citizens are frequently the proximal operators to be manipulated to forestall criminal outcomes, especially to affect opportunities and risks of crime in everyday life (Felson, 1998).

Much of this focus on the supply of community crime prevention reflects, in one way or another, Garland's characterisation of the 'responsibilisation strategy' being pursued by many governments of 'sovereign states'. Responsibilisation involves the transfer of responsibility for controlling and preventing crime and protection to society in response to the political realisation that government can no longer deliver to its citizenry effective protection against crime and anti-social behaviour (Garland, 1996). Garland (2000) argues that this shift in policy likewise reflects cultural changes in what might be termed the 'demand' for community safety:

The groups that had been the prime beneficiaries of the post-war consumer boom now found themselves to be much more vulnerable than before ... what were once, for much of the middle-class population, fleeting, occasional fears, linked to particular situations and un-usual circumstances, now became much more routine, much more part of the habitus of everyday life, particularly in large cities" (Garland, 2000, p. 13).

The theoretical concept of responsabilisation by Garland is that the risk and fear of crime becomes a routine and common experience in community life, and citizens have limited powers and capabilities to prevent and control crime in the contemporary sovereign states. Rising crime rates and fears outstrip the powers and resources of government agencies, including their ability to deal with the fluidity of crime across borders (Ayling & Grabosky, 2006; Crawford, 2006). The responsibility to prevent and control crime lies not just with the state alone. Hinds and Grabosky (2010) argued that non-government agencies and individuals have to be involved in cooperative processes with government agencies, such as police, for community safety. As a consequence, over the past thirty years “security consciousness has reached a threshold point where it has become a collective pattern” of crime prevention activities and behaviours (Garland, 2000, p. 366).

These days, crime prevention and community safety focuses on the everyday lives of private citizens. The routine activities perspective of crime causation, which has been influential in shaping government policy to crime prevention, places the routines of citizens at the centre of its plan to limit opportunity for offending by potential criminals (Newburn, 2008). Other studies describe how concerns about crime and security have permeated the discourse of everyday life (Taylor, 1995), even though the more affluent have, on the whole, managed to avoid victimisation (Hope, 1995). In view of this widespread concern, governments might be forgiven for assuming that the needs of its citizens for community crime prevention assistance are universal, and that their requirements for community protection are uniform. Indeed, much of the tenor of the British

governments' crime prevention publicity toward its citizens over the past couple of decades (e.g. the 1980s "Campaign Crime - Together We'll Crack It") has been couched in terms of appeals to the active citizen, to the individual self interest in the face of predation, and to address the apparent needs of average citizens for the protection of themselves and their property (Central Office of Information, 1989).

Yet, these interventions have been based on policy-makers' assumptions about the nature of the public's participation in crime prevention activities, which have been shown to be erroneous or invalid. For instance, Stanko (1990) has argued compellingly against government advice to women, since this advice ignores risks faced by many women - of violence from intimates - or implies culpability for victimisation in certain women's presumed 'lifestyles'. Similarly, the failure of NW to take root in many communities, especially high-crime areas, may be due to the failure to appreciate the complex intertwining of trust and anxiety which make up the fabric of social control in high-crime communities, and which the Neighbourhood Watch concept fundamentally violates (Hope, 1995). Even in low-crime communities, residents may be disinclined to participate positively in collective crime prevention activities with police, arguably seeing it as more 'rational' to adopt strategies, such as ... which avoid risk in the first place (Hope, 1999).

Such insights, combined with the 'unexplained' failure of many community-based crime prevention strategies, draws attention to the lack of knowledge that we currently have concerning what ordinary people *do* about the crime risks they perceive themselves to face (Newburn, 2008). Of course, private

citizens in the community do take measures to protect themselves - even if these are not the 'right' or appropriate measure to take, given their likely risks. Indeed, it is a logical corollary of the routine activity / rational choice approach that individuals adopt precautions against crime in their everyday lives (Felson & Clarke, 1995). Nevertheless, Gilling (1997) said the problem of low citizen participation in 'official', recommended or organised crime prevention activities suggests there may be some variance between what policy-makers think the public ought to think and what the public actually thinks, and does, about crime prevention for community safety.

Crime prevention as a desirable criminal justice policy

According to Beck (1992), the concept of crime prevention has developed alongside and encouraged the spread of 'Risk Assessment' due to the failure of crime control policies by government. In this scenario individuals at high risk of offending, or of becoming the victims of crime, are the focus of attention (Crawford, 1998). They are seen as the 'cause' of epidemics of crime in communities, and thus the targets of intervention. The risk society is characterised by a negative logic, the distribution of 'Bads' or 'Dangers' (Beck, 1992, p. 108). People are increasingly united, or separated, included or excluded, on the basis of shared risk or a common interest in the distribution of risk, such as crime and anti-social behaviour.

According to Tonry and Farrington (1995), most of the citizens do not want to be victimised by offending, or to live with a heightened fear of crime. Crimes and serious anti-social behaviours like murder and sexual offence, once committed,

cannot be undone. Therefore, crime prevention strategies for community safety include interventions with individuals *before* such incidents take place. The issues facing contemporary governments are that existing strategies are based on crime control more than prevention and, given the increasing rates of serious crimes, are seen as a failure. As a result, a number of Western countries such as the United Kingdom and the US started to emphasise the importance of developing a variety of programmes and strategies based on crime *prevention*.

Another reason to adopt a crime prevention, rather than a crime control, model stems from 'responsibilisation'. As individuals and communities accept more of the responsibility of dealing with public safety against crime (Garland, 2000), and as governments do not have the capacity to fully support crime control for public safety crime prevention aligns well with terms like 'cost-benefits', 'best value' and 'fiscal responsibility'. Crime prevention is efficient, effective and economic, and outcomes are improved, relative to crime control, through strategies that call upon community human resources (Newburn, 2007). It can be argued that a variety of crime preventive strategies based on the prevention philosophy of risk assessment measurement tools, criminal-profiling, risk of custody scales, selective incapacitation and preventive intervention with 'at Risk' groups are popular (Kemshall, 2008). It is a strategy of crime prevention for our community and public safety, and a desirable method of contemporary criminal justice strategies.

Selective criminological theories of crime prevention

This section highlights a few of the main crime prevention theories that have credence in contemporary criminological debate.

Situational crime prevention theory

A situational approach to crime prevention was developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Gilling, 1999). Criminologist Ron Clarke suggested that situational crime prevention entails:

- (a) The prioritisation of the control of crime, through practical yet limited policy oriented measures;
- (b) An emphasis on alterations to the physical environment;
- (c) The significance of processes of informal social control;
- (d) The offence rather than the offender as the primary focus of attention. (cited in Lee, 2008, p. 52)

Earlier, both criminologists and public administrators focused on the relationship between offenders and their environment. Consequently, situational approaches to crime prevention became part of a renewed interest in the criminogenic character of the environment. Unlike earlier work, criminologists and public administrators focused on the nature of the relationship between offences (crimes) and areas (places) (Schneider, 2009, p. 42).

According to Hough (1987), this theory focuses on: “(a) the measures directed as highly specific forms of crime; (b) which involve the management, design of, and manipulation of the immediate environment in which these crimes occur; (c) in as systematic and permanent a way as possible; (d) so as to reduce the chances of offending; (e) as perceived by a broad range of potential criminals” (Clarke,

1997, p. 4). Through this schema, we can know that opportunities for reducing crime can take three inter-related forms:

(a) Increasing the effort involved in crime by making the targets of crime harder to get at or otherwise hindering the commission of crime; (b) Increasing the risks, whether real or perceived, of detection and apprehension; (c) Reducing the rewards of crime. In some cases this may involve removing the targets of crime altogether. (Wright, 1999, p. 29).

Situational crime prevention strategies are intended to prevent criminal activity. This involves the introduction of physical barriers to protect property including locks, bars, screens, fences and other barriers which render specific crimes more difficult to commit. Thereby, the target of the offence, either person or object, is protected (Yar, 2003).

Secondly, situational crime prevention increases the chances of detecting criminal activity through two forms of surveillance, namely Closed-circuit television (CCTV) and screening. Screening can be defined as the monitoring of entry and exit points, or merchandise tagging. These approaches monitor offenders as they commit, or try to commit, crimes, but may also have a deterring effect by requiring, for example, an offender to disable an alarm system (Hough, 1987). The importance of surveillance to situational crime prevention theory is evident in citizen patrol programmes. Patrolling by community residents may be thought of as mobile CCTV. It can support police by providing additional ears and eyes for specific geographical zones, and can be helpful as police cannot patrol all city zones or know when offences are occurring. Surveillance has the added benefits of heightening the visibility of crime prevention and decreasing the fear of crime in the community. Further, the

number of offences may be reduced through citizen patrol by limiting the perceived opportunities for crime (Schneider, 2009, p. 43).

Thirdly, situational strategies involve reducing the rewards of crime. For example, property marking increases the likelihood of detection by police and decreases the sale value of a stolen item on the black market. The potential likelihood that a stolen item can be traced significantly reduces its value. In some cases, reducing the rewards may entail the removal of the target of offending altogether. The purpose of this strategy is to reduce the benefits and increase the costs of offending (Crawford, 1998). It can be argued that the success of situational crime prevention depends on the extent to which potential offenders are influenced by situational strategies, such that the changes are perceived as adversely influencing the ease, arrest risk, and rewards of committing offences.

Routine activity theory

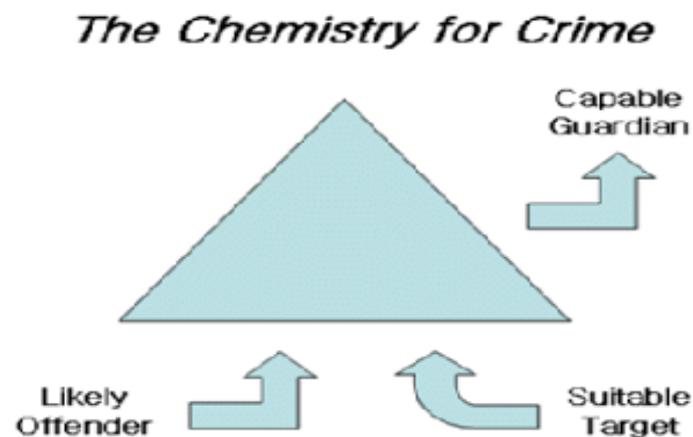
Routine activity theory seeks to explain the opportunities for crime, and focuses on criminal events rather than the inclinations or the motivations of offenders. Criminal incidents are seen as physical acts in that they relate to objects with a position in time and space (Schneider, 2009, p. 43).

According to Felson (1998), routine activity theory focuses on the explanation of predatory crimes like robbery and burglary. It assumes the convergence in time and space of three key elements: a likely criminal, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian (Eckblom, 2000). A likely criminal is a person who, for reasons that may be known only to them, would commit a crime. A

property or person likely to be offended against by the criminal can be defined as a 'suitable target' (Wright, 1999, p. 29). Crawford (1999) argued that the most likely candidates for capable guardians are not police officers, but rather neighbours. Guardianship has a strong impact on community crime prevention. For example, an attack is easier if a guardian is absent (Lee, 2008).

Figure 3.1

Routine activity theory and the basic crime triangle



Source: Felson and Clarke, 1998, p. 4.

According to Sutton *et al.* (2008), any person or any object can be the target of a crime. For example, a laptop computer is a target if the owner / guardian is away, because this makes the theft easier. Eklom (2000) argued that the target's risk of being offended against is based on four main factors: Value, Inertia, Visibility, and Access. These four risk elements for attack are based on the standpoint of the criminal (Felson & Clarke, 1998). The weight of the valued target is the inertia. According to Felson and Clarke (1998, p. 5), "small electronic goods are stolen more than weighty items, unless the latter are wheeled or motorised to overcome their weight". The exposure of valued targets is its related to its

visibility and relative ease by which an object becomes a target. Thus, according to routine activity theory, predatory crimes like robbery and burglary are successful, when an offender finds a suitable target that lacks a guardian to defend the object from crime. As such, crime does not relate to the number of criminals, but rather to the number of valued targets or opportunities that criminals find, with no guardians. It can be assumed therefore that changes to the routine life of community residents can affect the number of offences, if not the number of offenders.

According to Sutton *et al.* (2008), this theoretical approach provides a good explanation for the rise in predatory crimes like robbery and burglary. As an example, the predatory crime rates from each year are strongly related to the weight of electronic items, i.e. as these items decrease in size, robberies increase. Further, houses that females work outside of are at increased risk of burglary. According to Felson and Clarke (1998, p. 5), the risk of a house being burglarized increases as people spend more time away from the home.

In general, it could be argued that the major cities of the world are crime stimulating environments in that their 'routine activities' bring together motivated offenders, vulnerable targets and inadequate surveillance. To counteract the 'Motivated Offender', Felson (1995) has argued that guardians should be used to discourage criminal activity (Lee, 2008, p. 43). He emphasised three types of guardians, including those who keep watch over potential crime targets, those who supervise potential offenders, and those who monitor places.

Felson (1995, p. 53) also differentiates between varying levels of responsibility for crime prevention: first, personal discouragement emphasises the responsibility of family and friends; second, assigned discouragement refers to the responsibility of criminal justice agencies such as a police; third, diffuse discouragement is the responsibility of non-criminal justice agencies such as a school teacher; fourth, general discouragement is the responsibility of other citizens.

‘Guardians’ and ‘responsibility for crime prevention’ have to be increased to control ‘motivated offenders’ in high crime areas (Lee, 2008).

Rational choice theory

Rational choice theory, as a situational crime prevention theory, is a theory of human decision-making. It focuses on whether or not to engage in offending through the calculation of the relative balance between risks and rewards. For example, according to Crawford (1998) the motivated offender is assumed as a ‘self-maximising decision maker’ who calculates benefits by comparing successful, previous crimes with possible punishments such as the likelihood of arrest (Sutton *et al.*, 2008). Prevention based on this theoretical approach emphasises increasing the risks of police investigation and arrest, increasing effort required for successful crimes, and decreasing the rewards for crime.

This theory provides a cost-benefit analysis of choice and crime. According to Gary Becker (1968, p. 176), “the approach taken here follows the economists’ usual analysis of choice and assumes that a person commits an offence if the

expected utility to him exceeds the utility he could get by using his time and other resources at other activities". The focus shifts from the individual to the nature of costs and benefits, as well as how costs and benefits change depending on the context or situation. Some individuals become offenders not because their basic motivation differs from that of other people, but because the perceived benefits and costs differ (Beck, 1992). The traditional conservative approach was to increase costs by increasing the severity of sentences (Beck, 1992). However, victimisation surveys have repeatedly shown that most offences are never reported, let alone the offenders apprehended or convicted (Anselin *et al.*, 2000). According to Wilson (1975), the key to addressing crime is not more draconian punishments, but rather increasing the certainty of detection and punishment through greater surveillance, informal control and effective policing.

The majority of criminals have 'free will' and so are 'rational choice' actors who weigh up potential benefits and costs before committing an offence. The potential victim is seen as 'free' to make choices about whether or not to install target-hardening measures and to manage their personal safety. There is no conception of the uneven social distribution of crime which undermines any notion of formal equality in matters of victimisation (Young, 1992). Victimisation is an outcome of rational choices for which the victim bears ultimate responsibility. Rational choice theory shifts responsibility for crime prevention and control away from the state and on to individuals (Crawford, 1998).

This theory focuses on the criminal's perspective about crime and shows how the criminal makes crime choices. It explains an image of the criminal who thinks

before he commits, and weighs the benefits and costs of committing the crime. It seems as though the criminal emphasises that which is most immediate. For example, the majority of criminals seem to give less attention to final punishment than they do to the immediate pleasures of offending.

Critical review of selected crime prevention theories and policies

None of the above theories of crime prevention was created in isolation. Therefore, it is not surprising that the theories in question show many similarities, and that there are few contradictions between them. Generally, theories of crime prevention are applied on the micro-level, to the free will of criminals, situations, neighbourhoods, life-styles, environments, and communities. In addition, different decision-making processes are employed for different types of crimes. Given this, as a shared feature of these theories, three propositions common to the theories outlined above can be identified. First, criminals are motivated to offend, but that in most cases their motivations, however strong, do not override the calculation of the risks and effort associated with committing of the crime. Second, criminals engage in 'rational' decision making, weighing the perceived costs and benefits to themselves. Third, criminals read 'cues' in the environment to help them to assess costs and benefits.

Notwithstanding the merits of the situational and routine activity approaches to crime prevention, a number of concerns with regard to these approaches can be found in the literature. One of the main criticisms of the situational and routine activity approaches is that it provides little or no insight into the 'root causes' of

crime, such as poor education, unemployment, and discrimination (Lab, 1997). It therefore fails to explain the factors that lead to criminality.

Another criticism is that the environmental determinism of the situational and routine activity approach may be a necessary condition for crime to occur, but is not in itself a sufficient condition. Heal (1992), for instance, gives the example of the difference between seeing an open window as a passport to crime, and viewing the same open window as an aid to ventilation. Further, there is scant evidence to verify some of the assumptions made in these theories. An example is Newman's (1972) assumption that physical design will engender a sense of community and territoriality when, in fact, the orientation towards physical design elements may isolate residents in individual fortresses, and thus cause increased levels of crime.

With regard to rational choice theory, it is argued that burglars are not totally rational but, rather, they respond to various factors with little thought, and in addition, they are faced with limited choices (Wright & Decker, 1994; Young, 1992). According to Bohman (1992), rational choice theory remains an incomplete theory of social action. Bohman suggests that it can only remain relevant if it incorporates other theories that operate at levels of explanation different from that of rational choice theory itself. Moreover, rational choice theory provides too little explanation of the subjective role of emotions such as anger, desperation, or defiance, as contrasted to the role of logical thinking on the offender's decision making process (Wright & Decker, 1994). Also, the moods experienced by the offender can distort their thinking, and can make them unconcerned about risks (Brown *et al.*, 1996).

Bennett (1986) makes a distinction between the initial and the final decision to offend. In the case of the initial decision to offend, the motivation for the decision is seldom influenced by physical situational elements, although it is frequently affected by social, cultural, and economic factors. However, in the case of the final decision to offend, which is a decision that is taken in relation to a particular target, physical situational factors are likely to influence the decision. According to Bennett (1986), a major disadvantage of aiming to prevent crimes after the offender has decided to commit an offence is that it may not be possible to influence or control the offender's motivation, and an offence prevented may merely become an offence displaced. In the research done by Bennett (1986), about 40 per cent of the sample offenders interviewed said that if they have to postpone an offence, they would usually commit another later, still during the same day; while about another 40 per cent said that they would not attempt another offence that day. Possible crime displacement, instead of crime prevention, is a general criticism made of the implementation of situational prevention initiatives.

The aforementioned crime prevention theories and strategies have been linked to a heightened fear of crime among community citizens (Silver & Miller, 2004; Hawdon *et al.*, 2003; Scheider *et al.*, 2003; Thurman *et al.*, 2001; Skogan, 1990). According to Pepinsky (1989), people who positively participate in crime prevention activities are more likely to be suspicious in terms of neighbours and have a heightened fear of crime, relative to those people who do not participate in such activities, because of their increased contact with crime-related information. Zhao *et al.* (2002) tested Pepinsky's ideas with a sample of 192

respondents involved in community crime prevention activities and another sample of 421 non-volunteer respondents in the same city. The results suggested that community residents who participate in crime prevention activities develop a heightened awareness of crime, especially violence and murder.

It can be argued that crime prevention activities can destroy the community life of citizens instead of improve public safety. Community residents are pushed back into their homes, stay behind curtains and become more serious and suspicious of their community neighbours. Most of crime prevention policies will push people and society into surveillance and mistrust. However, most of the above-mentioned criticisms are aimed at crime prevention projects seen in isolation from other crime prevention strategies. According to Meyer and Qhobela (1998), today, crime prevention is no longer regarded as the only way to address crime at the neighbourhood and community level, but rather constitutes an important part of an integrated approach that focuses on both micro and macro-levels.

Police role in crime prevention

This section is focused upon the roles performed by criminal justice agencies in community crime prevention, specifically the police. The police act as the gate-keepers of the criminal justice system; they are the initial processing agents of alleged offenders (Palmer & Whelan, 2006). As such, they are integral to community crime prevention. Specifically, they are charged with administering the law that has been enacted by legislators to preserve community safety and social order. According to Newburn (2008), order maintenance is only one of the

responsibilities assigned to law enforcement. Law observance, rather than law enforcement, is the ultimate objective.

There are two aspects of policing in the United Kingdom. First, police have emphasised crime prevention as a central element in their functions (Johnston *et al.*, 1993). Second, the development of modern policing has fundamentally transformed the meaning of crime prevention as well as the involvement of other criminal justice agencies and the public in the prevention process (Reiner, 2010).

In the case of Britain, two developments have destroyed the traditional model of police crime prevention. The first is that uniform foot random patrols are not effective in preventing crime (Clarke & Hough, 1984). For example, Crawford *et al.* (2003, p. 3) suggest that “a foot patrol officer in London could expect to pass with 100 yards of a burglary in progress once every eight years and, even then, they would probably not know that a crime was being committed”.

The second development was the introduction of new technologies, particularly cars, communication systems and computers (Crawford *et al.*, 2003). The most symbolic development was the system of 'Unit Beat Policing'. This reduced the number of foot patrol officers by shifting them into patrol cars and assigning them to a more reactive crime fighting role, as opposed to the less conflictual, public interactions and service functions that foot patrolling enabled (Laycock, 2006). This became known as 'Fire-Brigade' policing, with its emphasis on instant response. While often blamed for the destruction of police-public relation (Manwaring-White, 1983), the re-organisation represented a significant shift towards specialisation within the patrol function itself. According to Laycock

(2006), one of the consequences of these developments was that 'Crime Prevention' as a specialism became increasingly defined in contrast to mainstream reactive policing. Crime prevention became proactive, through the use of surveillance, low level information gathering and police data to target particular locations, problems or people.

Crime control presents officers as playing a role against aggressive and violent criminals, and those committing serious anti-social behaviours. From that perspective, sometimes, the expectations of the crime fighter conflict with the expectations of the police officers engaged in prevention activities. However, that perspective overlooks the legitimacy of law enforcement, drawn from the public demand for order maintenance and community crime protection that historically has marked the development of the contemporary police organisation as a political entity (Johnson, 1987).

According to Newburn (2008), the situation of the United Kingdom imposing an initial demand that the police be an instrument of moral coercion, later enabled the police to develop the more neutral stance of professionalism, subjected the police to the interference of machine politicians, and pressed the police to emphasise the crime fighting over other functions in obtaining public and financial support. These political factors justified the habitual emphasis on crime control measures when police executives speak of prevention. Crime prevention was deemed to derive from the perceived deterrent effect of conspicuous uniformed officers. The Peelian vision of the centrality of such prevention to modern policing declined with greater social integration of the police throughout the ensuing century (Forsyth & Forsyth, 2009).

Reiner (2010) identifies a number of reasons for the decline of the traditional police function of crime prevention. First, the traditional police model was rather costly, particularly for provincial areas with large distances to cover. Second, the growth of science in the 19th century emphasised the measurement, differentiation and categorisation of activities, in relation to criminology and criminal justice (Laycock, 2006). Against the background of statistical analyses, whereby measurement indicated social value, the involvement of police in crime prevention lost out. The police could not easily establish that their presence averted a crime, i.e. that they were instrumental in crime prevention. Finally, there was a growth of a police sub-culture that emphasised crime detection more than crime prevention.

Crawford (1998) argued that crime prevention gradually slipped from its central place and was subsequently pushed to the margins of modern policing. Finally, law enforcement and order maintenance soon became established as the core activities of police officers (Palmer, 2012). Crime prevention became increasingly defined in terms of the 'deterrent effect' of the criminal justice system as a whole. Hence, as has often been noted, crime prevention has become a core activity of no one single organisation, and yet a peripheral concern of many (Tilley, 1993).

It can be argued that the deterrent effects of law enforcement, such as target-hardening, are prominent in police activities for crime prevention and control. The usual prescription is to correct shortages of hardware and personnel

to increase chances that active criminals will be caught. The British police have been pressed to develop closer ties with the community.

Conclusion

In this chapter, theoretical perspectives were presented under the central theme of community crime prevention. The primary purpose of this chapter was to provide a systematic description of crime prevention and the impact of citizen participation. This chapter provides a framework to guide the research outlined in this thesis.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

Introduction

Research that sets out to undertake a comparative analysis of social and organisational phenomena that cross national, cultural and linguistic boundaries invariably faces numerous methodological challenges. In relation to undertaking comparative research, Hantrais (1995) writes:

The shift in orientation towards a more interpretative, culture-bound approach means that linguistic and cultural factors, together with differences in research traditions and administrative structures cannot be ignored.

Hantrais (1995) explains that if not addressed linguistic and cultural factors can “affect the quality of the results of the whole project, since the researcher runs the risk of losing control over the construction and analysis of key variables”. The comparative study provides a vantage point from which to gain a more nuanced understanding of similarities and differences in systems of practice in relation to community policing: Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) in London, UK, and Police Crime Prevention Volunteers (PCPVs) in Seoul in the Republic of Korea.

This chapter outlines the methodology adopted for the study, including the development of the questionnaire, selection of participants, and analysis of data.

Cross-national research

Undertaking a cross-national study presented the researcher with three key challenges relating to language translation, ethics, and access to respondents in the field. Firstly, the wording of the questionnaire needed to convey the same meaning for two different language groups. In this study, the Korean version of the questionnaire was based on surveys used in previous studies such as those conducted by the Korean Institute of Criminology (1998), Lim (2001) and the British Crime Surveyⁱ. It was translated and developed into an English version. However, it was discovered during the pilot study that linguistic differences between Korean and English created different meanings when the questions were asked in the two languages; so, clearly, a literal translation would not suffice. To limit such problems, both questionnaires were amended several times to ensure the meanings were as close as possible, thus improving the validity of the surveys. For this, the researcher drew upon expert assistance.

The questionnaires were sent to two senior professors in the U.S., both fluent in Korean and English, who made necessary adjustments to render the questionnaires consistent for the respondent groups of both nations. One was an associate professor in the Department of Criminal Justice at the University of New Haven and a graduate of the criminal justice doctoral programme at the Florida State University; while the second was an associate professor of the Department of Criminology at the Sam Houston State University who had undertaken doctoral studies in criminal justice at the Michigan State University.

The second issue pertained to the appropriateness of the survey questions. When the Korean version of the questionnaire was created, some questions such as “do you have a child?”, “how many children are in your family?”, and references to “marital status” were in the original version. However, during the ethics clearance process at the University of Hull, these questions were pointed out as contested issues, and it was requested that they be deleted with the reason that they could be seen to infringe on privacies and the human rights of the respondents. The argument was made that respondents might feel uncomfortable and be unwilling to provide responses to these questions. The questions relating to children in the family and marital status were included to assess the relationship between family responsibility against crime and citizen cooperation in community policing. For example, a man with a child and wife might be actively involved in community activities for community safety in Korea because, according to UNPOLⁱⁱ, people who have a wife or children actively participated in community security works to protect their family. After some negotiation, modified versions of the questions relating to ‘marital status’ were approved by the ethics committee and included in the survey.

Thirdly, as an international researcher, accessing respondents in the UK was challenging. British police did not want to support the idea that an overseas researcher should patrol with them for research purposes, appearing concerned that the negative side of their profession could be exposed which, in turn, might come to the attention of a wider audience through reports and publications. Despite the efforts of the supervisors involved, permission was denied to participate in patrolling for research purposes. The opportunity to patrol with the

British PCSOs also failed. However, as a PhD researcher who had also worked as a full-time police officer in South Korea (SK), there were no difficulties in collecting and accessing the data on SK PCPVs. Even though the researcher was not currently a member of a police station, the opportunity was given to join a patrol team for the duration of the data collection. However, the situation was different in the UK.

Research design

A comparative analysis ultimately is as useful as its capacity to draw on broadly parallel data sets and consistency in the measurement of citizen cooperation in community policing activities in two nations. For these reasons the study used the same survey instrument for both British PCSOs and South Korean PCPVs. Before attempting to compare and contrast citizen cooperation in community policing activities in two nations, and drawing conclusions regarding these comparisons, a standardised measurement tool was necessary.

Given the relevance of collecting large amounts of information from a diverse group of people regarding their reasons for undertaking voluntary policing activities, a standardised survey seemed more advantageous than other possible methods, e.g. diaries, focus group discussions, interviews, or observation. Further, the use of identical instruments in the different cultural, social, and legal contexts was deemed the most efficient and effective way to compare disparate groups involved in citizen cooperation in community policing activities (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Further, using a survey insured against failing to gain access to enough participants for interviews. The survey developed for this study is based

on seven key themes listed in Chapter 1, which were based on recurring themes in the research literature.

The study topic ‘citizen cooperation in community policing activities’ needed to be refined into a list of police crime prevention activities by citizens. Two major types of police supporters exist in Britain: Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) and Special Police Constables (SPCs). In this study the focus is on the PCSOs only. Special support personnel also exist in the Republic of Korea, such as the Citizen Crime Prevention Units and academics within the Citizen Police, but again, for the purposes of this study, the focus is on the PCPVs only. The primary reason for this more limited focus is because while PCSOs and PCPVs are paid and the latter are unpaid, they share much in common in terms of levels of power, uniforms, and training.

The survey that forms the basis of the present study was developed by drawing on a number of existing questionnaires developed by other researchers and by the British Crime Survey (BCS). Table 4.1 gives the source from which each question was derived. One of the values of drawing on existing questionnaires is that the questions have already been ‘tested’ with respondents. Further, using existing questions will allow the researcher to directly compare responses to these items with those of relevant, previous researchers.

Table 4.1

Composition of the Questionnaire Survey

Questionnaire items	Source
Q 1 to 3	BCS; Pattavina <i>et al.</i> (2006)
Q 4 to 6; 31 to 36	BCS; Lim (2001); and Lavrakas <i>et al.</i> (1981)
Q 7 to 11; 28, 29, 30, 37 and 38	BCS; Sampson & Morenoff (2006); Cunningham & Wasgstaff (2006)
Q 12 to 27	BCS; Carr (2003)

The survey consists of a mixture of open and closed questions, and Likert scales to measure attitudes. It was designed to produce data of both a qualitative and quantitative nature of citizen cooperation in community policing activities. The purpose of using open, in addition to closed, questions is that the study was specifically seeking the opinions and perceptions of British PCSOs and South Korean PCPVs respondents, and, as noted Bryman and Bell (2007), open questions allow respondents to make their responses more fully. Many respondents choose to answer open questions at length and in considerable detail, yielding rich and insightful data that can be subsequently transcribed and thematically coded (Maxfield & Babbie, 2011). Closed questions, by contrast, can make for greater ease of analysis, enabling increased comparability between responses (Kubrin *et al.*, 2009).

In South Korea, the researcher relied upon his work, training and study networks to help facilitate the field work. He relied upon former colleagues from Yong-San police station to help him liaise with the PCPVs and to select respondents. One of these colleagues joined a masters course in police studies at Dong-guk University with the researcher from 2004 to 2006 and, at the time of

the research, he had become a regional chief of police. Generally, police officers in South Korea have to do periodic rotations for a minimum of three years to prevent police corruption, so when the researcher returned to South Korea for his research in 2008, some of his previous colleagues had moved from Yong-San to other police stations in Seoul.

Fortunately the researcher found former colleagues in sixteen of the twenty police stations he had selected for his research. (Jung-Bu, Na-Won, Seo-Bu, Geum-Cheon, Ma-Po, Do-Bong, Seo-Cho, Gang-Buk, Seong-Dong, Su-Seo, Gu-Ro, Dong-Jak, Seong-Buk, Jung-Nang, Bang-Bea, and Hye-Hwa.) For the remaining four police stations (Gwang-Jin, Jong-Am, Gang-Dong, and Jang-No), some junior police were selected by the researcher's former colleague, the police chief mentioned above. Thanks to help from colleagues and classmates, the researcher gained access to all twenty police stations to carry out the field work.

Before the questionnaires were distributed it was necessary for the researcher to talk to every one of the selected regular police officers at the twenty police stations to prevent confusion related to field work, and to give an explanation of the purpose and methodology of the research. Each police station normally has around fifty to sixty PCPVs in attendance on any one day, so this made it possible for the selected officers to randomly assign the questionnaires to ten PCPVs at their station. The researcher was on hand during testing at the twenty police stations to provide further information to the randomly selected PCPVs who were asked to complete the questionnaire and return it before the end of the working day.

In the UK, the researcher wished to connect with British PCSOs directly but, in contrast to the situation in South Korea, this was not possible, and permission for the survey had to be provided by police authorities. The researcher contacted the London Metropolitan Police Authority to ask permission. With the support of the researcher's supervisor at this time, a senior lecturer at the University of Hull, and that of a police resident officer at the South Korean Embassy in London, permission was granted by the British Humberside Police Authority to proceed with the research. Distribution of the surveys was allowed in nineteen of the twenty selected police stations (Redbridge, Havering, Sutton, Bexley, Harrow, Bromley, Waltham, Greenwich, Hounslow, Islington, Hackney, Croydon, Barnet, Wandsworth, Lambeth, Brent, Ealing, Camden, and Newham). The City of London Police approved the final survey, again with the help of the police resident officer at the South Korean Embassy in London.

Since the researcher was not given permission to directly connect with the British PCSOs, as was done with the South Korean police officers and the PCPVs, an electronic file of the questionnaire was sent to the supervisor at the University of Hull and the police resident officer in the South Korean Embassy in London. These people forwarded the electronic questionnaire to senior police officers of the nineteen selected police stations. Police officers then sent the questionnaires to PCSOs under the jurisdiction of each police station. Completed questionnaires were returned to the researcher by 'e-mail reply'.

Pilot study

The survey questionnaire was tested in two separate pilot settings before its formal distribution, one in South Korea and a second at Hull, in the UK. The pilot study in South Korea was carried out over three days in July, 2008. The purpose of this pilot study was to clarify how prospective participants responded to the questions and whether they understood the contents of the questionnaire. The goal was to identify and remove possible ambiguities, ensure that the length of the questionnaire was manageable, and improve (where needed) the wording and sequencing of questions. The pilot was undertaken in two sub-police stations where the official survey would take place, the Seo-Cho and Song-Pa police stations, where former colleagues were working as police officers. Advice was sought from the resident police inspector, at Seo-Cho Mini-Police Station who was known to the researcher, about how best to carry out the pilot study on PCPVs. This police officer introduced the researcher to PCPVs, and thus helped to create a positive atmosphere in which to carry out the pilot survey. Eighteen PCPVs attended an information session where the research project together with ten volunteer participants in the pilot study from Seo-Cho. The Song-Pa police station is located in the researcher's hometown, and therefore the data gathering process was much easier. News that the researcher himself was currently a police officer and from the local area facilitated data collection. Ten citizen police officers also volunteered to participate in the pilot study at Song-Pa.

The pilot study of PCPVs revealed that the Korean participants felt that the questionnaire was too long but, at the same time, it highlighted a need to include additional questions. The added questions invited participants to indicate the

extent to which they agreed or disagreed with statements about citizen policing, gave prompts inviting them to give reasons why they worked for the police, asked them to rank their reasons for participating in citizen policing, and asked them to provide reasons for being a PCPV. Finally, a new section was added inviting participants to indicate their perceptions of the effectiveness of citizen policing as a community crime prevention strategy.

The Hull pilot study was carried out during February, 2009 using the reworked version of the questionnaire following the pilot study in Korea. In total, twenty-seven PCSOs completed the revised questionnaire: seven participants each from St Andrews, Myton, and the Drypool areas, and six participants from Newington. The researchers' former supervisor at the University of Hull assisted with the survey by liaising with the police inspector at the Queens Gardens Police Station. The initial visit to the Queens Gardens Police Station was with this supervisor, who introduced the researcher to the local police inspector and requested his assistance with the study. The police inspector agreed to participate in the project by distributing the electronic version of the pilot questionnaire to thirty PCSOs under his jurisdiction. Of these, twenty-seven participated in the pilot study, i.e. completed the electronic questionnaire. Once again, the aim of the pilot study in the UK was to evaluate the survey in terms of whether it covered the full spectrum of the participation process, assess whether or not the wording of the questions was adequate, and identify if any further adjustments were required.

The pilot study in this instance revealed that the UK participants had difficulty with questions 18, 21, and 28 in the survey relating to experience with police and

reasons for volunteering. The pilot study also revealed that participants had problems reading subheadings in the questionnaire and appeared to be influenced either negatively or positively. As a result, the decision was taken to amend the questionnaire by excluding all subheadings. Apart from minor editorial changes in the wording, the rest of the questionnaire proved sufficient to gauge the reasons as to why people take part in police crime prevention activities.

Research participants

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of the research it was necessary to access participants for the study who were most closely involved in participatory voluntary police crime prevention activities across the two countries. A purposive (stratified) sampling strategy was adopted (see Chapter 4). The selection of participants required achieving the most representative sample of respondents that reflected their geographical distribution and their respective communities, as well as comparability in the roles that citizen police undertake in their respective countries.

The selection of UK participants proved much more challenging than the selection of the South Korea subjects because there are two types of citizen police in the United Kingdom.

Table 4.2

Research Participants - London Metropolitan Area

Police station	Participants
Redbridge Police station	10
Havering Police station	10
Sutton Police station	10
Bexley Police station	10
Harrow Police station	10
Bromley Police station	10
City of London Police station	10
Waltham Forest Police station	10
Greenwich Police station	10
Hounslow Police station	10
Islington Police station	10
Hackney Police station	10
Croydon Police station	10
Barnet Police station	10
Wands-worth Police station	10
Lambeth Police station	10
Brent Police station	10
Ealing Police station	10
Camden Police station	10
Newham Police station	10
TOTAL	200

The participants for this study were selected specifically from two urban areas: London and Seoul. The two cities were divided into districts that reflected their respective crime ratesⁱⁱⁱ. Using the available statistics, the metropolitan areas of London and Seoul were divided into four areas according to the volume of crime: very low crime area, low crime area, medium crime area, and high crime area. Five police stations from each of the four areas were selected from each city. As a result, twenty police stations from each city were selected with the intention of receiving ten completed survey questionnaires from each so as to achieve the total targeted figure of 400 participants.

Table 4.3

Research Participants - Seoul Metropolitan Area

Police station	Participants
Jung-Bu Police station	10
Gwang-Jin Police station	10
Na-Won Police station	10
Seo-Bu Police station	10
Geum-Cheon Police station	10
Ma-Po Police station	10
Do-Bong Police station	10
Seo-Cho Police station	10
Gang-Buk Police station	10
Seong-Dong Police station	10
Jong-Am Police station	10
Gang-Dong Police station	10
Su-Seo Police station	10
Gu-Ro Police station	10
Dong-Jak Police station	10
Seong-Buk Police station	10
Jang-No Police station	10
Jung-Nang Police station	10
Bang-Bea Police station	10
Hye-Hwa Police station	10
TOTAL	200

Police officer as researcher

In the present study, the researcher was in an unusual situation during the field work because he drew upon, and benefitted from, his previous role as a police officer. In principle this combination of roles could have raised certain problems and issues. One potential situation of role conflict arose during the surveying of a citizen manager of police crime prevention activities. In the Republic of Korea, a police officer should investigate a reported criminal case and the researcher was told about a case of armed corruption for personal benefit. However, the citizen manager did not provide details specific enough for the case to be formally reported for criminal investigation. Fortunately, no other examples of role conflict arose during the course of the field work.

It might also be argued that, as an ex-police officer, the researcher may have undue influence over research subjects either by compelling them to participate in the study or influencing their responses to the questionnaire. In this instance the researcher was not in uniform when the survey was conducted, nor was he working for the jurisdictions where the research sites were located. For that reason it was not felt that the researcher's dual status influenced the respondents to an extent that was un-ethical, nor could he critically affect the reliability of the study.

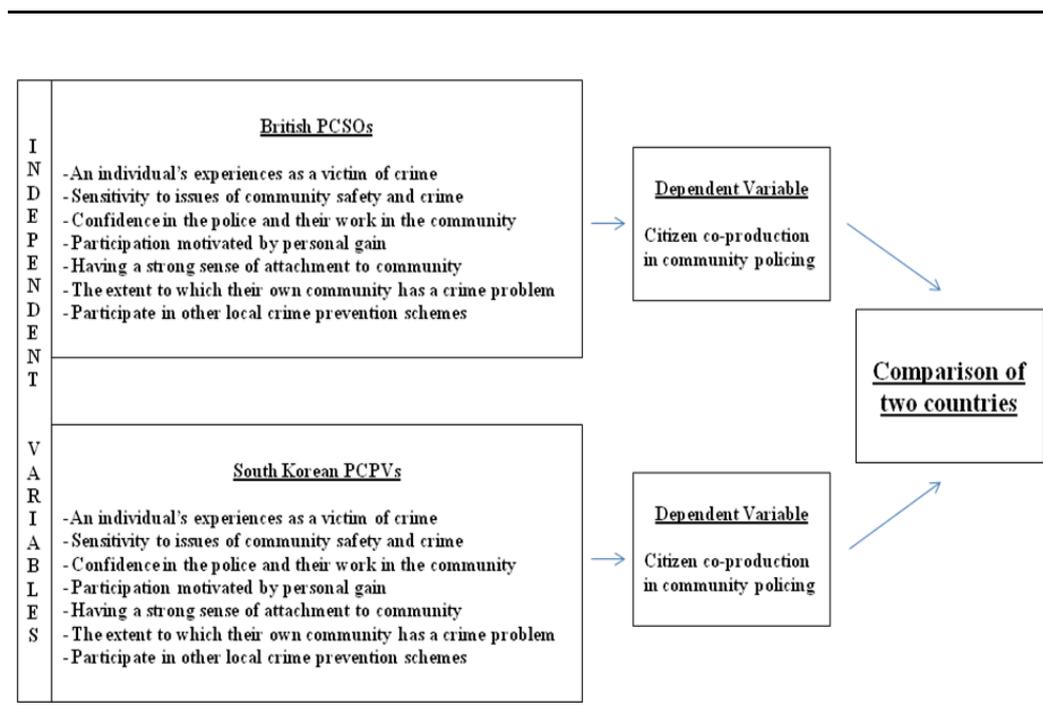
During the course of the field work in South Korea the researcher carried out site visits at the buildings of community police participants. These site visits were planned and managed by the researcher purely to see how different each crime prevention group was from the others, and whether types of crime prevention activities affected the level of security and crime rates in the area. It is possible that research participants gave the researcher a positive impression of police crime prevention activities during these visits, with the expectation that they would receive positive publicity of their activities as a result of this research. All parties were informed that no publicity would be forthcoming and that they should be as honest as possible in the information given to the researcher.

The survey was conducted between August 2008 and June 2009 during which time the researcher was undertaking doctoral studies at the University of Hull in the United Kingdom. Ethical approval for the study was obtained from that University's Ethics Committee in keeping with the 'New Research Ethics

Procedures policy' of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Hull. The process of data analysis is outlined in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1

Flow chart of Research Data



Research process

The distribution of the questionnaires was carried out between August 2008 and June 2009. The process of carrying out the research proved to be more problematic than anticipated, partly because of the challenge of negotiating language and cultural barriers, and also because of the imperative to work through two quite different organisational systems. This required drawing on my existing social networks for assistance in Korea, and working through intermediaries and their extensive networks in the United Kingdom.

As a former police officer in the Republic of Korea, The researcher was familiar with the various organisational structures within the Korean policing and was able to call on acquaintances to implement the questionnaire. The researcher visited twenty police stations across Seoul, met police colleagues and discussed with them strategies for distributing the survey to the South Korean PCPVs. Following these initial discussions copies of the questionnaire were sent to police colleagues and former police college classmates of selected police stations who, in turn, distributed the questionnaire to ten PCPVs in their police stations. In addition, The researcher had the opportunity to visit and spend a day in eight selected police stations (Seong-Buk, Jung-Bu, Song-Pa, Na-Won, Dong-Jak, Su-Seo, Ma-Po, and Gu-Ro police station). In some of these police stations The researcher was in the staff room while the respondents completed the questionnaire and was able to answer queries regarding the survey and respond to specific questions. In all, 200 completed questionnaires were returned over a period of about three weeks.

My previous supervisor at the University of Hull and a police resident officer at the South Korean Embassy in London assisted me with the distribution of the questionnaire survey in the UK. They acted as go-betweens in this project, seeking permission from the London Metropolitan Police and the City of London Police to administer the questionnaire to British PCSOs in previously selected police areas. We sent electronic copies of the questionnaire to senior police officers in the selected police stations (Havering, Bexley, Bromley, Enfield, Greenwich, Islington, Hackney, Croydon, Ealing, Camden and Newham) who

then arranged for ten PCSOs from each of their respective stations to complete the survey.

The 400 participants who completed the questionnaire were not randomly selected in the strict sense of the term in that the distribution of the instrument relied on working through individual officers and making use of existing social networks. It is not clear how the police officers in charge of individual stations chose people to complete the questionnaire, or what instructions they gave to prospective participants. However, while the sample is not strictly random, it will be shown in a forthcoming chapter that the cohort can be taken as being representative of currently engaged citizen police officers in Seoul and London. The fact that the questionnaire was completed by a total of 400 participants from twenty different police stations both in Seoul and London, while not representative in the strict sense of the term, enhances our capacity to generalise from the findings.

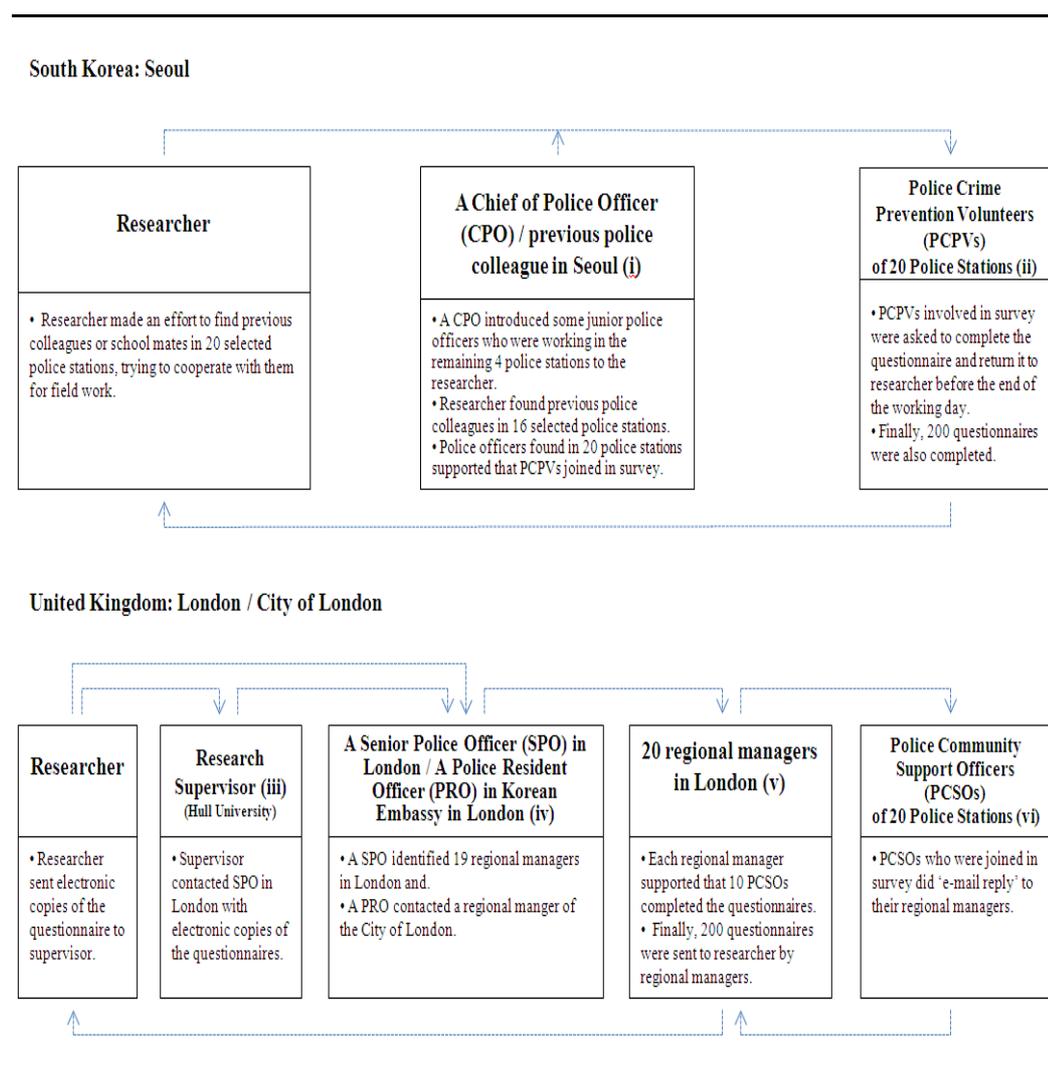
Survey response rates

A total of 400 respondents completed the survey questionnaire; 200 from South Korea and 200 from United Kingdom. The process of data collection is outlined in Figure 4.2. The researcher contacted sixteen police stations directly (Jung-Bu, Na-Won, Seo-Bu, Geum-Cheon, Ma-Po, Do-Bong, Seo-Cho, Gang-Buk, Seong-Dong, Su-Seo, Gu-Ro, Dong-Jak, Seong-Buk, Jung-Nang, Bang-Bea, and Hye-Hwa). Four others (Gwang-Jin, Jong-Am, Gang-Dong, and Jang-No) were contacted with the assistance of a police chief (i). Whereas with the UK cohort the questionnaire survey was completed on-line upon receiving instructions from

regional police officer managers, the researcher visited each of the twenty police stations in South Korea and at each location was present when participants completed the survey (ii).

Figure 4.2

Implementation of questionnaire survey in South Korea and the UK



The completed questionnaires, all of which were undertaken on-line, were returned to the respective police station managers (vi) who emailed the files to the researcher.

In the UK, the regional police office managers returned the number of completed questionnaires they were instructed to collect, although they did not make it clear to the researcher how many police officers were approached in total for this exercise. Similarly in South Korea, the selection of participants from each police station was deliberate and for the purpose of balancing the United Kingdom and South Korea cohorts.

Analysis of data

The quantitative data was coded and placed into SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), and subsequently analysed. A comparative analysis was undertaken to compare and contrast the characteristics of the British PCSOs and South Korean PCPVs. The study used three types of statistical procedures. First, an Independent-samples t-test was used to assess whether or not a difference existed between two distinct samples. Second, a Chi-Square test for Independence was performed to determine whether there is a significant association between the two variables. Finally, a regression analysis was used to assess which factors (e.g., personal experience of crime victim, heightened senses of crime, confidence in the police, personal gain, attachment to community, crime problem to community, and participation in other local crime prevention schemes) best predicted citizen involvement in community policing.

Conclusion

The main objective of this chapter has been to describe and explain the survey process that was used in the study, and how that process was customised to suit

the particular requirements and conditions of the study as a whole. The survey was designed to identify the factors contributing to a citizen's participation in community policing activities. The techniques of data collection and analysis have been documented, and relevant ethical issues have been addressed in the chapter. A comparative study of the United Kingdom and South Korea using the survey methodology has never been attempted before. In the following three chapters the results and findings of the research are analysed.

Endnotes

ⁱ The British Crime Survey is a systematic victim study. It seeks to measure the amount of crime in England and Wales by asking around 50,000 citizens aged 16 years and over, about the offenses they have been subjected to in the last year.

ⁱⁱ http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/sites/police/field/story_004.shtml

ⁱⁱⁱ This information was derived from the London and Seoul Metropolitan Police websites.

Chapter 5

Demographic Profile of Respondents

Introduction

This chapter consists of an analysis of demographic data relating to the participants in the present study. Lavrakas *et al.*, (1981, in Lab, 2010, p. 97) state:

Members of community crime prevention and those who take preventive measures more often are males, middle-to-upper income ... [and] more highly educated ... While some studies claim that participants tend to be older ... others find that most participants tend to [be] middle-aged ... or younger.

While Lavrakas *et al.*'s observations relate to crime prevention activities in the U.S.A., they provide a useful measure for us to assess the demographic profile of participants in the present comparative study of South Korea and the United Kingdom. The aim of the analysis was to identify demographic factors predicting involvement in community policing in the sample populations for both nations; specifically, sex, socio-economic background, education, occupation, and age.

This chapter also relied on national data from both nations. First, national data for South Korea was collected from the Korean police annual report 2010, and the statistic report 2010. Second, British national data was sourced from the British Police Human Resources Unit (2005), an empirical study on terms and conditions for PCSOs, and Cunningham and Wagstaff (2006), an empirical study

on PCSO recruits in the London metropolitan police. This information was used to compare the research samples against national data.

Sex

The findings of the present study support Lavrakas *et al*'s. (1981) claim that males are more likely to participate in crime prevention activities than are females. As can be seen in Table 5.1, which shows a breakdown by gender of the research sample alongside national data, most South Korean PCPVs were male. A chi-square test was performed to evaluate which sex had the stronger involvement in community policing. South Korean males were more likely to participate in community policing programmes than were South Korean females, $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 84.50, p < .001$. Similarly, British males were more likely to be involved as British PCSOs than were British females, $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 19.22, p < .001$.

Table 5.1

Gender of SK and UK participants

Sex	South Korea		United Kingdom	
	Research Sample (%)	National Data (%)*	Research Sample (%)	National Data (%)**
Male	82.5	88.0	65.5	64.0
Female	17.5	12.0	34.5	36.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Korean Police Agency (2011)*; Cunningham and Wagstaff (2006)**

A binomial test (two distinct categories; male and female) was performed to determine whether sex of the research sample was equivalent to the national population of PCPVs. The research sample of PCPVs was significantly different from the national population of PCPVs ($N = 200$), $p < .001$. However, the

sample of British PCSOs was not significantly different from the national population ($N = 200$), $p = .259$.

Given Lavrakas *et al.*'s (1981) statement regarding the sex of volunteers, it was deemed important to determine whether or not a difference existed between South Korean and the British volunteers used in this study. A chi-square test for independence revealed that the PCPVs differed from the PCSOs in relation to the proportion of men and women involved in community policing, $\chi^2(1, N = 400) = 14.15$, $p < .001$.

This examination of the South Korean and British samples supported the finding of Lavrakas *et al.* (1981). There are three possible reasons as to why most of the participants were male. The first relates to the image of police work. People have a perception that police work is dangerous and physically challenging, and thus more suited to males than females (Lim, 2001, p. 132). Until the new police professional organisation was created by Sir Robert Peel in 1829, the modernised police primarily belonged to the military and worked to maintain order, including national defence (Hoffman, 1982, in Moon, 2004, p. 129).

Second, community policing activities often are carried out at night and involve dangerous situations such as neighbourhood crime. South Korean PCPV patrolling units are composed of community citizens, usually three to five members, and these citizens patrol on foot alongside police officers in residential areas. British PCSOs also work in dangerous (and emergency) situations with regular police officers at night. They also cooperate with formal police officers

in other activities such as hot spot patrolling at night. This reinforces the perception that community crime prevention work is more suitable to males.

Third, there is a negative perception of female participation in community patrolling in South Korea. Females are more likely to be involved in other activities such as youth protection activities and caring for the disabled. British females are protected by equal opportunities legislation and policies, and thus one would anticipate that British females are more likely to participate in community policing than South Korean females. This is certainly true of the current sample of research participants presented here.

Socio-economic background

Lavrakas *et al.* (1981) argues that socio-economic background plays a role in whether people engage in community crime prevention activities. People of middle-to-upper socio-economic background are more likely to participate in crime prevention activities but, as Lavrakas *et al.* acknowledge, the findings are not always unequivocal. Table 5.2 presents a breakdown by income-range of the research sample alongside national data. Table 5.3 shows that South Korean PCPVs who earn £830-1,249 per month are more likely to participate in community policing than those in other socio-economic groups. A chi-square statistic established that the significance of this relationship, $\chi^2(9, N = 200) = 246.80, p < .001$.

Table 5.2

Socio-economic background of SK participants relating to the National data

Socio-economic background	South Korea	
	Research Sample (%)	National Data (%)*
Under £829	20.5	13.0
£830 - £1,249	35.0	24.0
£1,250 - £2,099	36.0	49.0
£2,100 - £2,499	3.5	9.0
Over £2,500	5.0	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Korean Police Agency (2011)*

Table 5.3

Socio-economic background of SK participants

Socio-economic background	South Korea	
	Frequency	%
Under £200	5	2.5
£200 - £399	9	4.5
£400 - £829	27	13.5
£830 - £1,249	70	35.0
£1,250 - £1,649	57	28.5
£1,650 - £2,099	15	7.5
£2,100 - £2,499	7	3.5
£2,500 - £2,899	5	2.5
£2,900 - £3,349	2	1.0
Total	200	100.0

A chi-square test of goodness-of-fit was performed to determine whether the research sample was equivalent to the national population of PCPVs. The sample of PCPVs was significantly different from the national sample, $\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 32.36, p < .001$.

Given Lavrakas *et al's*. (1981) statement regarding the monthly income of U.S. volunteers, it was deemed important to determine whether or not differences exist between South Korean and the British volunteers used in this research. A chi-square test for independence revealed that the PCPVs differed from the

PCSOs in relation to monthly household income, $\chi^2(9, N = 400) = 78.10, p < .001$.

The analysis suggests that people who are better placed economically are more likely to be involved in community policing activities. In the British context, not many PCSOs earn over £2,100 per month. The reason is that they are mainly recruited as PCSOs when they are between 19 and 29 years of age, and then become regular police officers.

Education

Lavrakas *et al.* (1981) contend that there is a correlation between participation and a participant education in crime prevention. Once again, however, the findings are not unequivocal. Table 5.4 shows the education level of the research sample alongside national data. This table reveals that most South Korean PCPVs have education at associate degree levels, with most people having a Further Education (often abbreviated FE) college qualificationⁱ.

A chi-square test was performed to evaluate which group had the strongest relationship with involvement in community policing. South Korean people with an 'FE College qualification' were more likely to participate in community policing than people with other qualifications, $\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 251.80, p < .001$. Interestingly, no one group of PCSOs, when classified by level of educational achievement, was more likely to contribute to community crime prevention than any other, $\chi^2(3, N = 200) = 5.48, p = .14$. This is at odds with the claims of Lavrakas *et al.* (1981).

Table 5.4

Education levels of SK and UK participants

Education	South Korea		United Kingdom	
	Research Sample (%)	National Data (%)*	Research Sample (%)	National Data (%)
First degree	1.5	4.0	24.5	-
Diploma in higher education / other HE qualification	26.5	26.0	31.5	-
FE College qualification	61.0	50.0	24.0	-
Secondary (GCES)	9.5	15.0	20.0	-
Other	1.5	5.0	0.0	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	-

Source: Korean Police Agency (2011)*

A chi-square test of goodness-of-fit was performed to determine whether the research sample of PCPVs was equivalent to the national population of PCPVs. The research sample was significantly different from the national sample, $\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 16.92, p = .002$.

Given Lavrakas *et al's* (1981) observation that individuals with higher levels of education are more likely to participate in community policing activities, it was deemed important to determine whether the same applies to community police volunteers in South Korean and in the United Kingdom that are the focus of this research. Lavrakas focused on a Western population and it seems important to assess whether individualistic cultures are similar to collectivist cultures in the make-up of their voluntary police forces. A chi-square test for independence was performed and showed that the PCPVs differed from the PCSOs in relation to the level of education attained, $\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 84.24, p < .001$.

There are two reasons for the different outcomes between the two nations. First, South Koreans have a strong relationship with occupational status. Over half

(50.0 per cent) of PCPVs are FE College qualifications holders (Table 5.4). It is difficult for South Koreans to get professional jobs without proper qualifications and, as such, they operate businesses in their local communities. These businesses have a vested interest in community safety. This self-serving interest, and the fact that people with higher educational qualifications get professional jobs (Lim, 2001, p. 135) and voluntary crime prevention work is perceived of as being hazardous (Lim, 2001, p. 132), may explain why the highly educated people are less likely to be involved in community policing activities in South Korea.

Unlike South Korean PCPVs, British PCSOs have opportunities to take up professional jobs with a high salary without educational qualifications. But the major differences between South Korean PCPVs and British PCSOs is that the latter are not volunteers; they are paid salaries. The London Metropolitan Police Authority do not have education prerequisites, and are keen to recruit people with differing experiences, and from a variety of backgrounds (Cunningham & Wagstaff, 2006, p. 42). The minimum requirement to becoming a PCSO is 'level 2 in literacy skills / GCSE or equivalent'. Research shows that people who wish to get involved in the British PCSO system have a desire to, eventually, become regular police officers. Higher educational qualifications are important as a minimum requirement for being a regular police officer, but becoming a PCSO allows a person to side-step this requirement (Cunningham & Wagstaff, 2006, p. 4). Therefore, unlike South Korea, educated people who wish to apply for a job as a police officer are more likely to be involved in citizen cooperation in

community policing than other groups. These findings are at odds with Lavrakas *et al.* (1981).

Occupation

Table 5.5 present a breakdown by occupation of the South Korean research sample alongside national data. A chi-square test was performed to evaluate which occupation group had the strongest relationship with involvement in community policing. In South Korea, self-employed people were more likely to participate in community policing than those in other occupations, $\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 175.15, p < .001$.

Table 5.5

Occupation status of South Korean participants

Occupation	South Korea	
	Research Sample (%)	National Data (%)*
In paid employment	33.5	25.0
Self-employed	49.5	54.0
Unemployed	3.0	1.0
Retired	1.0	12.0
Other	13.0	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Korean Police Agency (2011)*

A chi-square test of goodness-of-fit performed to determine whether the research sample of PCPVs was equivalent to the national population and showed that the research sample of PCPVs was statistically different from the national sample, $\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 40.95, p < .001$. Conversely, as all British PCSOs are paid for their services, the research sample was equivalent to the national population.

A chi-square test for independence was performed to establish whether or no PCPVs differed from PCSOs. The test showed that the PCPVs differed from the PCSOs in relation to the types of occupations held by the two groups, $\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 199.25, p < .001$.

Most of the British people in the sample were in paid employment as PCSOs (British Police Human Resources Unit, 2005, p. 50). South Korean people who were involved in community policing were mainly self-employed, such as store keeper or retailer in their communities, and lived for a long time in the area. They understood the issues of their communities in relation to community safety, had spare time, and shared strong attachments to their communities (Lim, 2001, p. 135). It could be argued that self-employed Koreans are more likely to be involved in community policing than are people in paid employment, in order to ensure that the community is safe. Although this seems like an altruistic endeavour, it has the self-serving benefit of protecting their businesses and livelihoods.

Unlike South Korea, British people who participated in community policing thought that the role of a PCSO is not voluntary work, but a career. According to Smith (2003), PCSOs in the London Metropolitan Police Service choose to be involved as a path to becoming a police officer. It is an easy way to start their full time professional careers without professional qualifications in the criminal justice fields. It may be argued that some people take a chance to support their communities and to make a difference in relation to community safety (Lab, 2010, p. 97) enter a police career via the British PCSOs.

Age

In light of the above discussion relating to socio-economic circumstances and occupational history, it is not at all surprising to note that those entering South Korea's community crime prevention programmes are much older than their British counterparts. Indeed, as Lavrakas *et al.* (1981) note, age is an important factor influencing involvement in crime prevention activities. Table 5.6 reveals that for South Koreans, community crime prevention is a middle-age activity undertaken primarily by individuals in their 40s and 50s. A comparison of the age of South Korean participants with the national data indicates that, if anything, participants in the present study are slightly older than the national average. The British sample and the national figures indicate that participants are more likely to be in their 20s and 30s, thus suggesting that community policing in this context is likely to be a first career for school leavers.

A chi-square test was performed to evaluate which age group had the strongest involvement in community policing. South Korean people in their 40s were more likely to participate in community policing programmes than people in other age groups, $\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 201.35, p < .001$. Conversely, younger adults (i.e., those in their 20s) were more likely to be involved in the British PCSO scheme than those in other age groups, $\chi^2(2, N = 200) = 20.32, p < .001$.

Table 5.6

Age distribution of SK and the UK participants

Age	South Korea		United Kingdom	
	Research Sample (%)	National Data (%)*	Research Sample (%)	National Data (%)**
19	0.0	0.0	0.0	17.0
20-29	1.0	2.0	46.5	50.0
30-39	14.5	24.0	33.5	21.0
40-49	55.5	51.0	20.0	9.0
50-59	25.0	15.0	0.0	3.0
More than 60	1.0	8.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Korean Police Agency (2011)*; Cunningham and Wagstaff (2006)**

A second series of chi-square tests was performed to determine whether the research samples were equivalent to the relative national populations of PCPVs and PCSOs. The research sample of PCPVs was significantly different from the national sample, $\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 30.90, p < .001$. Similarly, the sample of PCSOs was different from the national sample, $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 79.01, p < .001$.

Given Lavrakas *et al*'s. (1981) observation regarding the age of volunteers, it was deemed important to determine whether or not a difference existed between the UK and South Korean volunteers used in this study. The average age of the UK sample ($M = 32.54$ years, $SD = 7.23$ years) was lower than that of the South Korean sample ($M = 44.71$ years, $SD = 6.69$ years). This difference was significant, $t(N = 400) = 17.47, p < .001$, and thus young people in Britain were more likely to contribute to voluntary policing than they were in South Korea.

Discussion

The findings from the examination of demographic factors suggest that there is some consistency in the demographic factors relating to crime prevention

activities. The findings presented in this chapter highlight some important differences in relation to who becomes involved in community crime prevention in South Korea and the United Kingdom. At the most general level, the findings concur with Biza-Khupe (2011, p. 16), who noted that “While demographic factors have been found to be correlated to behaviour, this relationship is generally not interpreted in a causal sense”. At the same time, while Biza-Khupe is correct in reflecting the idea a cause-and-effect relationship between background demographics and participation in community crime prevention activities, one should not reject outright the fact that there is a positive relationship between background and citizen involvement.

For younger British adults interested in police work, becoming a PCSO may be seen as either a post-secondary schooling career or a ‘stepping stone’ to becoming a regular police officer. This may explain the fact PCSOs are in their 20s and 30s, both in the present cohort and nationally; as many as 17.0 per cent nationally recorded as being 19 years of age.

In contrast, for the South Koreans, participation in community crime prevention may be an activity supplementary to paid employment, or one that attracts adults nearing retirement. The critical factor that accounts for that age disparity between the two cohorts of participants is the fact that community policing is a paid activity and a form of employment in Britain, whereas community crime prevention in South Korean is undertaken on a voluntary basis. This observation is consistent with the research findings of other studies.

Lab (2010), for example, argues that males who are older, earn larger incomes and have higher educations, tend to participate in citizen crime prevention in the U.S. It is worth noting that in South Korea, participants are more likely to be self-employed males in their 40s with FE College qualifications, and who currently attract salaries in the £830-£1,249 range. This finding seems to indicate that for PCSOs, being in full-time paid employment may be a factor determining their participation in the programme, whereas for South Koreans participation in a real sense reflects a desire to support and protect the community.

Another difference between the two cohorts of participants is evident in the fact that less women in South Korea participate in community crime prevention relative to the 35 per cent of PCSOs who are women. The equal opportunity provisions in British society no doubt accounts for the high participation of women. In the South Korean sample, the lower representation of women may reflect more traditional gender attitudes that possibly define community crime prevention as high risk activity not as appropriate for women.

Conclusion

This chapter examined key demographic factors of the two cohorts of participants in the present study. Where data was available, an attempt was made to compare the two groups of participants with national figures. While the analysis has highlighted significant differences in the demographics of South Korean and British participants, and this is not surprising, what it has also revealed is that participants in the present study reflect, reasonably well, the demographic profile of their corresponding national group. This is an important

finding because it suggests that while the participants in this study do not represent a random sample in the strict sense, their similarity with the national cohort enhances the importance that we could attribute to the research findings explored in the following chapters.

Endnotes

ⁱ Further education college qualification is a term mainly used in connection with education in the United Kingdom and Ireland. It is post-compulsory education (in addition to that received at secondary school), that is distinct from the education offered in universities (higher education). It may be at any level above compulsory education, from basic training to Higher National Diploma or Foundation Degree (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Further_education).

Chapter 6

Regression Analysis

Introduction

The present chapter consists of Linear Regression analyses of community policing data garnered from South Korean participants, and those from the United Kingdom. The aim of the chapter is to analyse and interpret the reasons participants give for being Police Crime Prevention Volunteers (PCPVs) and Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs). These reasons are interpreted in light of seven key themes; (1) the individual's experiences as a victim of crime, (2) general sensitivity to issues of safety and crime, (3) confidence in the police and their work in the community, (4) participation motivated by personal gain, (5) having a strong sense of attachment to community, (6) the extent to which participants believe that their community has a crime problem, and (7) participation in other local crime prevention schemes.

Multiple linear regression analysis of South Korean data

Multiple Linear Regression (MLR) was used to establish factors significant in predicting citizen involvement in community policing. In the analysis, the seven predictor variables (discussed in Chapter 1 and outlined above) were subject to a forward stepwise entry which was used to avoid collinearity problems. Collinearity tests were conducted to assess correlations between possible predictor variables; no issues were discovered. Only the variables most

predictive of citizen involvement in community policing were retained. The first MLR identified three items that best predicted involvement in community policing for South Korean individuals, i.e., an attachment to area, a perceived crime problem in the community, and participation in other local crime prevention schemes (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1

MLR analysis of reasons for being a South Korean PCPV

Section	Un-standardized Coefficient		Standardized Coefficient	T	p
	B	Standard Error	β (Beta)		
The experience of a victim of crime	.023	.067	.034	.035	.728
Personal fear of crime	-.056	.069	-.071	-.807	.421
Faith in the police and the policing	.102	.066	.138	1.532	.127
Personal gains (future career)	.066	.063	.087	1.037	.301
Personal gains (power and authority)	.021	.095	.025	.223	.824
Personal gains (financial benefits)	-.158	.101	-.170	-1.554	.122
Crime problem in the community	.173	.067	.196	2.564	.011*
Attachment to area	.183	.053	.248	3.465	.001*
Participation in other local crime prevention	.135	.056	.178	2.404	.017*

Note: * indicates that this variable achieved statistical significance

Table 6.1 shows that ‘attachment to area’ was the most significant predictor variable, suggesting that this is a primary reason South Koreans give for getting involved in community policing activities. Trentelman (2009, p. 201) points out that attachment to area relates to connections and interactions between residents and their communities. Additionally, it can be argued that ‘attachment to area’ is related to the amount an individual values their community. Schneider (2007, p. 112) states that the relationship between community attachment and participation in community policing activities is quite evident in the USA; that individuals who are attached to their communities are more likely to participate in community policing. Pattavina *et al.*’s (2006, p. 227) examination of US citizen

participation in crime prevention in high-risk versus low to moderate-risk neighbourhoods, shows that social cohesion is the strongest predictor of citizen participation in a high-risk community. Social cohesion is also important factor in citizen involvement in community policing in South Korea.

According to Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 227), there is no correlation between citizen involvement and social cohesion-reliance on community residents for help. This finding is supported by Carr (2003) who argues that private networks of community informal control are being replaced by a combination of parochial and community formal control networks. Carr further argues that the breakdown of private social control networks is more strongly marked in high-risk communities than low-crime communities. It can be argued that the failure of private social control networks in the USA is a strong reason why citizen participation in formal community policing activities is so much higher in high-crime or high-risk communities. An argument can be made, therefore, that attachment to 'place' is an important factor influencing individuals to become involved in community policing. Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 227) stated that if the private networks are broken, community individuals turn to parochial and formal social control mechanisms, "in large part because they have no place else to go". According to Sampson and Morenoff (2006), policies for community safety need to be developed to increase private networks of community informal control in high crime areas and in the process need to find a way of reducing the stigma associated with living in and returning to these communities.

The variable 'crime problem in their community' was also a significant predictive factor of involvement in the PCPVs in South Korea. These results

support Pattavina *et al*'s. (2006, p. 226) observation that individuals who have community-based reasons, such as a perceived crime problem, are more likely to be involved in community safety activities than are individuals without such reasons. It follows that community residents living in a high-risk neighbourhood are more likely to participate in community policing activities than residents living in a low- to moderate-crime-risk community.

As can be seen in Table 6.1, 'participation in other local crime prevention' played a key role as one of the significant motivators for citizen involvement in community policing in South Korea. The result parallels Lab's (2010, p. 97) claim that community police supporters in the US who joined in police crime prevention activities tend to have a strong sense of responsibility and duty toward their community, relative to those who are not involved as volunteers in community policing.

Conversely, and seemingly in contradiction to the work of Jackson *et al.* (2012) and Presby *et al.* (1990) in the UK and the USA, respectively, the variables 'faith in the police', 'personal gains (future career)', 'personal gains (power and authority)', and 'personal gains (financial benefits)' were not significant motivators for undertaking community policing activities in the South Korean sample. Likewise, other variables such as 'the experience as a victim of crime', and 'personal fear of crime' do not seem to be important reasons for volunteering in community policing activities in South Korea.

According to Moon *et al.* (2005), in a culture of collectivism such as South Korea, communities are given more serious consideration than the status and

interests of individuals who are considered to be part of the group. Thus, the ‘personal gain’ variable is less likely to apply in the South Korean context.

Multiple linear regression analysis of the British data

A second MLR identified three items that best predicted involvement in community policing for individuals from the United Kingdom: personal gains (future career); personal gains (power and authority); faith in the police and policing (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2

MLR analysis of reasons for being a British PCSO

Section	Un-standardized Coefficient		Standardized Coefficient	T	p
	B	Standard Error	β (Beta)		
The experience of a victim of crime	-.055	.074	-.054	-.746	.457
Personal fear of crime	.056	.086	.046	.648	.518
Faith in the police and the policing	.159	.077	.151	2.058	.041*
Personal gains (future career)	.219	.066	.235	3.320	.001*
Personal gains (power and authority)	.229	.072	.228	3.183	.002*
Personal gains (financial benefits)	-.018	.059	-.021	-.304	.762
Crime problem in the community	-.018	.073	-.017	-.245	.806
Attachment to area	-.029	.078	-.026	-.369	.712
Participation in other local crime prevention	.042	.085	.034	.496	.621

Note: * indicates that this variable achieved statistical significance

The regression coefficient for ‘personal gains (future career)’ is most significant, suggesting that getting a foot-in-the-door of professional police work was an important motivating factor in becoming a PCSO. The regression coefficient for ‘personal gains (power and authority)’ was also statistically significant and support Moe’s (1980, p. 78) observation that there is greater likelihood of involvement in community policing when there are sufficient personal gains to warrant involvement. Moe also explains that gains are not only materialⁱ in

nature, such as money, but can be non-material, such as expressions of friendship, personal satisfaction and authority.

According to Batson *et al.* (2002, p. 434), egoism is one of the most obvious motives for acting for the common good, such as in community policing. Involvement can be egoistically motivated if participation is for the purpose of self-gain. For instance, a business man may endow a university or welfare foundation to gain recognition. The case is egoistically motivated, but the individual's involvement may benefit the community. Hardin (1977, p. 27) argues that egoism is the most obvious reason for citizen involvement in community safety, and is the only motive sufficiently pervasive and powerful enough to explain citizen participation.

There are several benefits to the individual that may act as motivating forces to act for the common good (Batson *et al.*, 2002, p. 435). Social or self-rewards such as a wage, authority, prizes, recognition, or praise can be gained through involvement in crime prevention works (Dawes *et al.*, 1990). In the present study the benefits of personal gains ('future career' and 'power and authority') are the most significant factors for citizen involvement in community policing in the United Kingdom.

The regression coefficient for 'faith in the police and policing' was also significant for the UK data. This finding supports Hawdon and Ryan's (2003, p. 55) observation that citizen involvement in community policing activities is related to positive public perceptions of, and confidence in, formal social control mechanisms, such as the police. In other words, citizen involvement in

community policing is just as likely even where individuals perceive policing programmes as being effective in preventing and controlling crime and disorder. Cordner (1997, p. 451) also claimed that positive cognitions of community policing were directly correlated with increases in police numbers on the streets. The visible presence of community police officers in a community has been found to increase community individuals' opinions of the police and their work, which may lead to more volunteers for collective crime prevention activities.

Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 227) also argued that citizen involvement in community policing activities has more to do with the development of private relationships between community police and individuals in their communities. Where police get to know individuals are engaged with their communities, respondents indicate that they are more likely to participate in community policing programmes, in both high-crime and low- to moderate- crime communities. The literature thus seems to suggest that individuals engage in community crime prevention activities both when the police are seen to be achieving their goals, and also that when private control networks for community safety are broken or non-existent, community residents turn to both community organisations such as the PCSO system and Neighbourhood Watch, and formal social control agencies, such as police, for assistance.

Batson *et al.* (2002, p. 433) argue that a first step to understanding community involvement in safety activities is to explore what motivates individuals to engage with community policing organisations. The Linear Regressions analyses in the present chapter revealed that for the South Koreans, factors such as 'attachment to area', 'crime problem', and 'participation in other crime

prevention' were strong predictors of citizen involvement in community policing. Conversely, factors relating to 'faith in the police' and 'personal gains' (future career, and power and authority) were significant predictors of citizen involvement in British community policing activities.

It may be that collectivism played a key role for participation in community policing in South Korea. But unlike South Korea, individualism tended to be a strong factor for the British PCSO system. There are some critical points about collectivism and individualism that can be applied to this issue. Tajfel and Turner (1986, p. 7) argued that individuals care about collectives of which they are members. Generally, if community members usually involve recognition of an out-group, a theme, who is not us. The critical issue is that consideration to meet our needs may lead to callous indifference to their desires. For instance, when gang crimes were initially labelled as an issue from a minority or migrated community, most individuals of those communities may not feel to support for the issue. It was just their concern.

Conclusion

The present analysis set out to identify the reasons for citizen involvement in community policing in South Korea and the United Kingdom in relation to seven key themes. It found that 'having a strong sense of attachment to community', 'the extent to which a participant's community has a crime problem', and 'participation in other local crime prevention schemes' are communal factors that account for citizen involvement as PCPVs in South Korea. 'Confidence in the police and their work in the community' and 'participation motivated by

personal gains' ('future career' and 'power and authority') were identified as factors that account for participation as police supporters for crime prevention in the United Kingdom. The details of the research findings based on these seven key themes will be examined in detail in following chapters.

The findings of the present chapter suggest that individualism and collectivism are important preconditions for increasing citizen involvement in community policing, and that each has strengths and weaknesses as an explanation for participation in community policing in both nations. This section argues that an answer to the research question of why individuals are willing to participate for the common good in community safety, requires a consideration of both. It has to consider not only the existence of both, but also their interplay. This will be discussed in the following chapters.

Endnotes

ⁱ The gains are rewards which can be translated into monetary value such as money.

Chapter 7

Participation as Rational Action

Introduction

According to Pepinsky (1989, p. 458), community residents ask four things of the police: that fear and risk of crime / disorder be reduced; disputes are managed; other services be provided (e.g. attempt to find a missing person, navigation service); and that police be accountable to their communities. Of these, 'fear and risk of crime' is the most important. Pepinsky (1989) argues that fear of crime and disorder is an expression of an individual's sense of social isolation. Fear may vary among individuals and cohorts to be sure, however, over time, fear for most individuals in a community will increase and fall with the level of isolation that they experience. As a result, it is one of the most significant issues in Criminology and Criminal Justice.

Percy (1987, p. 87) pointed out that fear of crime and experiencing victimisation tend to increase collective community crime prevention activities (e.g. neighbourhood watch and citizen police academy). In view of such research, the present chapter explores the reasons individuals from South Korea and the UK chose to become Police Crime Prevention Volunteers and Police Community Support Officers, respectively. These reasons given will be interpreted in light of two key themes; first, the individual's experiences as a victim of crime, and second, their sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime.

Fear and its features

According to Perkins and Taylor (1996, p. 65), fear is a serious individual and community level issue in society, influencing how freely individuals move about the places where they live. Ferraro (1994) argues that it is influenced by individuals' emotional responses and concerns about vulnerability in high risk conditions, or the possibility of victimisation. Garofalo (1981, p. 840) argues that fear is an emotional reaction and characterised by a sense of risk, danger, anxiety, and worry. Garofalo further argues that these senses are created by the threat of 'physical harm'. The fear created by physical harm has to be elicited by perceived causes in the environment that relate to crime and disorder for the person.

It can be argued that fear can be identified as a perception about sensitivity of crime / disorder and the evaluation of a particular type of crime / disorder at the level of the individual's experience. Therefore, contemporary criminology and criminal justice also tend to focus on individual traits with regard to fear and worry rather than on environmental and situational conditions.

There are a number of key factors contributing to fear:

“(1) vulnerability, (2) environmental clues and conditions, (3) personal knowledge of crime and victimisation, (4) faith in the police and other criminal justice agencies, (5) perceptions of personal risk, and (6) seriousness of various offences”. (Box *et al.*, 1988, p. 341)

In terms of vulnerability, some studies show that the groups that fall into this category include the elderly (Giles-Saimes, 1984), women (Warr, 1985), the poor (Clarke & Lewis, 1982) and ethnic minorities (Taylor & Hale, 1986), who may feel unable to protect themselves due to physical and economic reasons (e.g. solid but expensive locks or windows; live in high crime area because of low housing prices).

The perception of environmental clues and conditions by community residents has strong negative impacts such as economic decline and a community changing for the worse (Box *et al.*, 1988, p. 342). Environmental clues and conditions such as noisy neighbours, loud parties, groups of youths, vandalism, graffiti, and drunken people may induce a fear of crime and disorder in neighbourhoods (Taylor & Hale, 1986; Maxfield, 1984; Hunter & Baumer, 1982; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). These may further produce not only a generalised worry and anxiety but a specific fear of crime / disorder.

Individuals' fear of crime can be strongly linked to their knowledge about crime and victimisation (Skogan, 1987; Hough, 1985; Stafford & Galle, 1984; Linqvist & Duke, 1982; Balkin, 1979; Box *et al.*, 1988, p. 342). It can be argued that people who know some effective ways to prevent and avoid crime, disorder, and victimisation, probably will have less fear and worry of crime than those unable to neutralise their experience and knowledge.

If individuals in the community believe that the police and other criminal justice agencies are effective in preventing and controlling community crime problems,

they will actively support police work. As well, they will be less likely to be worried about crime (Krahn & Kennedy, 1985; Baker *et al.*, 1983).

Two factors, “perceptions of personal risk” and “seriousness of various offences”, as “proximate causes” are described by Warr and Stafford (1983). They argued that when individuals’ feel that they are at risk of being victimised, a fear of crime may exist. As a result, even the risk of crime victimisation is highly recognised, it would not generate fear or worry if specific crime and risk are evaluated “as being trivial” (Box *et al.*, 1988, p. 342).

Assessing community perceptions

Given that a person’s level of fear may be influenced by any, or all, of these various factors there is a need for programmes that aim to reduce fear of crime and disorder, and improve quality of life in contemporary societies. One of the strategies for fear reduction is a community policing programme using resources from the community. Organising community individuals in programmes, such as the South Korean PCPVs and the British PCSOs, can increase community cohesiveness and provide reassurance to the community who may be fearful of crime or disorder (Grabosky, 1995, p. 16). Community members not involved in community policing activities are reassured by the visible presence of police and policing activities within the community, i.e. foot patrols. PCPVs or PCSOs activities can give individuals the impression of security and increase the public’s satisfaction with the police. The aim of present chapter is to explore the correlation between citizen involvement and fear of crime (an individual’s

experiences as a victim of crime and sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime) in relation to both nations' community police programmes.

As a logical consequence of a discussion of fear, the fear of crime can be assessed by measuring the disposition to each of the two components (affect and cognition) of fear (Gabriel & Greve, 2003, p. 607). The measurement can be done by assessing the frequency with which the fear of crime is experienced (Spielberger & Sydeman, 1994, p. 292). The two components could ask the following: the affect of fear (how often do you feel afraid of ...?), and cognition of the likelihood of something happening (how often do you think "something's about to happen"). The types of questions of affective components assess how often or how many 'fear occurrences' the individual's experiences as a victim of crime, or the relative frequency of such occurrences in daily life in community (Ditton *et al.*, 1999, p. 37). The cognitive component of fear of crime is assessed by measuring perceived risk. However, such risk estimations are nothing but anticipated relative frequencies, and anticipation is constitutive of fear of crime (Winkel, 1998, p. 473).

Several questions relating to the 'decision making' are provided to explore the relationship between citizen participation and two key themes of this chapter. To measure correlations between citizen involvement and a personal experience as a victim of crime, or sensitivity to issues of crime, questions that best describe the fear of crime experienced were established by five components identified above: (1) have you ever been a victim of any crime, however minor? (Mirrlees-Black *et al.*, 2010), (2) in the area where you live, how safe do you feel 'walking alone

after dark’, ‘walking alone during the day’, and ‘staying alone in your own home at night’? (Ferraro & LaGrange, 2007), (3) how worried are you about becoming a victim of crime? (Hunter & Baumer, 1982), (4) if possible, how would you rate your level of fear of crime? (Riger *et al.*, 1978), and (5) ‘a victim of crime’ and ‘personal fear of crime’ on decision to be police supporters (Baker *et al.*, 1983).

The relationship between ‘an individual’s experiences as a victim of crime’ and citizen involvement in collective crime prevention is a question at issue in this dissertation. In relation to this issue in the present study, respondents were asked on the survey to answer “yes” or “no” to whether they had been a victim of any crime, however minor. They were then asked to indicate how worried they were of becoming a victim of crime on a scale from one to five, with one being not worried at all and five being extremely worried. Later in the survey, they were asked to assign a value of one to five to a question asking them if being a victim of crime affected their decision to participate as a PCPV or PCSO, with 1 being not at all and 5 being.

Victim of crime as reason for participation

A series of Chi-square tests were conducted. Table 7.1a shows that the responses from South Korean participants were not significantly different from those of individuals from the United Kingdom. Table 7.1b shows that the number of people responding to each question, within each country, was different.

Table 7.1a

SK and the UK participants' personal experiences as a victim to crime

		SK	UK	Chi-square test for independence
		Frequency	Frequency	
Experience as victims to crime	Yes	71	61	$\chi^2(1, N = 400) = .92, p = .34$
	No	129	139	
'Victims of crime' as a motivator	Most important – important	41	43	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 1.03, p = .91$
	Neutral – not important at all	159	157	

Table 7.1b

Chi-Square Test of data of SK and the UK participants

	SK	UK
Experience as victims to crime	$\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 16.82, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 30.42, p < .001$
'Victims of crime' as a motivator	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 34.40, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 36.25, p < .001$

Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 203) argued that there is a strong correlation between citizen participation in crime prevention and 'an individual's experiences as a victim of crime'. Pattavina *et al.* (2006) found that victims of crime were more likely to participate than others. However, in the present study, as can be seen in Table 7.1a and 7.1b, most research respondents (129 PCPVs and 139 PCSOs) of both nations stated that they had not been victims of any crime when asked 'Have you ever been a victim of any crime, however minor?'.

One-hundred and ten PCPVs and 113 PCSOs of all respondents who participate in police support programmes also chose from 'a bit important' to 'not important at all' when asked about 'the effect of having been a victim of crime on decision to be a PCPV or PCSO' (Table 7.1a and 7.1b). A chi-square test was also performed to evaluate the relationship between 'victims of crime' and citizen

involvement. Table 7.1b outlines that 10 South Korean PCPVs had more personal experiences of crime victimisation than PCSOs. Respondents from both nations who responded that they had not been victims of crime were more likely to participate in community policing than individuals who had been victimised. This suggests that an individual's experiences as a victim of crime did not serve as an important stimulus for citizen involvement in community policing in both nations.

To determine whether or not differences exist between the results of both nations, a chi-square test for independence was used. It revealed that PCPVs do not differ from the PCSOs in relation to 'experiences as victims of crime' and 'victims of crime as a motivator' (Table 7.1a). It can be argued that the experiences of victimisation are not correlated with collective crime prevention activities.

Sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime

There is controversy about the relationship between 'sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime' and citizen involvement in community policing. To determine how significant 'sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime' was,

the following survey questions were asked:

- In the area where you live, how safe do you feel
 - a. Walking alone after dark?
 - b. Walking alone during the day?

- c. Staying alone in your own home at night?
2. Worrying about becoming a victim of crime
 3. A level of fear of crime

Research respondents were also asked to rank on a scale of importance ranging from one to five, whether their personal fear of crime influenced their decision to volunteer for community policing.

A series of Chi-square tests were conducted to assess responses in the questionnaire. Table 7.2a shows that the responses from PCPVs were significantly different from those of PCSOs in all but one case. Table 7.2b shows that the number of people responding to each question, within each country, was different.

Table 7.2a

SK and UK participants' sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime

		SK	UK	Chi-square test for independence
		Frequency	Frequency	
Walk alone after dark	Very unsafe – safe	112	93	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 15.03, p = .005$
	Neutral – very safe	88	107	
Walk alone during the day	Very unsafe – safe	25	17	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 16.54, p = .002$
	Neutral – very safe	175	183	
Stay alone in your own home at night	Very unsafe – safe	52	45	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 19.47, p = .002$
	Neutral – very safe	148	155	
Worry about becoming victims of crime	Very worried – quite worried	143	90	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 34.79, p < .001$
	Neutral – not worried at all	57	110	
A level of fear of crime	Very afraid – afraid	92	49	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 57.08, p < .001$
	Not very worried – do not know	108	151	
Personal fear of crime	Most important – important	66	66	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 6.66, p = .16$
	Neutral – not important at all	134	134	

Hope and Lab (2001) argue that there is a strong correlation between citizen involvement and sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime. They note that people who positively involve in community policing do so because of a heightened sense of crime and disorder (Hope & Lab, 2001). However, the findings of the present study are not so clear. Table 7.2a and 7.2b highlight that most respondents from both nations answered ‘neutral’ or ‘very safe’ to the question ‘how safe do you feel: when you are walking alone during the day?’ and ‘when you are alone in your own home at night?’.

Interestingly, a majority of South Korean respondents answered from ‘very unsafe’ to ‘safe’ to the question ‘how safe do you feel when you are walking alone after dark?’. Conversely, most British individuals chose ‘neutral’ or ‘very safe’. It can be argued that there is no correlation between ‘fear of crime’ and ‘after dark’ as a factor prompting one to engage in community policing activities for UK participants. Conversely, and unlike the UK sample, it was an important factor for increasing fear of crime in South Korean people.

Table 7.2b

Chi-Square Test of data relating to SK and UK participants

	SK	UK
Walk alone after dark	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 128.65, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 82.40, p < .001$
Walk alone during the day	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 190.95, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 138.05, p < .001$
Stay alone in your own home at night	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 226.84, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 94.15, p < .001$
Worry about becoming victims of crime	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 192.70, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 131.40, p < .001$
A level of fear of crime	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 103.00, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 80.15, p < .001$
Personal fear of crime	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 65.70, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 66.55, p < .001$

Most research respondents of both nations answered from 'not very worried' to 'not worried at all' when asked 'if possible, how would you rate your level of fear of crime?' They also said from 'neutral' to 'not important at all' when asked about the importance of 'personal fear of crime on the decision to be a PCPV or PCSO'. Interestingly, most South Korean PCPVs chose from 'very worried' to 'quite worried' when asked 'How worried are you about becoming a victim of crime?' Conversely, a majority of British respondents indicated from 'neutral' to 'not worried at all'. It can be argued that a majority of South Korean community police volunteers do not have a general fear of crime / disorder but, instead, worry about becoming victims of crime. In contrast, most British individuals also responded that they do not have a high sense of fear and do not worry about becoming victims of crime and disorder.

A chi-square test was performed to analyse the relationship between fear of crime and citizen participation. Citizen involvement of both nations was not statistically related to fear of crime. To determine whether or not differences exist between respondents of both nations, a chi-square test for independence was used. The test revealed that PCPVs do not differ from the PCSOs in relation to personal fear of crime. These findings suggest that personal fear of crime as a key motivator for increasing community policing is not a significant factor in both nations. Interestingly, however, all other chi-square tests for independence showed that PCPVs differed from PCSOs in relation to 'walk alone after dark and during the day', 'stay alone in own home at night', 'worry about becoming victimisations', and 'a level of fear'.

The findings suggest that citizen involvement in community policing in both nations is neither the result of high levels of fear, nor concern about becoming a victim. In regard to fear of crime and disorder, even though the South Korean respondents reported a relatively high level of fear of crime, the factor did not play a key role as a motivator for involvement in voluntary crime prevention activities. In the British cases, the British individuals did not have high levels of fear, so it could not have been a significant factor in their involvement in community policing. In regard to victimisation, cohorts from both nations reported being concerned about becoming victims of crime and disorder.

Personal experience of crime

The study found no relationships between the first key theme, ‘an individual’s experiences as a victim of crime’, and citizen involvement in community policing, much in line with the observations of scholars like Lim (2001), Rohe and Greenberg (1982), and Lavrakas and Herz (1982). The study also challenges Pattavina *et al.* (2006) and Scheider *et al.*’s (2003) observations that people who have had a personal experience as a victim of crime will participate in citizen cooperation of policing. This study supports the view that people who have had no personal experience as crime victims will positively participate in citizen involvement activities (Hope & Lab, 2001; Skogan, 1987; Menard & Covery, 1987). The findings are similar to those of Rohe and Greenberg (1982), Lavrakas and Herz (1982), Podolefsky and Dubow (1981), and Baumer and Dubow (1975) who show that those people involved in voluntary community policing are unlikely to have been the victims of crime.

The findings also support Shernock's (1986, p. 218) claim that there are no significant correlations between a personal's experiences of victimisation and crime prevention activities. The findings are essentially consistent with Skogan and Maxfield's (1981, p. 232) observation that there is a weak relationship between victimisation and citizen involvement in anti-crime groups. Contrary to Washnis' (1976, p. 12) findings that the experiences of crime victimisation tend to become motivators for citizen participation, it can be argued from the results of the present study that people who have some personal experiences with crime or disorder issues are no more likely to become involved as a volunteer in community policing activities than those who have no experience as victims. One possible explanation for the results is that victims take greater precautions, such as avoiding higher danger zones and risk areas at night and other behavioural adaptations such as staying at home (Pattavina *et al.*, 2006), and it has a negative influence for increasing citizen involvement in community policing activities.

These findings challenge Percy's (1987, p. 87) claim that personal victimisation increases citizen participation in collective crime prevention activities. Percy argues that personal victimisation increases the likelihood that community residents would buy and carry guns and involve themselves as volunteers in community safety programmes. Personal experiences that may threaten people's lifestyles such as crime experience may induce citizen's cooperation in community policing activities (Pyo, 2001, p. 78). This is particularly true in the context where community structural problems and the fear of community crimes persist. If community residents feel intimidated by serious issues such as crimes, anti-social behaviours, and

deviations they will be involved in community groups or create a group for community safety, to deal with serious problems. The results here do not support this position.

On the other hand, these findings support Biderman *et al.*'s (1967, p. 141) observation of no relationship between victimisation history and citizen involvement. Block (1970, in Smith & Hawkins, 1973, p. 12) also argued that personal experiences of victimisation did not tend to affect individuals' support for community policing. It can be argued that there is no significant correlation between victimisation and citizen involvement in community policing in both nations. If community individuals have experiences of crime victimisation, it is not only they who are affected by it. Other residents who have lived in the same community for longer periods of time tend to be affected indirectly from the stories and may stay indoors rather than walk on the streets and interact with other residents. As a result, it discourages citizen involvement in collective crime prevention activities.

Sensitivity to issues of crime and safety

It has been established that the second key theme 'sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime' has no relationship with citizen involvement in community policing. Hence, fear is not a significant predictive factor even in the context of South Korea. In fact, community factors appear as important factors for people's participation in citizen involvement of community policing in South Korea. Likewise, fear does not figure as a contributing factor to join in citizen involvement of community policing in the United Kingdom.

These findings suggested that individuals of both nations are more fearful of 'walking alone after dark' in general than other cases such as 'walking alone during the day' and 'stay alone in their own home at night'. It supports Grabosky's (1995, p. 2) observation that people are much more fearful of walking in their community at night. Moore and Trojanowicz (1988, p. 2) also argued that walking alone at night significantly increases fear of crime and disorder. If community individuals walk alone at night, there are not many ways to seek support, thus people who walk alone at night are more likely to have a fear of crime and disorder than those who walk alone during the day.

The findings of the present study suggest that 'walking alone during the day' did not increase fear of crime and disorder in both nations. It can be argued that 'night' as a variable of fear is more significant than other factors such as 'walking alone' and 'stay alone at home'. Meier and Miethe (1993, p. 459) also argued that night time activities in particular can bring people into contact with crime and disorder, and can increase the risk levels of crime and victimisation than other times of the day. Gabriel and Greve (2003, p. 606) also mentioned that crime tends to be distinguished according to the circumstances under which it is occurred (indoor / outdoor and daytime / night-time by stranger or acquaintance). Specific characteristic situations tend to be associated with certain types of offence (being alone, outdoor, after dark with robbery or rape) (Tyler & Rasinski, 1984, p. 308).

The results show that when individuals are alone in their own home at night, they feel less fear than when walking alone outside at night in both nations. However,

people who walk alone during the day are less likely to fear crime and disorder than those who are alone in their own home at night. Moreover, Mesch (2000, p. 50) observes that time spent in one's home decreases the risk of crime victimisation and fear of crime, while time spent in public (even during the day) or at night increases the risk and fear. It could be argued that a factor such as 'night time' had a strong impact for increasing fear of crime and disorder in both nations, and a factor like 'staying home' significantly decreased the risk of fear of crime and victimisation in both nations.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (PCLEAJ; 1967, pp. 87-88) in the USA argued that there are two types of crime victimisation: direct and indirect. Direct victimisation relates to crimes and disorders such as murder, sexual assaults, and property crime. Sometimes, these crimes may be affected by the victim's negligence such as leaving a window open for a prospective burglar to enter, or his own participation in the social dynamics that culminate in an offence and disorder (e.g. arguing with an individual who has a crime career). However, most victimisations are clearly incurred due to the criminal acts of offenders.

Indirect victimisation occurs when an individual has an impact from a crime or disorder in which he / she has not directly participated through media. During a time of widespread social concern with crime issues, it is likely that a larger proportion of all crimes or disorders will become known to the community than would be the case during a time of less concern (Conklin, 1971, p. 374). To the

extent that crimes or disorders become widely known, people not directly victimised can be affected resulting in indirect victimisations.

The findings of the present study suggest that indirect victimisation is more likely to affect the behaviour of people in both nations' than is direct victimisation. Thirty per cent of both nations' respondents had experiences of crime victimisation (see Table 7.1a), yet half of all respondents mentioned that they are worrying about becoming a victim of crime (see Table 7.2a). It can be argued that indirect victimisation plays a key role for increasing fear of crime victimisation. Community residents who fear crime / disorder change their attitudes and behaviours to prevent and reduce opportunities of victimisations by offenders. However, they do not involve as volunteers in collective crime prevention activities. It is a negative impact for citizen involvement activities.

The findings of the present study show that the South Korean PCPVs tended to be more fearful of crime than the British PCSOs. These findings are supported by Grabosky's (1995, p. 2) claim that older people tend to be significantly more fearful of crime and disorder in their own home or community than are younger people. As can be seen in Chapter 5, volunteers who participated in South Korean PCPVs activities are cohorts in their 40s and 50s. Conversely, the British individuals who are involved as PCSOs are people in their 20s and 30s. Grabosky argued further that "fear of crime" is not a significant factor in motivating older people to become involved as volunteers in collective crime prevention activities.

The South Korean findings show that there is a strong relationship between concern about victimisation and fear. The levels of ‘concern about victimisation’ (71.5%) and ‘fear’ (46.0%) had similar strong impacts on the social lives of South Korean individuals (See Table 7.2a). These findings are also supported by Warr and Stafford’s (1983, p. 352) claim that only where community individuals feel they are highly at risk of being victimised seriously is it likely that fear of crime and victimisation would exist. Elderly people in general tend to exhibit some specific features: they are in social isolation, depend on the media as an information source, are less integrated into their communities, and are concerned about their ability to recuperate from offence and disorder problems. Box *et al.* (1988, p. 352) further argued that elderly people, suddenly becoming more fragile, may experience proportionately more fear and concern because they feel, through lack of experience, less able to protect themselves from offenders.

It can be argued that fear of crime is associated with victimisation. The association between the two factors is seen most closely in the aggregate patterns across time and space. Therefore, people who live in communities with high crime levels, as in the case of the SK respondents, are more afraid and prepare more preventive action than cohorts living in communities where the risk of victimisation is lower.

In the United Kingdom cases, conversely, 45 per cent of research respondents said that they were afraid of becoming a crime of victim. However, only 24.5 per cent of people indicated that they had a fear of crime (over fairly afraid) (see Table 7.2a). There was a gap between ‘concern of victimisation’ and ‘fear’.

These findings support War and Stafford's (1983, p. 340) and Pain's (1997, p. 119) observations that the concern of victimisation is not necessarily a significant predictor of fear of crime and disorder. War and Stafford further argued that young black men have a high concern of crime victimisation but experience minimal fear of crime and disorder in general, because of lifestyle of staying in home after dark. Individuals who do not go out alone after dark are less prone to victimisation and may therefore see themselves as being less at fear (Tulloch, 2000, p. 453). It can be argued that if this claim is right, the relationship between 'concern of victimisation' and 'citizen involvement in community policing' is more important than the other relationship between 'fear of crime' and 'citizen participation in community policing'.

The findings support Shernock's (1986, p. 218) claim that there is no relationship between crime prevention activism and fear of crime. They differ from Washnis' observation (1976, p. 7) that organised neighbourhood groups that watch out for each other, report crimes and suspicious activity, and work together to improve the quality of life reflect community residents' fear of crime and disorder. However, the findings of the present study show that a person's fear of crime and disorder is not necessarily a significant motivator for citizen involvement in community policing.

The study challenges the view (Pattavina *et al.*, 2006; Hope & Lab, 2001; Skogan, 1987; Taylor *et al.*, 1987; Menard & Covery, 1987; Lavrakas *et al.*, 1981; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Dubow *et al.*, 1979; Pennell, 1978) that people who positively participate in citizen involvement of community policing do so

because of a heightened sense of crime. Conversely, this study upholds the view of Lim (2001), Lab (1990), Bennett (1989), Greeberg *et al.* (1985), Lavrakas and Herz (1982), Rohe and Greenberg (1982), Lavrakas *et al.* (1981), Podolefsky and Dubow (1981), and Baumer and Dubow (1977) that a relationship between participation in crime prevention and the fear of crime does not exist.

As noted by the Criminology Research Council: CRC (1998) it could be argued that many citizens have a heightened sense of crime and disorder but this is not a necessary condition for citizen involvement in community policing, as was found for both nations of the present study. Situations and feelings that may threaten people's lifestyles may elicit citizen cooperation works. Thus, if citizens perceive to be threatened by community safety issues and crime based on serious crime, disorder, and anti-social behaviours, they will organise community groups or cooperate with government agencies such as a police to combat crimes and disorders. However, this study showed that positive participation of citizen involvement to reduce 'sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime' for the community police officers is insignificant both in South Korea and the United Kingdom.

Statistical minority people

Table 7.1a and 7.2a outlined that a minority of respondents consistently responded differently in relation to 'personal experience of a victim of crime' and 'sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime'. In relation to the first key theme, 41 PCPVs and 43 PCSOs indicated that personal experience as

victims of crime is a significant reason for citizen involvement in community policing. In relation to the second key theme, 66 individuals from each country mentioned that 'sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime' played a role as a key motivator for citizen participation.

Data highlighted that the South Korean minority group was more likely to participate as self-employed males in their 40s with FE College qualifications and who currently attract wages in the £830-£2,099 range. The British minority group were more likely to be males in their 20s, in paid employment, with a diploma in higher education / other HE qualification with salaries in the £830-£2,099 range.

The reasons why the statistical minority groups made a selection different to the majority of others is due to: (a) vulnerability, (b) impact of victimisation, and (c) accessibility as a target. First, individual's fear level about crime and victimisation is a function of their perceptions of vulnerability (Maxfield, 1984, p. 235). Elders in their 40s who are particularly vulnerable from criminals or anti-social behaviours are more likely to fear crime and victimisation than young people who feel less vulnerable. Due to the decline in physical strength, agility, and inability to mount an effective resistance if attacked by criminals, the elderly are more likely to recognise their feelings of vulnerability than young people. Maxfield (1984, p. 233) argued that vulnerability, in other words, is a state of mind of individuals about crime. As a result, that is why they recognise the importance of crime prevention and community safety. It may be argued that the

two key themes play an important role in citizen involvement in South Korean community policing.

Second, the impact of victimisation is one of the important reasons for citizen involvement in South Korea. Individual's fear of crime and disorder will be proportionate to his / her subjective assessment of the impact of crime victimisation (Winkel, 1998, p. 473). If the outcome of crime or disorder is seen as serious or brutalizing, the fear of being victimised is more likely to be seriously high. If individuals trust that the impact of victimisation is not serious, that the result could be easily and quickly overcome, and if they see that the negative impacts can easily and rapidly recovered from, they may not be afraid of being victimised. Generally, the elderlys are more likely to experience serious impacts of crime victimisation such as physical, emotional, financial results than younger generations. For example, a majority of specific groups are self-employed elders in their 40s. If they have the impact of victimisation, they, their family and business have also serious physical, emotional issues and economic damages. As a result, some statistical minority groups of South Korea may estimate that 'personal experiences of victims of crime' and 'sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime' can be stimulus reasons for participation in community safety activities.

Third, being an accessible target is a major reason why some statistical minority young people of the United Kingdom are more likely to participate as PCSOs, because of the two key themes, than statistical majority groups. The fact that the young people spend a great deal of time outside of home means that they will be

more accessible as targets for a variety of crimes (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 1998, p. 829). Social activities, such as unruly behaviour in public places and spending time in the street or park, can increase the level of exposure to becoming targets for crime victimisation. It can be argued that individual's levels of crime victimisations tend to be related to lifestyles and to the amount of time an individual spends in public places. As a result, the two key themes are also serious issues for young generalisations. It can explain why young people have high levels of crime victimisation and want to be involved in citizen involvement. Because some young British are afraid of being victimised they are less likely to take opportunities than people who are not, and they are willing to participate as a PCSO.

Human decision-making in the two selected countries

The two key themes - 'an individual's experiences as a victim of crime' and 'sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime' can be regarded not to be motivators for collective crime prevention activities in both nations. Conklin (1971, p. 374) argued that individuals who are concerned about becoming a victim of crime change their behaviour patterns by staying home at night, taking taxis rather than walking, avoiding strangers, and securing their house with locks instead of becoming involved in collective crime prevention activities.

According to Ren *et al.* (2006), the reduction in fear of crime is one of the main roles of citizen involvements in community policing activities. Skogan (1987) also argued that from the early days of citizen cooperation in community policing activities reduction in the fear of crime and disorder has been a significant purpose in the building of

cooperation between police and community residents. The fact that residents feel safe when community police officers work closely with them has been shown by the Houston police research of Cordner (1986). However, Wexler *et al.*'s (2007) study did not find a relationship between citizen involvement in community policing activities and the experience of being a crime victim. Rather, community residents felt a heightened sense of crime.

Hodkinson and Sparkes (1997, p. 33) argued that human decision-making cannot be properly understood without consideration of the family background, culture and life histories of individuals in question. The section below uses 'culture', in particular, to explain why key themes such as 'confidence in the police and their work', 'personal gains', 'attachment to community', 'crime problem in community', and 'participation in other local crime prevention schemes' were more likely to be selected by certain respondents than 'individual's experiences as a victim of crime' and 'sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime'.

According to Clarke *et al.* (1982, pp. 52-53), "culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped; but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted". Culture is the way individuals make sense of the world they inhabit. The culture of individualism prevails in the western countries such as Britain and Australia. Individualism insists that individuals are solely independent and their freedoms cannot be disturbed by others (Dalley, 1996). An individual is considered as an independent human being and as a master of her or himself. In contrast, a culture of collectivism based on a group or community is typically observed in East Asian countries such as South Korea, China, and

Japan. The authority and obligations relating to the behaviour of community members for community safety, harmony, and cohesion are based on collectivism and the principles of Neo-Confucian. Individuals, who constitute the residents of a community, are considered as a section of an organisation rather than independent beings (Tu & Theodore, 1998; Lee, 1996). For example, young people from western countries are more likely to make decisions based on rational knowledge than young people from East Asian nations who are more likely to see decision-making as a collective decision by and for the family and community.

Recuk *et al.* (2006, p. 2) observe that individuals make final decisions based on the elimination of less desirable alternatives, after processes such as issue definition, values, exploration of information about self and the community work based on rational choice theory and cultural background. Taking into consideration Hodgkinson and Sparke's (1997, p. 33) observations on the importance of culture in human decision making, it is arguable that cultural background would influence these processes.

It can be argued that the rational decision making process usually starts with the elimination of alternatives so that only two or three options remain for further consideration. This process usually is based on cost-benefit analysis of choice. Finally, when individuals consider only two or three options for decision-making, they are inclined to make decisions based on cultural background. As a result, rational decision-making based on culture for the two key themes, 'personal experiences of victims of crime' and 'fear of crime',

cannot be significant motivators for increasing citizen involvement in community policing in the both nations.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to analyse whether and to what extent ‘sensitivity to issues of community safety and crime’ and ‘an individual’s experiences as a victim of crime’ are factors motivating citizens to engage in community crime prevention activities. The chapter highlights that while a minority of respondents in this study some of whom had been victims of crime, consistently report sensitivity to issues of crime and or matters of community safety, they do not attribute their decisions to participate in community policing solely to these factors. If we generalise that ‘personal experiences of victimisation’ and ‘fear of crime’ can be understood as likely to generate strong feelings and emotions, then we may conclude from the above analysis that decisions to engage in community policing are not spur of the moment decisions or spontaneous emotional choices in response to feelings. The survey data examined in this chapter seem to suggest that concerns about community safety and individual experiences as victims of crime may prompt citizens to consider becoming involved in community crime prevention activities, and that decision to commit to such roles were intentional and planned rather than emotional.

The next chapter focuses on whether participation is indication of some individual ‘passion for crime prevention’, attitudes to ‘the police and their work’ and whether participation is ‘motivated by personal gain’.

Chapter 8

Passion for Crime Prevention

Introduction

English novelist E. M. Forster (1950)ⁱ stated that ‘one person with passion is better than forty people merely interested’. Passion for, and participation in, crime prevention could be associated with the strong emotions individuals may have for controlling and preventing crime in their communities. Passion would be evident in a preoccupation with matters relating to preventing crime and protecting community safety. Grinc (1994, p. 437) argued that a positive relationship based on trust between police and citizens, and a positive image of the police are the most significant factors for engendering a passion for citizen involvement in community policing activities. Prestby *et al.* (1990, p. 119) also mentioned that community residents, depending on the emotional gains of involvement in these activities, will or will not become involved in community policing activities. Prestby *et al.* (1990, p. 118) argue that the interest, concern, and passion for citizen involvement are significantly correlated with the satisfaction levels arising from participation.

The previous chapter has revealed that emotion was not the primary driver for action, and that for the surveyed participants engaging in community policing was not the spontaneous response of someone acting from impulse. The focus of the present chapter is on the two key themes of ‘confidence in the police and

their work' and 'participation motivated by personal gain'. In other words, the chapter seeks to understand whether participant interest in community policing stems from strong confidence in the police and whether involvement is a device for personal gain. The chapter uses Linear Regressions and Chi-square analyses of the research findings to explore the predictive value of passion in citizen involvement in community policing. The correlations will be discussed in light of two key themes; (1) confidence in the police and their work, and (2) participation motivated by personal gain.

Devotion to crime prevention

According to Scherer (2005, p. 702), passion is quantifiable and can be measured in terms of behavioural impacts and attitudes by methods such as the survey. He explains that emotion in the form of a preoccupation with something can form the basis of 'adaptive action tendencies' and their 'motivational underpinnings'. In this form we may expect that emotions can have a strong effect on consequent behaviour, often 'generating new goals and plans' (Parkinson, 2004, in Scherer, 2005, p. 702). Applying this to the present research, it could be argued that citizens who have a strong interest in crime prevention make goals and plans to volunteer in community activities. Scherer (2005, p. 703) points out that passion creates attitudes which are "relatively enduring beliefs and predispositions" towards specific goals or individuals (Reisenzein, 1994, p. 525). This being the case, we would anticipate in the samples of PCSOs and PCPVs to find evidence of participant interest in and preoccupation with matters to do with crime prevention and a willingness to participate in bringing this about.

The questionnaire used for the present study sought to elucidate responses from the participants in matters relating to their experiences and perceptions of crime, attitudes to community safety and indications as to whether respondents lived with a sense of fear for personal safety generated by community crime concerns. While the questionnaire did not specifically set out to ask respondents whether they were passionately committed to or preoccupied with crime prevention, their commitment to matters of community policing may be ascertained from questions that reflect their states of mind (questions 1 to 6), and attitudes to the police and confidence in police doing their work (questions 16 to 26). Participant responses to questions such as these in combination could be taken as signalling participant 'passion' for crime prevention, that is, the extent to which participant sensitivity to crime and crime prevention, and more importantly their desire to become involved in and contribute to community safety.

In other words, it is logical to assume that preoccupation with community crime prevention together with negative perceptions of police and policing can influence some to want to engage in community crime prevention activities. This assumption is echoed in some of the available literature of community policing. For example, Ipsos MORI (2006, p. 54) argues that voluntary participants feel that community-led engagement works with police best when the communities and their residents feel particularly zealous for issues relating to community safety. Wexler *et al.* (2007, p. 6) maintain that the types of individuals drawn to policing, crime prevention, and other public sector work relating to security are internally motivated for community safety.

To measure correlations between involvement in voluntary policing activities and 'confidence', or 'personal gains' in the present study, a number of questions were included that invited participants to describe: (1) how good a job do you think the police are doing in the country or your local area?, (2) would police treat you with respect or fairly?, and (3) 'confidence in the police and their work', 'future career', 'power and authority', or 'financial benefit' on the volunteers decision to be a PCPV or PCSO. The relevant questions were drawn from a number of existing questionnaire surveys. For example, the questions relating to relationships between people's images of police and their trust were drawn from the U.S. Department of Justice (2007) survey, questions exploring individual confidence in and respectfulness for police were from Flexon *et al.* (2009), Skogan (1989) and Prestby *et al.* (1990).

Confidence in the police and their work

The relationship between the police and the communities they serve is complex and comprises of several disparate issues such as the image of the police, perceptions of community disorder, and the nature of the partnership between the police and the communities they serve. Another related issue is the trust and confidence a community has in the police. Ennis (1967, p. 36) argues that distrust and dissatisfaction with police and negative attitudes toward police organisations can influence community residents to refuse to report crime and disorder problems and not to become involved as volunteers in collective crime prevention. This perspective suggests that if the police are to be successful in controlling and preventing crime, they need to instil confidence in the public and

work towards establishing a mutually supportive collaboration. Carr (2003, p. 1259) supports Ennis' claim that 'confidence and trust in the police' is a motivator for citizen involvement in collective crime prevention with the police. Accordingly participants in this study were asked to indicate whether and to what extent they had 'confidence in the police and their work in the community'. The following are examples of some of the questions asked:

Q 20: "Generally, how good a job do you think the police are doing in the country?"

Q 21: "How good a job do you think the police are doing in your local area?"

Q 22: "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the police in your area?" (Q 22)

- b. "They would treat you with respect if you had contact with them for any reason"
- c. "They treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are".

Respondents were also asked to rank on a scale of importance ranging from one being 'not important at all' to five meaning 'most important', their motivations for becoming a PCPV or PCSO (Q 28):

- Concern about crime and disorder in my area OR the area where I work as volunteer
- Personal fear of crime
- An effect from having been a victim of crime
- A strong faith in policing and the police

- Faith in the criminal justice system
- My attachment to my area
- Participate in other crime prevention schemes
- Future career – I hope to join the regular force in future and having served as a PCSO might help
- The power and authority that go with the duties of policing and crime prevention
- There are personal gains (ex. financial benefit)

A Chi-square test for independence was conducted at the .05 significance level to determine whether or not a difference exists between the responses of South Korean and British volunteers. A Chi-square test used data from both research samples was also used to evaluate the relationship between the different kinds of independent and dependent variables, including citizen involvement (Tables 8.1a and 8.1b).

Table 8.1a

SK and the UK participants' faith in policing and the police

		SK	UK	Chi-square test for independence
		Frequency	Frequency	
Police professionalism (country)	Excellent – good	78	158	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 95.35, p < .001$
	Neutral – very poor	122	42	
Police professionalism (area)	Excellent – good	78	141	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 56.47, p < .001$
	Neutral – very poor	122	59	
Evaluation about police (respect)	Strongly agree – agree	68	125	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 36.96, p < .001$
	Neutral – strongly disagree	132	75	
Evaluation about police (fairness)	Strongly agree – agree	49	131	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 71.38, p < .001$
	Neutral – strongly disagree	151	69	
Faith in policing and the police	Most important – important	55	136	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 76.87, p < .001$
	Neutral – not important at all	145	64	

Table 8.1b

Chi-Square Test of data of SK and the UK participants

	SK	UK
Police professionalism (country)	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 138.75, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 227.26, p < .001$
Police professionalism (area)	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 168.40, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 170.14, p < .001$
Evaluation about police (respect)	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 168.25, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 118.95, p < .001$
Evaluation about police (fairness)	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 163.05, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 92.15, p < .001$
Faith in policing and the police	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 53.25, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 80.60, p < .001$

The majority of South Korean respondents chose ‘neutral’, ‘very poor’, ‘strongly disagree’, or ‘not important at all’ when asked to rate their perceptions of ‘quality of work the police do in their country’, ‘quality of work the police do in their area’, ‘citizen evaluations about policing services with respect’, ‘fairness’, and ‘faith in policing and the police’. As Table 8.1a reveals, a majority of South Korean respondents consistently rated police and police work in negative terms. In contrast, UK respondents are the mirror reverse, and an even greater majority rate police and police work as ‘excellent’, ‘strongly agree’, ‘most important’, ‘good’, ‘agree’, or ‘important’. It can be argued that most South Korean PCPVs hold a negative view of the police and their work. Conversely, most British respondents hold a positive attitude of the police.

A chi-square test was performed and showed that South Korean citizens involved in community policing were not statistically related to ‘professionalism in country’, ‘professionalism in area’, ‘evaluation about police relating to respect’, ‘evaluation about police relating to fairness’, and ‘confidence in the police and their work’ at the .05 significance level. Conversely, British respondents

participated in PCSOs were statically associated with the tests listed above as shown in Table 8.1b. As the results of Chi-square test for independence shows in Table 8.1a, the PCPVs differed from the PCSOs in relation to their perceptions of professionalism, respect, fairness, faith in policing and the police.

Examination of the work of several researchers relating to confidence in the police as motivation for citizen involvement in crime prevention activities is widely supported by the relevant research literature. For example, Reisig and Correia (1997, p. 312) note that community individuals who hold a highly favourable perception and positive image of the police and their work are more likely to evaluate their interaction as positive. Such individuals tend to participate in citizen involvement in collective crime prevention activities. Angell's (1967, p. 43) observes that there is a strong correlation between friendliness and respect for citizens and a positive police image. Similarly, Tyler (2005, p. 326) argues that community individuals' reactions to police authorities are shaped by their personal experiences about how fairly police make a decision and how respectfully they treat the community residents over whom they exercise their authority. As a result, equal treatment of all community individuals and cohorts is key to confidence and trust in the police and their work. These views concur with the questionnaire findings which suggests, that in the United Kingdom at least, positive police relationships with the community tend to have a positive effect on citizen involvement in community policing.

Tyler (2005, p. 325) also argues that community policing emphasises the importance of police performance by providing community residents with

effective crime prevention and control to maintain community trust in the police. Community individuals react to their concerns about crime and disorder, and assist with policing when they feel that the police are effectively dealing with social structural problems such as crime and anti-social behaviour and when police appreciate the issues related to their community. This perspective suggests that, if the police understand the community issues well and are successful in preventing and controlling crime and disorder, it encourages public confidence and gains the support of the community for the police in general.

According to Scheider *et al.* (2003, p. 363) favourable perceptions of police and their work are directly related to citizen involvement in collective crime prevention activities. Indeed, one can argue that the visible presence of community police officers in a community increases positive attitudes towards the police and their work, and these positive attitudes in turn may contribute to increasing citizen participation in community safety activities.

Community policing emphasises strong partnerships and collaboration with police, community, and community individuals for preventing and controlling community crime and disorder issues. Moore (1997, p. 17) notes that “*the loss of popular legitimacy for the criminal justice system produces disastrous consequences for the system’s performance*”. If individuals in the community distrust the system, they will not use it. The public is believed to be more willing to cooperate with the police when confidence is higher. Therefore, a positive image and trust of police are essential factors in collective crime prevention

activities. It can be argued that there is a strong correlation between ‘trust in the police and their work’ and ‘British citizen involvements in community policing’.

One of the surprising findings of the present study is that the same generalisations about policing and the community cannot be made in relation to South Korea: there is no relationship between confidence in the police and citizen participation in community policing. A majority of South Korean participants – between 64 and 75 per cent – consistently rate police and police work in negative terms (Table 8.1a). This finding merits explanation.

One explanation for this response is that the South Korean police are failing to carry out their duties, and that this failure is reflected in the negative attitudes that respondents have of the South Korean police. Kane’s (2005, p. 475), for example, suggests that lack of faith in the police and their work translates into low citizen involvement in crime prevention. However, this conclusion seems to bely the facts, namely, the significant numbers of South Korean citizens volunteer to join the community police. While ‘Confidence in the police and their work in the community’ is not the reason South Korean participants give for volunteering to join community crime prevention, lack of confidence in the police does not prevent them from participating. Indeed, the findings associated with the South Korean sample support Carr’s (2003, p. 1249) findings that suggest that citizen involvement is likely to occur in all communities regardless of confidence and faith in the police and their work. Carr further argues that community residents are more likely to be involved as volunteers even where

they are of the view that the police on their own cannot prevent or control crime and disorder in the community, and that they need the support of citizens.

An alternative explanation for the contrary findings of the South Korean cohort is to argue that perhaps the respondents are from high crime areas that challenge the capacity of the local police. For example, Buerger (1994, p. 411) argues that people in high crime areas tend to have negative attitudes toward the police. Most high crime areas have social structural problems such as lack of cohesiveness and high fear of crime and disorder in general. Policing of these areas alone cannot deal with community safety issues sufficiently, and that while some researchers have suggested that community residents are likely to participate in collective crime prevention activities, the perception of the police and policing in most disadvantaged areas has historically been one of mis-trust and dislike. However, citizen participation in collective crime prevention activities tends to be more affected by other conditions such as community attachment and/or the self-defence spirit of individuals than the public's perceptions of the police and their work in the community.

Thus far the chapter has drawn attention to an anomalous research finding highlighted by the comparative survey of community policing. We have shown that the current theorising on citizen participation in community policing, on first appearances at least, is in keeping with and does explain the responses of the British participants, but that the same theorising proves inadequate to make sense of the responses of the South Koreans.

The findings relating to British PCSOs clearly seem to suggest that ‘confidence in the police and their work’ may be the key factor influencing citizens to participate in community policing. In other words, individuals that have strong faith in the police and their work are more likely to participate in becoming PCSOs. In this context the same findings also appear to challenge Carr (2003) and Skogan’s (1989) observation that people who distrust the police and their work are more likely to participate in citizen community policing to ensure the safety of their families and communities.

Analysis of the questionnaire reveals that South Koreans are not altogether negative about police work. Half of the South Korean respondents think that working as a police officer is a good profession (Table 8.1a). However, they have a rather bleak view of policing as they are often very dissatisfied with current policing both in terms of lack of a visible presence and responsiveness to local need. Perceptions of the community relating to the police and their work may also be a function of their contacts and interactions with police officers (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969, p. 91). Variations in perceptions may reflect previous experiences with the police. Less favourable attitudes of police also can arise from a perception of excessive policing attention. Scaglione and Condon (1980, p. 110) observe that people’s experiences with police are a more significant factor in general satisfaction than other demographic factors such as age, class, gender, and income. However, the anomalous responses of the South Korean survey participants are best explained by some understanding of the historical background of policing in that country.

South Korea has had police since 1910; the police were part of the criminal justice system of the Japanese government during the Japanese occupation from 1910 to 1945. The main role of the police during the Japanese occupation was to maintain control and watch over the Korean community and citizens (Nahm, 1988). This period was the darkest era for the Korean people, according to Pyo (2001).

Once the Republic of Korea was established in 1948 the South Korean government, from the first to sixth republic, was 'undemocratic and authoritative, even though the degree of dictatorial power varied among each regime' (Hoffman, 1982, in Moon, 2004, p. 130). The political system did not mature and politicians from the military were deeply involved. These systems looked to the police to quash anti-government riots and political opponents under the name of effective social control, and to defend democracy from North Koreans communists. Since 1993, a civilian government in South Korea has developed and the society has been rapidly democratised. The police also started to emphasise democratisation, social service, and legitimacy of policing under the name of the citizens' police. However, the previous attitudes to the police and police work continue to persist into the present, with many South Korean citizens still having a negative image of police to the point of feeling hatred toward them and ignoring their law enforcement activities (Moon *et al.*, 2005).

The differential responses of British and South Korean participants also bring into view the fact that British police have succeeded in building a positive relationship with the local citizens. The policing of public order has a high

profile and operational patrol and traffic work has numerous spontaneous public contacts. The work of the community service officers has a direct purpose to engage with the public in a planned manner and in this way its officers are also engaged in image building. By promoting more positive images of policing and controlling, police working in closer liaison in and in partnership with their communities, the British police have successfully promoted the image of the police officers acting as knowledge workers. They act as experts on community safety, collecting and distributing information and knowledge which defines crime and public safety debates and which can facilitate and support community partnerships.

The research findings of the present study suggest that the South Korean Government needs to invest more effort to improve and develop more effective working relationships with the community to redress the negative views of police and their work. As Campbell and Schuman (1972, p. 97) observe community residents who have low levels of satisfaction from their contacts with police tend to express less favourable perceptions and negative images of the police in general.

Baumeister *et al.* (2001, p. 323) pointed out that individuals remember negative experiences more readily than positive events, and have greater ramifications and for longer. The successfully repositioning of police in the British community suggests that confidence in the police and their work is an achieved outcome and can serve as an important stimuli for citizen cooperation in community policing activities. Recent research also emphasises the importance of cooperation from community residents with police efforts to prevent and control crime and disorder issues

(Sampson & Bartusch, 1998, in Tyler, 2005, p. 322), and that successful cooperation with the community tends to flow from confidence and trust in the police.

What has been argued thus far is that, as in the case of British survey participants, a passion for community crime prevention builds on and derives impetus from a valuing of the police and police work. At the same time, we have shown that knowledge of the socio-historical context of South Korean policing helps us to better understand the negative attitudes of study participants to police in South Korea and the fact that they nevertheless still value participation in community crime prevention activities. In a sense, the responses of South Korean participants in the questionnaire survey regarding police and police work, tell us more about what police did in the past and less about police work in the present.

A second anomaly in the research findings highlighted by the comparative study is the contrasting responses of British and South Korean participants regarding whether their participation in community crime prevention is for personal gain. As noted above, one can assume that being passionate for crime prevention implies selfless endeavour and that an individual participates for the sake of doing good and is less likely to be motivated by personal gain. The questionnaire findings present diametrically opposite responses of the two surveyed cohorts. The following section focuses on this second anomaly.

Participation for personal gain

Since individual devotion or commitment to community safety and citizen involvement in community policing activities, the question may now be asked as to whether that involvement is driven by individual interest. Certainly, increasing community participation in policing activities provides regular police with more resources to achieve their goals. However, what's in it for the participants? Is citizen participation in community crime prevention motivated by personal gain, whether that gain be in the form of gaining status, influence, or power?

Chinman and Wandersman (1999, pp. 46-47) believe that one potential way to increase citizen involvement is to maximise personal gain. The assumption here is that personal benefit can be a powerful motivator for action. Sampson and Morenoff (2006) argue that personal gains can be an important stimulus for citizen involvement in community crime prevention activities. Individuals will become involved depending on the gains and costs of citizen involvement. However, as Sampson and Morenoff acknowledge, the findings are not always unequivocal, as demonstrated in the present study.

An understanding of what people gain from involvement in community policing can contribute to a better understanding of why individuals choose to become involved in collective community policing activities. To determine whether their participation was 'motivated by personal gain', respondents were asked to rank on a scale of importance ranging from one to five the following reasons for becoming a PCPV or PCSO: whether they saw it as a pathway to a future career;

an avenue for gaining power and authority in the community; or for financial benefit. Their responses are outlined in Tables 8.2a and 8.2b.

Table 8.2a

SK and the UK participants and personal gain

		SK	UK	Chi-square test for independence
		Frequency	Frequency	
Future career	Most important – important	18	126	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 148.73, p < .001$
	Neutral – not important at all	182	74	
Power and authority	Most important – important	14	136	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 25.30, p < .001$
	Neutral – not important at all	186	64	
Financial benefit	Most important – important	9	35	$\chi^2(4, N = 400) = 189.87, p < .001$
	Neutral – not important at all	191	165	

Table 8.2b

Chi-Square Test of data of SK and the UK participants

	SK	UK
Future career	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 146.60, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 70.40, p < .001$
Power and authority	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 259.22, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 85.45, p < .001$
Financial benefit	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 301.90, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 139.05, p < .001$

Tables 8.2a and 8.2b reveal that most South Korean respondents answered from ‘Neutral’ to ‘not important at all’ when asked about ‘the effect of the prospect of a ‘future career’, ‘power and authority’, or ‘financial benefit’ in police on decision to be a PCPV or PCSO’. By contrast, a majority of British respondents returned ‘most important’ to ‘important’. A chi-square test was performed that showed that South Korean responses are not statistically significant, while British responses are statically associated with the ‘personal gains’. UK participants indicated that they saw their participation in community policing as a pathway toward a ‘future career’, ‘power and authority’. A chi-square test for

independence was used to determine whether or not a difference existed between surveyed cohorts. The test confirmed that the PCPVs differed from the PCSOs in relation to the 'personal gains'.

These findings relating to the British participants regarding 'future career' and 'power and authority' are supported by Olson's (1965, in Chinman & Wandersman, 1999, p. 47) observation that individuals will get involved in community projects to receive certain economic benefits such as money, information, and other personal opportunities. Olson (1965) further argues that organisations that only provide 'collective goods' will yield suboptimal involvement of members. Collective goods are public amenities such as a parks and libraries for community residents. Providing only collective goods leads to suboptimal involvement because community individuals are more likely to be interested in maximising their individual gains. Economic self-interest such as money, information, and other opportunities is important incentive for increasing citizen involvement in community activities. Future career as an economic self-interest tends to play a role as a significant predictor for increasing community policing with citizens in the United Kingdom. In other words, community policing in the United Kingdom is recognised as a pathway to formal policing, and the pathway is even more rewarding for British participants because they receive a wage in exchange for their duties.

Moe (1980, p. 108) argued that personal gains can be material in nature, such as money, but can also be non-material values such as friendship, expression of values, personal satisfaction and authority. Silloway and Mcpherson's (1986, p.

19) claim that the most active individuals in community development activities often are motivated by non-material values. Slocum and Cron (1985, p. 126) reported a similar pattern of findings that involvement with job opportunities such as future careers positively correlate with citizen involvement, participation with financial benefits such as money was unrelated to paid and un-paid work stages in USA. In the case of the British cohorts, becoming PCSOs is directly related to the prospect of a future career.

The research literature on the types of personal gains that motivate group and community participation is ambiguous. For example, Prestby *et al.* (1990) pointed out that social rewards, such as social status, are considered important in exchange for citizen involvement. Wandersman and Alderman (1993) note that personal benefits which included material benefits, are more likely to influence citizen participation. It can be argued that the type of group participation may affect how individuals perceive being rewarded for their involvement. For example, organisations such as some community groups and economic interest organisations may attract individuals who are more interested in personal gains, such as money, information, and other opportunities.

A popular belief echoed by Gould and Hawkins (1978, p. 434) and Mount (1984, p. 348) is that people's participation in organisations increases when participants are paid. Stumpf and Rabinowitz (1981, p. 202) observed that citizen involvement in community work increases when participants are paid. Accordingly this has become the normative view held by research into community policing (e.g., Sampson & Morenoff, 2006; Ren *et al.*, 2006; Troyer

& Wright, 1985; Lavrakas & Herz, 1982; Greenberg *et al.*, 1982; Lavrakas *et al.*, 1981; Podolefsky & Dubow, 1981; Shaw & McKay, 1942). In essence, it endorses the belief that participation in community policing activities is motivated primarily by personal gain. Maraga *et al.* (2010), Victor & Bakare (2004), Maskey *et al.* (2003), and Bellah *et al.* (1985) point out that citizen cooperation can be viewed from the perspective of ‘benefits to be gained and costs to be borneⁱⁱ’ from community participation projects. Accordingly the studies by Cunningham and Wagstaff (2006), Cooper *et al.* (2006), Johnston *et al.* (2004) and Johnston (2005) point out that the PCSOs role is a ‘stepping-stone’ to the job of full-time police officer, and is helpful for understanding the work of police. Conversely, the study on South Korea failed to prove a relationship between citizen cooperation and personal benefits, either in terms of monetary reward or in terms of recognition in the community. The PCSO system in Britain is a permanent job of paid employment that attracts younger age groups, people in their 20s and 30s, who arguably, often participate for personal gains, that is, money and ‘power and authority’. The difference between South Korea and Britain is perhaps explainable in terms of social and cultural factors.

The PCPVs system in South Korea

However, there are no links between future careers and citizen involvement in community policing activities in South Korea. Nor can one argue that participation in South Korean community policing is motivated by financial gain. Chinman and Wandersman’s (1999) research supports the findings gleaned from the South Korean participants, namely that ‘social and normative benefits’ are

most important for voluntary community involvement. Chinman and Wandersman (1999, p. 51) argue that personal recognition, gaining respect, and the rewards of striving to reach group aims like making the community a safer place to live can be appreciated as rewards. Key themes relating to commitment to the community rather than financial rewards are valued and motivate involvement in community policing among South Koreans. The findings relating to 'financial benefit' in the South Korean sample support Bailey's (1974, p. 91) and Yates's (1973, p. 62) observations that material benefits such as money do not explain citizen involvement in community policing in South Korea.

Paid community policing makes sense in a culture of individualism such as Britain. In contrast, a culture of collectivism is more pervasive among East Asian Countries, especially South Korea. In a culture that values collectivism the community is more likely to be seriously considered than the individual who is considered part of the community. When a collision is created between community and individuals' worth, South Korean individuals are more likely to put community values first before individuals (Bayley, 1991).

According to Wellstone (1978, pp. 82-83), community minded individuals are more likely to be motivated by purposive benefits for community development than other benefits, such as money or status. Community safety and community crime prevention have solidary and purposive benefits and are key motivators for South Koreans in this study. Thus Blau's (1964) and Homans's (1974) now dated observations had it correct in noting that community residents are more likely to be involved in community work such as security issues when positive

benefits for community are to be gained. Unlike PCSOs in Britain who receive a wage, PCPVs in South Korea have limited opportunity for financial reward from their voluntary work: their activities are undertaken on a voluntary basis and are offered neither remuneration nor the prospect of a future career in policing.

Responses that defy the dominant pattern

Examination of the research data reveals that a significant minority of participants consistently responded differently in relation to ‘faith in policing and the police’ and ‘personal gains’ as factors influencing their decisions to engage in community policing (Tables 8.2a and 8.2b). For example, 55 respondents out of the surveyed 200 South Korean respondents indicate trusting police and their work, in contrast to the majority who do not. Likewise, 64 of the total of the 200 British citizens report lack of trust of police and their work, as opposed to the overwhelming majority that do.

A similar pattern of responses is evident regarding whether respondent’s participation in community policing is motivated by ‘personal gain’. Some 20 participants from the South Korean cohort note that personal gain is a factor for becoming a PCPV. Of the British PCSOs 64 and 74 said that personal benefits such as ‘future career’ and ‘power and authority’ are not important factors, respectively. The results from statistical minority groups of one country’s research respondents tend to have similar results as the majority groups of another country’s individuals.

Closer examination of the demographic characteristics of these groups of British and South Korean participants who deviate from their respective cohorts partially accounts for their deviation in response. The statistical minority groups of South Korea are more likely to be self-employed males or males in paid employment, in their 40s with College qualifications and who currently attract salaries in the £830-£2,099 range. In other words, the South Koreans engaged in community policing are reasonably secure financially and, as self-employed individuals, they are not seeking for alternative career pathways. Conversely, British participants in the statistical minority of are in their 20s and 30s, male, already are in paid employment, with a first degree or diploma in higher education or other HE qualification, with salaries in the £830-£2,099 range.

There are several reasons why statistical minority groups of South Korean respondents indicated that ‘faith in police and their works’ and ‘personal gains’ are significant factors. First, as Smith and Hawkins (1973, p. 144) have argued, police efforts for improving their image have a significant impact on citizen attitudes about police and their works. Since 1993 when the civilian government was established in South Korea, police have tried to improve police-community relations. The South Korean police force has emphasised key reform and in 2000 “Operation Grand Reform 100 Days” was initiated to sort out the perception of police vis-à-vis the community and to develop good relationships with citizens (Pyo, 2001). The subject of the reform was to focus on policing services for the public to create positive relationships with them, and to reduce the negative image of police. There were three key efforts for reform: (a) community policing with the citizens and the cooperation with citizens; (b) an emphasis on

preventing crime rather than crime fighting; (c) The policy use of tear gas (2-Chlorobenzalmalononitrile) to control demonstrations (Moon, 2004, p. 135). To build a more positive relationship and improve the police image in the community an effort was made for the Citizen Police Academy and the PCPVs to better understand each other. It is possible that this minority of South Korean respondents have positive images of the police are endorsing police policies that have generated extensive debate.

Alternatively, the South Korean statistical minority response may reflect wider questioning of traditional community attitudes to police and policing. The South Korean financial crisis during 1997 to 1998 accelerated community embrace of capitalism and market economy theories that are more individualistic in orientation (Knoke, 1985, p. 211). Thus it may be argued that some South Korean participants in community policing have adopted more individualistic attitudes and are not altogether opposed to benefitting personally from their community activities.

Similarly the minority responses of British PCSOs likewise may reflect local social attitudes toward policing. Skogan and Hartnett (1997, p. 145) argue that one of the serious problems in relation to the image of police is the loss of public respect for law enforcement. The lack of confidence and trust in police was highlighted by the Brixton Riots in 1981 (Rex, 1982, p. 112). Since the mid-1970s, riots in United Kingdom cities frequently have been sparked by conflicts between black-British and the police. The Brixton Riots in 1981, for example, were the first serious riots in the United Kingdom to have caused

massive destruction of property since the formation of the Metropolitan Police; as many as 299 police officers were injured and at least 65 citizens (www.met.police.uk/history/brixton_riots.htm). The British specific groups who are in their 20s and 30s were born and raised in the period. Their responses in the questionnaire may reflect wider social distrust of police and their works.

Conclusion

The present chapter examined the reasons participants have provided for their involvement in community policing programmes. The comparative study has highlighted some significant differences in the explanations provided by British and South Korean participants. The chapter noted that the responses of British participants are in keeping with attitudes that link directly ‘confidence in the police and their work’ and ‘participation motivated by personal gain such as future career’ to explain involvement in community policing in the United Kingdom. Those who decide to engage in community policing do so because they have positive attitudes toward the police, undertake the duties of PCSOs as a pathway to formal policing as their career, and welcome the opportunity to receive a wage in the process.

A surprising finding highlighted in this chapter is the fact that South Korean participants report reasons for participation in community policing that are the mirror reverse of British participants. By contrast, South Korean PCPVs that were surveyed report negative attitudes to police and police work, and are not motivated either by the prospect of receiving a wage or non-material rewards for engaging in community policing. The chapter has highlighted that the responses

of the South Koreans in this study are best understood in the light of the historical background of policing in South Korea. During WWII the South Korean police force operated as an arm of the invading government to control and compel local citizens to submission. It is possible that the minority of South Korean respondents who report positive attitudes toward the police do so because they are no longer bound by police practices of some five or six decades ago, but in combination the South Korean respondents highlight the importance of cultural factors influencing social action. As noted above, it is quite possible that responses of South Korean participants tell us more about their views of the past than disclose present attitudes toward the police and police work.

What is critical in the present context is that we have two cohorts of participants in the present study – British PCSOs and South Korean PCPVs who have chosen to engage in community policing but for radically different reasons. The present data does not make it possible to answer the question as to whether paid PCSOs or unpaid PCPV volunteers provide better crime prevention support for the community. The examination of attitudes to the community explored in the next chapter may provide insight into this matter.

Endnotes

i

<http://onetusk.wordpress.com/2010/11/13/%E2%80%9Cone-person-with-passion-is-better-than-forty-people-merely-interested%E2%80%9D/>

ii <http://ohioline.osu.edu/cd-fact/1700.html>

Chapter 9

Commitment to Community

Introduction

This chapter explores whether attitudes to community help to explain why individuals in the United Kingdom and South Korea participate in community policing. Beck and Wilson (2000, p. 115) argue that commitment encompasses a psychological bond between people, between groups within a community. According to Dresbach (1992), individuals who show an interest in and respond with commitment to community activities (e.g., Meals on Wheels) are more likely to volunteer in crime prevention activities. Dwayne (2002) states that one of the key drivers of engaging with community policing is commitment to empowering the community. According to Dwayne:

Community policing's organisational strategy first demands that everyone in the police department ... investigate ways to translate the philosophy of power sharing into practice ... within the community, citizens must share in the rights and responsibilities implicit in identifying, prioritizing, and solving problems, as full fledged partners with the police. (Dwayne, 2002, p. 9)

Through the commitment process, citizens realise the importance and interest of crime prevention activities with policing. They acknowledge that police need their support to make a difference in their community. The values relating to commitment compel citizens to support activities such as citizen involvement in

community policing. This chapter seeks to analyse and interpret whether attachment to community, and beliefs that their communities have a crime problem, can account for why participants volunteer as Police Crime Prevention Volunteers (PCPVs) and Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs).

Commitment and policing

Kanter (1972, p. 66) equates commitment to community with a willingness of community members to use their resources in support of the community: commitment is the “attachment of the self to the requirements of social relations that are seen as self-expressive”. Meyer and Herscovitch (2001, p. 301) describes commitment as an individual’s identification with, and participation in, a particular group or community and is evident in three ways: acceptance of the goals and values of a community; willingness to exert effort on behalf of the community; and strong desire to maintain membership with the community. Zangaro (2001, p. 14) adds to this understanding by noting that in addition commitment, community is not just a theoretical idea but is a dynamic process that affects decision making and promotes community values. Arnold (2005, p. 625) adds that commitment to community is a force that binds residents to a course of action relevant to protecting and promoting community values. The psychological bond residents have with their communities are reflected in the way residents view their relationship within community (Metcalf & Dick, 2001, p. 403). The literature on commitment thus suggests that people are less likely to remain detached and more likely to be involved as the community is perceived to be improving (Metcalf & Dick, 2001, p. 400; Mowday, 1998; Meyer & Allen, 1997).

The move from traditional policing to community policing signals a desire to redefine how communities and their residents operate. Community policing emphasises the importance of police services becoming more customer-focused by harnessing relevant community resources to promote safety, control crime, and to reduce the fear of crime. Thus a successful community policing programme ultimately necessitates a major shift in the strategic focus of policing as well as a recalibration of the attitudes of community residents. Unlike traditional policing, the community policing model is successful to the degree that is able to garner the support of the people that it seeks to support and protect.

A critical issue in successful community policing is the willingness to accept community participation in what has for decades been a carefully protected and exclusive monopoly. Greene (2000, p. 2) argues that the reaction of individuals to community policing can be examined in terms of balancing competing individual and community values. Some community residents may consider the community and its security as being of greater importance than the protection of isolated individuals, may choose to support community policing activities. Conversely, others may consider personal values as being of greater importance, and thus may choose not to involve themselves in community policing programmes. The choice between individualist versus communitarian approaches to public safety focuses attention on the degree of fit between prioritising the individual and the importance attached to cooperation with community policing activities.

Ultimately, as Ford *et al.* (2006, p. 164) note, community policing relies on the willingness of individual to invest effort to improving a community's quality of life through citizen participation. This chapter analyses the correlation between people's community commitment and citizen involvement in community policing.

Attachment to community

Pattavina *et al.* (2006), Ren *et al.* (2006) and Lim (2001) argue that citizen participation in community policing stems from individual attachment to the community (cf. Carr, 2003). A number of questions in the survey used for the present study sought to identify whether attachment to the community was a motivating factor in participants' decision to become involved in community policing.

Participants in this study were asked a series of questions aimed at determining whether and to what extent attachment to community influenced their decisions:

Q12 How strongly do you feel you belong to your local areas?

Q 13 Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about your local area:

- a. This is a close-knit community
- b. This is an area in which people do things together and try to help each other
- c. This is an area in which people mostly go their own way

- d. If any of the children or young people around here are causing trouble, local people will tell them off
- e. This is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together.

As well, research participants were asked to estimate the number of people they knew in the area where they lived (Q 14) and to rank on a scale of five (from ‘very satisfied’ to ‘very unsatisfied’) how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with the locality in which they live.

Table 9.1a

Participants’ sense of attachment of their communities

		SK		UK	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Level of attachment to their community	Very strongly – strongly	163	81.5	50	25
	Neutral – other	37	18.5	150	75
Years living in their communities	5 years – more than 10 years	163	81.5	88	44
	Less than 5 years	37	18.5	112	56
Perceptions of whether their community is close-knit	Strongly agree – agree	86	43	72	36
	Neutral – strong disagree	114	57	128	64
Cognition of community collectivism	Strongly agree – agree	106	53	95	47.5
	Neutral – strong disagree	94	47	105	52.5
Evaluation of community individualism	Strongly agree – agree	72	36	89	44.5
	Neutral – strong disagree	128	64	111	55.5
Community concerns about youth issues	Strongly agree – agree	89	44.5	73	36.5
	Neutral – strong disagree	111	55.5	127	63.5
Level of community tolerance	Strongly agree – agree	117	58.5	99	49.5
	Neutral – strong disagree	83	41.5	101	50.5
Number of friendships in the community	Many – some	127	63.5	89	44.5
	A few – other	73	36.5	111	55.5
Overall satisfaction with their community	Most important – important	95	47.5	53	26.5
	Neutral – not important at all	105	52.5	147	73.5

Table 9.1b

Chi-Square Test of data of SK and the UK participants

	SK	UK
Level of a community attachment	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 189.25, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 167.35, p < .001$
Living term in their communities	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 276.22, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 73.12, p < .001$
Citizen perceptions about close-knit community	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 145.75, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 78.75, p < .001$
Citizen cognitions about community collectivism	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 145.75, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 26.60, p < .001$
Citizen evaluations about community individualism	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 145.00, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 101.35, p < .001$
Community concerns about youth issues	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 113.15, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 156.35, p < .001$
Level of community persistence	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 84.30, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 56.15, p < .001$
Level of friendship in the community	$\chi^2(3, N = 200) = 60.84, p < .001$	$\chi^2(3, N = 200) = 28.92, p < .001$
Overall satisfaction with their community	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 40.90, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 40.85, p < .001$

Table 9.1a shows that the responses of South Korean and British to the questions relating to attachment to community. The table reveals that the responses of the South Korean participants were significantly different from those from the United Kingdom in at least four of the nine areas highlighted in the table. The South Koreans report significantly higher levels of attachment (81.5 per cent) relative to British respondents (25 per cent), have lived between 5 to 10 years in the community (81.5 per cent as opposed to 44 per cent), and report having more friends in the community (63.5 per cent) as opposed to 44.5 per cent reported by the British participants. In the very least, these responses suggests that South Korean respondents are less mobile in terms of where they live, are able to establish stable and lasting friendships, and therefore place far greater value on the importance of living in a place where they have a sense of attachment and feel they belong.

What is also noteworthy from Table 9.1a is the low priority accorded to community and community attachment by the British participants. Only one out of every four (25 per cent) of British participants in the study rate highly their attachment to the community and a sense of belonging. Nor do British participants describe their communities as being 'close knit' (36 per cent) or concerned with young people problems (36.5 per cent). These responses are a corrective to researchers such as Pattavina *et al.* (2006) who rate 'attachment to area' an important factor influencing involvement in community crime prevention activities.

The chi-square test for independence was used to determine whether or not differences exist between the responses confirmed that PCPVs differed from the PCSOs in relation to the 'level of attachment', 'living term', 'close-knit', 'collectivism', 'individualism', 'level of community persistence and friendship', and 'attachment to community'.

Community and crime problem

Carr (2003), Skogan (1990), and Sampson and Cohen (1988) argue that perceptions of 'a crime problem [in the] community' can be a motivator for people becoming involved in community policing activities. Other researchers suggest that prevalence of community violence or even perceptions that this is the case are not significant factors for engaging with police in collective community crime prevention (Lab, 1990; Bennett, 1998; Shernock, 1986). The issues as to whether there is a strong correlation between 'crime problem' and citizen involvement is addressed here.

Following survey questions were asked to determine how significant is the 'extent to which their own community has a crime problem':

Q 7 How much of a problem are the following in the community where you live?

- a. Noisy neighbours or loud parties
- b. Groups of gangs of youths hanging around on the streets
- c. Vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property or vehicles
- d. People being intimidated, verbally abused, insulted or assaulted by drunken people in public places
- e. Noise or disturbance caused by people who are drunk or people who have been to pubs, bars or nightclubs
- f. People being insulted, pestered or intimidated in the street
- g. Aggressive or threatening behaviour by people in the streets
- h. People begging in the streets
- i. Disorderly behaviour on public transport

Q 8 Would you say they have got worse, got better, or stayed the same in your local area over the past two years?

Respondents were also asked to indicate whether the crime rate has increased or decreased in recent years (Q 9) and to indicate the rate of change (Q 10) on a scale of importance ranging from ‘a lot more crime’ to ‘a lot less crime’.

Table 9.2a

Extent to which SK and the UK participants believe their communities have a crime problem

		SK		UK	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Crime issues over the past two years	Got a lot worse – worse	36	18	90	45
	Neutral – got a lot better	164	82	110	55
Noisy neighbours or loud parties	Very big problem – problem	108	54	118	59
	Neutral – not a problem at all	92	46	82	41
Groups of gangs of youths hanging around on the streets	Very big problem – problem	154	77	159	79.5
	Neutral – not a problem at all	46	23	41	20.5
Vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property	Very big problem – problem	109	54.5	120	60
	Neutral – not a problem at all	91	45.5	80	40
People being intimidated or assaulted by drunken people in public	Very big problem – problem	104	52	116	58
	Neutral – not a problem at all	96	48	84	42
Noise or disturbance caused by people who are drunk	Very big problem – problem	124	62	131	65.5
	Neutral – not a problem at all	76	38	69	34.5
People being insulted, pestered or intimidated in the street	Very big problem – problem	95	47.5	109	54.5
	Neutral – not a problem at all	105	52.5	91	45.5
Aggressive or threatening behaviour by people in the streets	Very big problem – problem	93	46.5	107	53.5
	Neutral – not a problem at all	107	53.5	93	46.5
People begging in the streets	Very big problem – problem	62	31	91	45.5
	Neutral – not a problem at all	138	69	109	54.5
Disorderly behaviour on public transport	Very big problem – problem	99	49.5	114	57
	Neutral – not a problem at all	101	50.5	86	43
Crime problems in community	Most important – important	148	74	76	38
	Neutral – not important at all	52	26	124	62

The research findings indicate that South Korean and British respondents are in relative agreement in most surveyed areas regarding levels of crime in the community, although with some differences. For example, while one out of every five South Korean PCPVs (18 per cent) reports that their respective communities are witnessing an increase in community crime generally, only one out of every two British PCSOs (45 per cent) does so. However, the two national

cohorts present surprisingly similar responses in relation to specific social issues. For example, 54 per cent of PCPVs and 59 per cent of PCSOs report an increase in the number of noisy neighbours, 77 per cent and 79.5 per cent respectively report an increase in youth crime, vandalism (54.5 per cent and 60 per cent), alcohol related violence (52 per cent and 58 per cent) and increases in community disturbances (62 per cent and 65.5 per cent), intimidation in the street (47.5 per cent and 54.5 per cent), threatening behaviours (46.5 per cent and 53.5 per cent), and disorderly behaviour on public transport (49.5 per cent and 57 per cent). Begging is reported by British PCSOs as being a problem in the United Kingdom (45.5 per cent) while only 31 per cent of South Korean PCPVs see this as being an issue in their communities.

Table 9.2b

Chi-Square Test of data of SK and the UK participants

	SK	UK
Crime issues over the past two years	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 128.45, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 106.85, p < .001$
Noisy neighbours or loud parties	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 86.90, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 66.95, p < .001$
Groups of gangs of youths hanging around on the streets	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 153.80, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 200.60, p < .001$
Vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 89.00, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 73.75, p < .001$
People being intimidated or assaulted by drunken people in public	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 102.80, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 128.45, p < .001$
Noise or disturbance caused by people who are drunk	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 107.45, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 73.10, p < .001$
People being insulted, pestered or intimidated in the street	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 49.40, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 66.85, p < .001$
Aggressive or threatening behaviour by people in the streets	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 36.05, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 30.85, p < .001$
People begging in the streets	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 61.60, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 74.15, p < .001$
Disorderly behaviour on public transport	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 76.60, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 52.40, p < .001$
Crime problems in community	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 117.80, p < .001$	$\chi^2(4, N = 200) = 36.00, p < .001$

Surprisingly the two cohorts of participants present contrasting responses in only one area: 74 per cent of South Korean PCPVs consider that their communities are experiencing a crime problem, while only 38 per cent of British PCSOs report that crime is a problem in the United Kingdom. The chi-square test undertaken to analyse the relationship between crime problem in the community and citizen involvement (Table 9.2b) revealed that PCPVs differed from the PCSOs in relation to the influence of a crime problem in the community on their decisions to involve themselves in community policing activities. The survey data suggests that for most South Korean PVPVs at least, participation in community policing is directly related to their perception that their communities are experiencing a crime problem that is perceived to be increasing.

What stands out from the responses of British PCSOs is that only a minority of participants (38 per cent) attribute their participation in community crime prevention to a perception that there is community crime problem even though consistently more than half of the respondents report a perception of increase in community crime across the board. One could argue that this response is consistent with the esteem that they accord to police and police work in the community. One could also read this response as suggesting that in combination, the combined efforts of local police together with PCSOs are containing community crime from developing into a community problem. In this context the fact that 74 per cent of South Korean PCPVs perceive a prevalence of crime in their communities and the fact that 81.5 per cent report strong attachment to their communities (Table 9.1a) may account for volunteering to work as PCSOs. This interpretation is all the more plausible on account of the fact noted in the

previous chapter, that South Korean PCSOs underrate the importance of police and police work (Table 8.1a).

Participation in community activities

Carr (2003) contends that ‘Participation in other local crime prevention schemes’ is an important factor influencing involvement in community policing activities.

Carr observes:

Neighbourhoods that have crime and disorder problems may find that the new parochialism is an appealing and oftentimes effective way to control crime. Indeed, with fear of teens and crime at high levels, the new parochialism may be increasingly the most prevalent form of informal social control in many urban neighbourhoods. (Carr, 2003, p 1289)

This point is made even more forcefully by Lab (2010, p. 97) who states:

Various authors note that people involved in crime prevention efforts tend to be ‘joiners’, who have higher feelings of responsibility toward the community than non-participants. Crime prevention is often a secondary extension of other group activities. This ‘joining’ phenomenon is reflected in the findings that successful organisations tend to have a strong leader who is able to motivate participation, overcome diversity in opinions, set an agenda, and keep residents interested.

For Carr (2003, p. 1284), the ‘new parochialism’ consists of “a set of semiformal practices coproduced by neighbourhood residents and formal control agents” grounded in strong citizen engagement in community crime prevention. A series of questions in the survey sought to identify whether the participants in the present study have a history of providing community service so as to ascertain

whether or not those who have a practice of community engagement are more likely to offer their services in support of community crime prevention programmes.

To determine whether participation in other local crime prevention schemes was a factor in decisions to become involved in community policing, at least two questions sought this information from participants. These included,

Q 25 Do you participate in any other crime prevention activities in your area?

Q 26 How effective do you think local crime prevention schemes are generally in helping to in reducing crime?

The analysis revealed that participation in other local crime prevention schemes' had mixed results with regards to its relationship to citizen involvement in community policing activities.

Table 9.3

SK and the UK participants' involvement in other local crime prevention schemes

		SK		UK	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Participation in other local crime prevention	Yes	63	31.5	55	27.5
	No	134	67.0	143	71.5
Effectiveness of local crime prevention schemes	Very effective – effective	173	86.5	175	87.5
	Neutral – not effective at all	27	13.5	25	12.5
Participation in other local crime prevention	Most important – important	139	69.5	53	26.5
	Neutral – not important at all	61	30.5	147	73.5

Pattavina *et al.* (2006) point out that participation in community policing activities is related to 'a general tendency towards participation in community

and service organisations' more generally. A strong sense of attachment to community often is reflected in citizen involvement in the community, including membership in community associations. People who have had lower levels of attachment to the area are less likely to participate in citizen involvement of community policing activities. Hyman and Wright (1971) stated that participation in community organisations equates strongly with attachment to place.

A majority of respondents from both South Korea (67 per cent) and the United Kingdom (71.5 per cent) replied 'no' to the question, 'Do you participate in any other crime prevention activities in your area?' Interestingly when asked to indicate whether they thought 'local crime prevention schemes are [effective] ... in helping to reduce crime?' a majority of South Korean (86.5 per cent) and British (87.5 per cent) respondents believe they are effective. What is of significance in the present endeavour to understand the factors that influence individuals to participate in community crime prevention policing, is that 69.5 per cent of South Koreans, in other words, two out of every three participants, indicate that participation in other local crime prevention activities was a factor influencing their decisions to volunteer to become PCSOs. This finding corresponds with Pyo's (2001) observation that South Korean people who think that their communities have a crime problem, have an affirmative concept about community members involvements in different works for their community safety.

In South Korea, community organisations such as PCPVs have been created to promote cooperation between citizens and police in preserving community and public safety. However, the research findings noted above are somewhat puzzling in view of the fact that less than half of PCSOs report participating in other local crime prevention programmes. Be that as it may, the responses may indicate that many participants consider that there is a link between participation in community crime prevention programmes even though, as in this instance, less than half of the South Koreans had participated themselves.

Participation in community

There is a close relationship between attachment to the community and participation in community policing among the South Koreans. The findings from South Korea support Skogan's (1990, p. 110) contention that individuals who have vested interest in, or strong attachment to, their communities are more likely to participate in community crime prevention programmes. The South Korean responses also suggest that attachment to community is evident with living in the community for a long time, most likely having invested in owning a home there, and developing strong social ties. Analysis of Table 9.1a supports Skogan's (1990, p. 112) claim that people with strong community attachments tend to live in the community for a long time. Schneider (2007, p. 113) also argued that one of the characteristics of community police volunteers is that resident's long-term involvement in the community, like someone has lived in the area for two or more years.

Pattavina *et al.* (2006, p. 207) note that a close-knit community with strong attachments tends to have higher levels of informal control for preventing and controlling crime. Neighbourhoods lacking informal control processes were at risk of having high levels of crime and anti-social behaviour. Sampson and Wilson (1995, in Pattavina *et al.*, 2006, p. 207) also note that weak community attachments are more likely to be associated with offending behaviour. The survey findings suggest that for South Koreans community attachments play a significant role in promoting citizen participation in community policing.

Skogan (1990, p. 110) notes that involvement in community policing groups are higher among individuals who engage in informal social control. Informal social control can take the form of asking for assistance from members of the community and intervening in suspicious circumstances at the private level in the community. There is some evidence that among South Koreans (Table 9.1a) that where people in the community are able informally to do things together and support each other are more likely to volunteer to support in more formal community safety programmes.

From their study exploring whether there is a correlation between people who are socially detached or know only a few residents, and those who said they knew many or lot of people, and attachment to community Kasarda and Janowitz's (1974, p. 331) showed that strong social bonds in close-knit communities produce high attachment to those communities. In the responses outlined in Table 9.1a appear to suggest that the communitarian outlook of South Koreans translates into strong attachments to their communities and this in turn

leads to greater involvement and participation in community safety and community policing.

The three factors discussed above – strong social networks, participation in community enhancing activities, and evidence of social, emotional and financial investment in the community – have been highlighted as important factors that can account for citizen involvement in community policing in Vancouver, Canada. In his *Refocusing Crime Prevention: Collective Action and the Quest for Community* (2007), Schneider notes that participants in community policing have strong emotional attachments to the area where they live, own homes in the community, are involved volunteers, and are relatively longer-term residents. Schneider (2007, pp. 113-114) further argues that there are two types of community attachments that feature among citizens involve in crime prevention activities: emotional community attachments and a desire of individuals to care for and protect their families and the community; and financial attachments to the community reflected in home ownership and investments in the locality. As Schneider (2007, p. 113) explains:

In the community, the homeowners have a vested interest because they are putting dollars into property there. So if the area is perceived to be unsafe, their dollars are worth less than the initial ones they put in. The renters, on the other hand, if the area is perceived to be unsafe and not a good place to live, are benefiting because there rents are lower and they do not care because if it gets too bad they just move out.

The findings of present study support Schneider's observation. A chi-square test was performed to evaluate the relationship between 'home ownerships' and

‘involvement in community policing’. Most South Korean PCPVs (62.5%) were home owners, $\chi^2(3, N = 200) = 205.72, p < .001$. Conversely, the majority of British PCSOs (67.5%) were tenants, $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 24.50, p < .001$. The chi-square test for independence revealed that PCPVs differed from the PCSOs in relation to ‘home ownerships’, $\chi^2(1, N = 400) = 48.06, p < .001$. The research findings seem to indicate that there is strong correlation in South Koreans responses between types of attachments and involvement in community policing.

The sentiments expressed by one respondent in Lim’s (2001, p. 137) unpublished dissertation on *A Study on Participation Factors of Citizen Patrol for Voluntary Crime Prevention* (2001), capture aptly the outlook of the South Korean participants in the present study.

I have lived in this community over ten years. I wish to do all I can to make this area a better area to live for me and my family. This is our neighbourhood and community, not the offenders. I have to do something to take it back from them.

This response suggests that community attachment can act as a force compelling individuals to get involved in crime prevention activities including community policing. Moon *et al.*’s (2005) description that the culture of collectivism is integral to the traditional informal community system in East Asia extends also to South Korea.

The findings discussed in this chapter show that there is a strong correlation between ‘longer-term residents’ and ‘involvement in community policing’. Most South Korean people (95.0%) lived in their community over two years. By

comparison, just 54 per cent of British participants fall in this category (see Table 9.1a). Thus it can be argued that there is a strong relationship between participation and a long-term resident in cooperation in community policing in South Korea.

The proposition that attachment to and involvement in community translates into participation in community crime prevention best applies to describing the responses of South Korean participants. In this context the South Korean collectivist culture appears to facilitate citizen cooperation in community policing activities. In other words, South Koreans engaged in community policing either out of obligation, but most certainly out of attachment to their communities. What has been highlighted in this section is that this proposition applies less in a British context where the principal factors for engagement appear to revolve around individualistic values, including the potential to extend the community crime prevention into formal policing and the fact that PCSOs are paid for their services.

Community crime as motivation for participation

The belief that visible signs of community disorder correlate with offender behaviour has long been part of conventional wisdom regarding community policing (LaGrange *et al.*, 1992, p. 311). Police are able to spot risk situations when neither an offence nor offender is in sight (LaGrange *et al.*, 1992, p. 311). In recent years researchers have shown considerable interest in exploring whether there is a relationship between citizen involvement in crime prevention activities and “perceived neighbourhood problems” (Gates & Rohe, 1987). LaGrange *et al.* (1992, p. 312) explains that apart from serious crimes such as

murder, rape, robbery, and property offence, “soft-level breaches of community standards” can “signal the erosion of conventionally accepted norms and values”. Lagrange *et al.*'s (1992) argument the perceptions of an increase in “soft-level breaches” such as litter, burned-out storefronts, graffiti, trashing of abandoned cars, and disruptive social behaviours such as drunkenness, rowdy youth, loiterers, have a strong correlation to increasing citizen involvement in crime prevention activities.

What has been argued thus far in the chapter is that South Korean engagement in community policing relates directly to the nation's pronounced communitarian ethos. While the data is not conclusive; a strong case can be made that British PCSOs may have been attracted to the programme primarily by community crime issues in the same way that South Koreans have been compelled by their attachment to community. Koper (1995, p. 651), Lewis and Maxfield (1980, p. 182) and Reiss (1985, p. 8) observe that disorderly behaviour and conditions can motivate individuals into contributing to the community.

Moreover Skogan (1990, p. 75) found that while other conditions such as economic and social factors have only indirect links to crime, they contribute to a perception of disorder issues within communities. Sampson and Cohen (1988, p. 185) suggests that perception of a preponderance of crime in the community can actually be a positive for the community by increasing citizen involvement in community policing. The responses of British PCSOs contest Pattavina *et al.* (2006), Sampson and Morenoff (2006), Carr (2003), Sampson and Jeglum-Bartusch (1998), and Skogan's (1989) observations that perceptions of

community crime. Promote greater citizen cooperation of community policing. The analysis outlined in Table 9.2a indicates that about one out of every three British participants in the study view their communities as having high levels of crime, although the prevalence of community crime does not appear as a motivating factor in becoming PCSOs.

The findings regarding British participants support Pattavina *et al.*'s (2006) claims that there is a close relationship between crime problems in the community and lower levels of citizen involvement in community. According to Pyo (2001), specific situations that may threaten people's lifestyles by crime issues of their communities can actually promote citizen cooperation in community policing activities. People who feel threatened by crime problems can get involved in police crime prevention activities as counter exertions to increasing crime. Carr (2003, p. 1249) also points out that community individuals are likely to get involved in community policing because they feel that the formal agency such as police can do little to prevent crime and anti-social behaviour without the support of community. The research findings do not readily support the view that perceptions of crime in the British communities can account for citizen involvement in community policing.

The above observation suggests that there are differences in local crime prevention between the South Korea and Britain. This makes an important point regarding citizen participation in crime prevention programmes. It means that people who positively participate in citizen involvement of community policing activities do so because they are concerned, have the relevant knowledge, or feel

a sense of responsibility. Until now, because of the lack of knowledge about the importance and method of community crime prevention, people did not have interest and concern in citizen involvement of community policing activities. Also people did not know how to get involved in the community crime prevention actions and therefore refrained from participation in citizen involvement of community policing activities in both the countries.

To motivate citizen involvement of community policing activities, the police of both South Korea and the Britain need to devise plans for effective promotion of citizen cooperation activities for community safety. For instance, the system of PCPVs activities in South Korea is controlled by both the police and the city council. Therefore, management of it is very inefficient and participation by community citizens is also very poor.

Participants who deviate from the majority

Once again we need to explain the responses of a consistent minority, in some instances up to 50 per cent of South Korean and British participants whose responses consistently defy the trend. As can be seen in Table 9.1a, 9.2a, and 9.3, a group of South Korean and British research participants return responses that are at odds with their fellow countrymen (and women) whose responses sometimes align South Koreans more with British participants, and British participants approximating the responses of South Koreans. For instance, 48 South Korean PCPVs of the 200 surveyed report 'attachment to community' is *not* a significant factor in becoming involved in community policing in contrast to the majority for whom it was; similarly 53 British PCSOs report attachment to

community in contrast to the majority UK respondents who report that they are not. In the same manner 52 PCPVs do not see their communities overwhelmed by a crime problem in contrast to the majority of South Korean respondents who perceive this to be the case; while 76 PCSOs of UK respondents who perceive crime as a major community issue. The same is evident with 'participation in other local crime prevention schemes' as precursor to community policing; 61 PCPVs stand apart from a majority of their South Korean colleagues by declaring this did not influence their decisions; only 53 per cent of PCSOs declare it was in contrast to the majority of UK respondents for whom it was.

There are a number of possible explanations for these anomalies. At the most general level it is possible that the deviating responses may be the result of mis-reading the questionnaire or not fully understanding what was being asked. Alternatively, it is possible to argue that the differential responses are idiosyncratic and articulating highly individualised positions on these issues. A more plausible explanation is to interpret these responses against the backdrop of relevant socio-cultural processes in each of the surveyed countries.

British policies, for example, may provide an answer as to why a significant number of UK participants return responses that place them close to those from South Koreans. Since the early 1990s the British government has been promoting active citizenship policies based on collectivism (Turner, 2001, p. 189). British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher introduced the idea of 'active citizenship' policy that encourages and promotes individuality as a core community ideology. The idea of citizen participation in community policing, in

this context, represents an extension of this same policy that shifts the onus of providing for the welfare of the community from the state, and encourages individuals and communities to accept greater responsibility for this (Kearns, 1992, pp. 21-22). Thus the policy of active citizenship transfers to the community the role of combating anti-social behaviours and promoting community safety (Casey & Flint, 2007, p. 72). The policy thus calls on community individuals to assume greater responsibility within their communities and engage in partnership with formal law enforcement agencies to engage in participatory community crime prevention. Under this policy individuals can act as eyes and ears of the police on the streets of their communities (Casey & Flint, 2007, p. 76). Thus it is possible to interpret the responses of some PCSOs as reflecting wider socio-political views that place them at odds with other British respondents.

Similarly, the responses of PCPVs are best understood in the context of South Korean cultural collectivism verses emerging western individualism. Lee and McNulty (2003, p. 28) observe that the South Korean industry and economy had been effective during the period of rapid growth in the 1970 to 1980s has had to co-exist alongside western style individualistic capitalism that Lee and McNulty (2003) argue, weakened traditional cultural values, including the importance of the family.

Due to economic development which is called "the Miracle of Han River" and rapid urbanisation, South Korea was transformed into a modern society. The term 'Miracle of Han River' used to describe this transformation refers to a

“form of state guided capitalism that focuses on export-led manufacturing”ⁱ that played a central role in this transformation. The traditional communities became more complex and rapidly individualised, even though the philosophy of neo-Confucianism which formed the backbone of Korean community life was still embraced. Traditionally, in all familial relationships, respect for parents and grandparents, or filial piety, was upheld as a supreme value. Older persons were respected in the family. Quarrelling, loud talking, smoking, and drinking alcohol were not permitted in their presence. This was considered as a type of informal social control that had strong influence on the Korean society, but started to fade away in the new urbanised places.

Another dispiriting part of the modernisation process is the increasing generation gap, which is producing more cultural conflict between the young and the old as the traditional family hierarchy is becoming less relevant. Older communitarian values that promoted social cohesive gave way to communities that were more impersonal and where people became anonymous. In this environment that can be characterised as busy, oriented more toward the individual, and indifferent toward other people, commitment to community was weakened. There was less voluntary concern and efforts for community safety, security, and crime prevention. The anomalous responses of South Korean PCPVs that appear indifferent to community and communitarian concerns, one can argue, are expressions of this more modern national outlook.

However, these anomalous responses merely serve to confirm the core motivating factors that underpin South Korean volunteering to become PCPVs:

an attachment to the community as noted by 81.5 per cent of South Korean participants (Table 9.1a). The same can be said regarding the British participants: the anomalous responses of PCSOs serve to accentuate the responses of the majority and their pronounced individualism that is underpinned by the fact that participants engage in community policing as a stepping stone to entering the police force and at the same time receive wages for their services.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on understanding whether attitudes to community influence and lead to citizen involvement in community policing activities among surveyed South Koreans and British participants in the study. Community attitudes explored in the present chapter include, whether participants consider their own communities to be inundated with crime, whether a sense of attachment to their communities lead them to engage in local crime prevention schemes, and whether this involvement had been prefaced by a prior history of involvement in community schemes including local crime prevention schemes. The research findings explored in the present chapter present a diverse set of attitudes by participants to community engagement that is not possible to describe with a simple 'yes' or 'no'.

At the most general level, the research data reveals that 53 per cent (n=213) of the 400 participants in this study report that attachment to community was an important factor for becoming involved in citizen community policing. However, when the two national cohorts are considered separately, a much more complex picture emerges with South Korean participants placing community high among

participatory factors (81.5 per cent), while only one out of every four (25 per cent) of British participants attributing their involvement in citizen policing to community attitudes. The chapter identified that the responses of the participants on this matter are best understood in terms of two contrasting outlooks; a *pronounced communitarianism* that among South Koreans that led many of them to view their communities as needing protection and therefore their personal support, and an *individualist outlook* among the British participants that is underpinned by the fact that they view citizen community policing as a steppingstone to a career in police work that simultaneously provides them with preliminary training and a wage. The chapter has also shown that the two outlooks are not confined to their separate geographical settings and that they have become globally dispersed, with South Korean participants returning responses more akin with those of their British counterparts, and British participants sharing communitarian values much like South Koreans.

Endnotes

ⁱ http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/mgi/in_the_news/renewing_the_south_korean_miracle

Chapter 10

Conclusion

Introduction

Citizen involvement in community safety has become a key security strategy for communities throughout the world. Over the last few decades much scholarship has been focussed on exploring citizen participation in community policing and other crime prevention activities. The present study, which was based on the results of a questionnaire, investigated the reasons survey participants give for involving themselves in community policing activities. The study seeks to overcome a perceived gap in the research literature by presenting a detailed comparison of citizen participation in community policing in two nations: South Korea and the United Kingdom. The current chapter presents a summary of the findings, highlights the contribution of this work to community safety research, notes some limitations of the study, and draws attention to potential ways forward.

Comparative study of community policing

Numerous studies have been undertaken in recent years into citizen participation in community policing and crime prevention. The present study is unusual because it seeks to present a comparative perspective into community policing from two societies that are culturally different. While both South Korea and the

United Kingdom have well established community policing programmes, there are some significant differences in their respective community policing programmes: in South Korea community policing is a voluntary role; in the United Kingdom community police are paid and the role usually is a full-time position.

A total of 400 currently serving community police participated in the present study; 200 PCPVs from South Korea and 200 British PCSOs. The research participants were not randomly selected, although a comparison of key demographics indicates that the cohort approximates the mix of currently serving community police in age, gender and education (see Chapter 5). However examination of the demographics revealed some significance differences between the two national cohorts. South Korean participants were more likely to be self-employed males in their 40s with FE College qualifications and wages in the £830-£1,249 per month range. British research participants were primarily males in their 20s, with a diploma in higher education or other higher education qualification and on salaries in the range of £830-£2,099 per month.

The questionnaire for this study was developed around seven themes derived from examination of the relevant literature. These included the belief that participation in community policing and crime prevention may be prompted by an individual's experiences as a victim of crime (Lavrakas *et al.*, 1981); sensitivity community safety and crime (Pattavina *et al.*, 2006); an individual's perception of police (Cunningham & Wasgaff, 2006); attachment to community (Cunningham & Wasgaff, 2006), practice of participating in community

activities (Carr, 2003), and desire to protect it (Sampson & Morenoff, 2006). The questionnaire also sought to identify whether participation is motivated by personal gain (Carr, 2003). These themes set the broad contours of the present study, although the comparative study proved critical in challenging taken-for-granted assumptions held by researchers regarding community policing initiatives and why individuals choose to participate in them.

Key findings

A feature of the research findings is the number of surveyed participants whose responses deviate from accepted explanations. In his provocative introduction to social research, *Tricks of the Trade: How to Think about Your Research While You're Doing It*", Becker (1998, p. 192) explains:

A deviant case ... is one that doesn't do what the analyst thought and predicted it would, and thus challenges the conclusions he or she would like to make.

The comparative study proved useful in highlighting shortcomings in current theorising about community policing by broadening our understanding into the dynamics of the practice of community involvement in crime prevention.

Participation as rational action

The findings of the present study indicate that neither individual fear of crime (Luengas & Ruprah, 2008), nor personal experiences as victims of crime (Rohe & Greenberg, 1982; Skogan, 1987, p. 45), fully account for decision to participate in community policing. Only a minority of respondents in this study

(30 per cent) had been victims of crime or report sensitivity to issues of crime and matters of community safety. Indeed research participants do not frame their decisions to engage in community policing as an emotional reaction to such experiences. An important finding of the study is that emotional reactions characterised by direct (a personal experience as a victim of crime) or indirect (exposure to a crime in which an individual has not directly participated) are not rated as significant reasons as to why citizens participate in community policing in either nations.

In contrast to the many studies highlighting victimisation fear as predictors of citizen participation in community policing (Pattavina *et al.*, 2006; Scheider *et al.*, 2003; Menard & Covey, 1987; Skogan, 1987; Taylor *et al.*, 1987), the present study indicates that there is no reported relationship between emotional responses and participation (Luengas & Ruprah, 2008; Lim, 2001; Lavrakas & Herz, 1982; Rohe & Greenberg, 1982).

Emotional factors such as direct or indirect fears influence human behaviour, although people's reaction does not always result in action and may result in them remaining at home or avoiding becoming involved. The findings of this study, however, suggest that for those surveyed, if decisions regarding community policing activities are not an emotional response, then we suggest that the motivation to participate is more cerebral than emotional and influenced by a range of other factors to do with the community and even the nature of police work.

Appreciation for police and commitment to crime prevention

A second finding of the present study is that an individual's passion for crime prevention had a positive impact on citizen participation in community policing. The study showed that interest in policing and a commitment to crime prevention are key factors influencing British respondents to participate in community policing. Their decisions were influenced by the fact that British participants in the study report having positive images of the police and their work. This finding accords with Reisig and Correia's (1997, p. 312) argument, that people who hold favourable views of police are more likely to be involved in collective crime prevention activities.

However, the idea that people that have a high regard for the police and their work are more likely to engage in citizen community policing programmes, needs qualification. This is true of the British participants, but certainly is not the case with the South Koreans. As noted in chapter 8, one of the surprising findings of the present study is that a majority of South Korean participants (between 64 and 75 per cent) consistently rate police and police work in negative terms, and that identification with and / or respect for the police is one factor that definitely did not influence them for volunteering to become PCPVs.

The study highlights that historical and cultural factors have influenced the outlooks of respondents and thus their decisions. The modernised police forces of the UK and Korea were established for different purposes. Britain did not have a criminal justice system until 1829, when Sir Robert Peel passed the first Police Act and made a professional police force in London. The British police

was instituted to enforce law and order for the welfare and safety of both the community and its citizens. Conversely, the Korean police force was created by King Ko-Jong when Japan colonised Korea in 1894 (Pyo, 2001). The South Korean police was introduced by Japan mainly to colonise Korea. Although South Korea currently enjoys a dynamic and vibrant democracy, in the past one hundred years the nation has gone from having a monarchy, to being an occupied territory, ruled by a president, to governed by a parliamentary system that gave way to a military dictatorship, and finally being governed by a stable democracy. The memory of the South Korean police force as an instrument of Japanese imperialism, from the first to sixth republics, is lodged in the minds of the South Korean people. There are strong cultural factors affecting South Korean attitudes to the police and thus the reasons why they choose to participate in community policing.

Personal gain

For the British PCSOs, personal gain was found to be significant predictors of citizen involvement in community policing activities in the UK. While British police constables who complete a two year probationary period can earn a higher salary than British PCSOs, the PCSO role is comparably better for individuals wishing to work in criminal justice areas in the future, rather than other work such as British special constables. Thus British participants tend to view the PCSO system as a stepping stone to becoming a full-time police officer. The prospect of moving to full-time police work seems provides additional benefits such as mortgage payment support, and one could argue the personal benefits can serve as important stimuli for citizen involvement. South Korean

participation in community policing is a voluntary activity and PCPVs do not receive remuneration for their activities. Thus in accordance with Wallace (2011), McKernan and McWhirter (2009), Reisig (2007), Cunningham and Wagstaff (2006), Kane (2005) and Maskey *et al.* (2003) who highlight the personal gain as a predictor of involvement in community policing activities, this study note that there are strong personal gain factors motivating British PCSOs who are also paid for this work.

A majority of PCSOs who were involved in this study planned to become full-time police officers, which means that the role itself provides the opportunity to become a regular police officer. While the main purpose of PCSOs is to establish good relationships with the community and create a positive image of police through foot patrolling on community streets, there are also benefits for formal policing when PCSOs become police officers. The working experience of PCSOs, such as experience of community policing while working alongside regular police, and understanding the police culture, can operate as a realistic job preview for the successful police officer role. This work calls for long term commitment. However, if people consider the PCSO system as a stepping stone and have a two year contract or less, the regular turnover of PCSOs has potential to undermine this important community role. A rapidly changing body of PCSOs can impact on the skilling of community police, and can create a morale problems. There may be implications for the future profile of PCSOs with younger officers and men being more likely to leave to become regular police officers.

Commitment to community

While the study did not find there was a strong relationship between participation and commitment to community in the UK sample, attachment to community was a key predictor of South Korean voluntary engagement with community policing activities. The factors of crime problem in the community and participation in other local crime prevention strategies are significant factors in citizen involvement in community policing activities in South Korea. On this issue the study support the research findings of other scholars, including Drury and Leech (2009), Sampson and Morenoff (2006), Pattavina *et al.* (2006) who point out that citizen involvement in community policing is strongly related to both individual and community factors, and researchers such as Hess and Orthmann (2012) and Carr (2003) who argue that community-minded individuals are more likely to participate in community policing activities.

The East Asian culture of collectivism based on group or community identity is evident also among South Koreans. Community residents place high on their social values the importance of maintaining community safety, harmony, and cohesion (Lee, 1996). The moral principles of Neo-Confucianism with an emphasis on social harmony and community achieved through citizen participation (Bol, 2010) are echoed in the desire of South Korean support for community policing. The social and cultural obligations and commitments required of men in South Korea compel them to support community policing activities. This outlook is in stark contrast to the British individualism that tends to place more emphasis on individual autonomy and self interest.

The research findings from the present study indicate that participation in citizen community policing and crime prevention is influenced by two key factors: the importance individuals attach to community and community safety concerns, and the level of importance to which they attach to individual concerns, such as personal gain, having a career and receiving pay. By cross tabulating these two variables – the level of priority (high / low) placed on community factors, and the level of importance (high / low) they attach to individual factors – one can identify four relatively distinct positions depicting reasons for participating in community policing as depicted in Figure 10.1.

Figure 10.1

Crosstabulation of relationship between ‘individual’ and ‘community’ factors in community participation

		INDIVIDUAL FACTORS MOST IMPORTANT			
		A		B	
HIGH PRIORITY ON COMMUNITY		Drury & Leech (2009) Wallace (2011) Sampson & Morenoff (2006) Reisig (2007) Pattavina <i>et al.</i> (2006) Kane (2005)		McKernan & McWhirter (2009) Cunningham & Wagstaff (2006) Maskey <i>et al.</i> (2003)	LOW PRIORITY ON COMMUNITY
		C		D	
		Fraser (2011) Lim (2001) Hess & Orthmann (2012) Carr (2003)		McKernan & McWhirter (2009) Cunningham & Wagstaff (2006) Maskey <i>et al.</i> (2003) Jeglum-Bartusch (1998) Lamb (1990)	
		INDIVIDUAL FACTORS LESS IMPORTANT			

As highlighted in Figure 10.1, cell 'A' depicts participants in this study who indicate that their participation in community policing was underpinned by a combination of individual and community factors. One hundred and eight participants were in this category – 58 PCPVs (29 per cent) and 50 PCSOs (25 per cent). This position finds support in the research of Drury and Leech (2009), Wallace (2011), Sampson and Morenoff (2006), Reisig (2007), Pattavina *et al.* (2006) and Kane (2005). Cell 'B' depicts the bulk of British PCSOs who report low attachment to community concerns and whose reasons for engaging with community policing are motivated by individual factors. In this high individuality / low community cell, there are 86 PCSOs (43 per cent) and 8 PCPVs (4 per cent). This position finds resonance in the research of McKernan and McWhirter (2009), Cunningham and Wagstaff (2006), and Maskey *et al.* (2003). Cell 'C' represents the majority of South Korean PCPVs whose voluntary participation in community policing is motivated neither by pay nor the prospect of articulating into full time policing, but by an attachment to the community and concern for community crime prevention. In the high community / low individuality cell, there are 105 PCPVs (52.5 per cent) and 26 PCSOs (13 per cent). This position is articulated by Fraser (2011), Lim (2001), Hess and Orthmann (2012), and Carr (2003). Finally, cell 'D' represents the responses of individuals who reported that their decisions to engage in community policing was motivated neither by community nor by individual concerns. In total there are 67 respondents in the low community / low individuality cell – 29 PCPVs (14.5 per cent), and 38 PCSOs (19 per cent). This position is reflected in the explanations provided by McKernan and McWhirter (2009), Cunningham and Wagstaff (2006), Maskey *et al.* (2003), Jeglum-Bartusch (1998) and Lab (1990).

Secondary findings

The study outlined three secondary findings in relation to community safety. First, “night” was a variable that significantly increased perceived fear in both nations. These findings support the work of Meier and Miethe (1993, p. 459) who found that night time activities increase the risk of being a victim of crime more than day-time activities. It can be argued that ‘night’ is a variable that generates an emotional response to perceived threat or victimisation, although this was not a motivator for engaging in community policing.

Second, the study showed that there was a ‘reassurance gap’ in relation to issues of disorder, between crime figures and public confidence in the police in the United Kingdom. British respondents felt that crime in their community had increased in the previous two years, although serious crime had not increased. According to Lewis and Maxfield (1980, p. 181) disorder issues have a greater impact on an individual’s perception than do formal crime figures because residents witness and experience disorder problems (e.g., anti-social behaviour) in their communities more often than they experience serious crimes.

Third, the belief that local crime prevention is effective was not a significant motivator for participation in community policing activities amongst UK-based individuals. The findings of the present study showed that 87.5 per cent of British respondents thought the ‘local crime prevention schemes’ were highly effective. However, this theme was not a motivator for participation in community policing in the UK. That is, there was no correlation between

perceptions of effectiveness and participation in the UK. Conversely, the findings from the South Korean sample supported Chinman and Wandersman's (1999, p. 47) findings that individuals become involved in community crime prevention activities when they know these programmes will be effective.

Contributions of the study to the field of community safety

This is the only study to compare citizen co-production in community policing in South Korea and the United Kingdom. Although some studies have assessed citizen participation in crime prevention, there is currently no comparative research on the factors influencing participation in Eastern and Western countries. This study is the also first of its kind to be carried out in South Korea and, as such, might provide researchers and practitioners such as police and public authorities concerned with local community safety and crime, with some evidence relevant to citizen participation in crime prevention activities.

This study differs from previous studies in that it assessed factors motivating participation in community policing activities. Previous evaluation methods in the United Kingdom focused primarily on quasi-experience methods (Cooper *et al.*, 2006; Johnston, 2006, 2007; Sweeney, 2006), which had pre-test and post-test with or without experimental treatment. Additionally, the applicability of community policing theory, crime prevention theory and citizen participation theory, particularly with regard to police crime prevention activities in South Korea, had not yet been examined. It was therefore necessary to study whether cultural (e.g. individualism and collectivism), political (e.g. paid job and un-paid job) and historical (e.g. colonial experiences) constructions with regard to

substantially different choices of both countries' citizens in relation to participation factors were applicable to the South Korean setting. The study demonstrates that place is a significant factor that needs to be accounted for in research relating to citizen involvement in crime prevention and partnerships between police and citizens for community safety. Certainly the study highlights important factors regarding citizen participation in community policing (PCPVs and PCSOs) and may prove useful for recruiting community volunteers and retaining them.

Limitations of the study

Although this study is the first of its kind, it has several limitations. Firstly, the researcher was unable to use the Special Police Constable's data of the British police families (as noted in chapter 4). This imposed limitations on the study, even though the PCSOs and PCPVs survey did produce useful and valuable data for this research.

The major reason for the sample size was limited time and shortage of funds. Had time and resources been less of a problem the PCSOs and PCPVs survey could have been larger than it was. As it was, the sample size from each complex was two hundred. In effect, despite the discrepant sizes of the complexes, which ranged 24,000 PCSOs and 10,600 PCPVs in 2012, the chosen sample size for each complex was the same. Therefore, the sample size for each complex was not proportionate to the size of the complex. This might have influenced the research findings of this study.

The way forward

The comparative study of community policing in the United Kingdom and South Korea highlights the relevance of the cultural, political, historical contexts of both countries in relation to citizen co-production of community policing. South Korean recruits tend to be influenced by factors like attachment to community, crime problems in the community, and participation in local crime prevention schemes. Conversely, the British recruits are affected by both confidence in the police, and personal benefits such as the promise of a future job and financial benefits. As Crawford (1998) points out, it is open to question how the nature of these effects can be appropriately measured and quantified. We can measure an experience, a benefit, a crime problem, and participation among the seven key themes, because one can check objective data and information (e.g. the number of victims, salaries, and crime figures). However, how to analyse the subjective variables, such as a heightened sense of crime, confidence, and attachment, is more problematic.

Nevertheless, this study has tried to address these critical issues. Variable measures were taken into account in this study in a less complex and coherent way by linking factors such as rapid organisational and environmental change in both South Korean and the British communities to the issue of social dis-organisation. The study also considers socio-economic factors, and the significant role of residents in community safety, fear reduction and the problem of crime.

The comparative study suggests a number of recommendations for the South Korean community policing programme. The study draws attention to other community crime prevention schemes, such as Neighbourhood Warden Schemes, PCSO Schemes, and SPC Schemes in the United Kingdom, as citizen co-production of community policing activities used to tackle crime and disorder in 'hard-to-reach' areas for the local police. The schemes give the South Korean government and police much to consider. In the very least, it draws attention to the partnership approach to reducing fear and community crime and reiterates that community safety cannot be effectively tackled solely by the police or any other agency. Instead, a problem-solving approach based on shared effort, information, techniques, resources and expertise among key agencies is required. The police could provide residents, private security and local authority with hot-spot data of community through reliable crime analyses and crime prevention tips while local authorities could contribute some financial support to the local community. At the same time, individuals might be able to raise funds and participate in police crime prevention activities for the safety and security of their own areas.

South Korea has used a range of voluntary community safety partnerships (Police Crime Prevention Volunteers Scheme, and Citizen Police Academy), however these are often patchy, ad-hoc, lack a systematic approach and fail to be proactive, because the nation has no partnership legislation. It is hoped that British partnership legislation may provide fresh productive ideas regarding local crime and disorder issues.

In conclusion, the present study sought to better understand why South Korean PCPVs and British PCSOs chose to participate in community policing. In the process of researching this question the study has highlighted two quite different models of community policing; a South Korean programme underpinned by concerns for community, and a British programme that attracts participants for whom community policing is like a transit lounge en route to formal policing. While the study provides us with some useful insights into why individuals from the respective cohorts choose to engage in community policing, it also raises important questions as to which model is a more effective crime prevention strategy for the community. It would be desirable to undertake a follow-up comparative study focused on understanding the relative merits of community-focused models as opposed to individual-focused programmes of community policing.

Appendices: South Korean PCPVs Questionnaire Survey (Appendix 1)

날 짜: 조사지구대:

안녕하십니까?

힘든 여건 속에서도 지역사회의 범죄예방을 위해 열심히 노력하고 계신 응답자님께 우선 깊은 존경의 마음을 표합니다.

저는 영국 헐(Hull) 대학교에서 형사사법학 박사과정 (PhD Criminal Justice Programme)에 수학 중인 최관입니다. 본 연구는 호주 연방정부와 국립모나쉬대학교의 후원으로 수행하고 있는 “영국과 한국의 경찰범죄예방활동에 대한 주민참여 비교” 라는 연구를 위한 조사입니다.

본 연구의 목적은 경찰범죄예방활동에 참여하는 주민들에 대한 범죄 두려움과 피해경험, 지역사회에 대한 애지심과 지역주민간의 관계, 경찰에 대한 경험, 자율방범활동을 통한 자기만족 등을 조사함으로써 경찰범죄예방활동에 자발적 참여의 제도화 방안을 모색하는데 있습니다.

대부분의 정보는 설문을 통해 얻어질 것이며, 모든 대답에 관한 사항은 철저히 비밀이 보장될 것입니다. 응답내용은 통계적으로만 처리되므로 개인 신상에 대해서는 비밀이 보장됩니다. 또한 영국에서도 같은 내용으로 조사가 진행되며 향후 한국과 영국의 조사내용을 비교분석하므로 응답자님의 진솔한 답변을 부탁드립니다. 한 문항도 빠짐없이 응답해 주시기 바랍니다.

설문이 다소 긴 점 송구스럽게 여기며, 응답자의 적극적 참여에 대해 깊은 감사를 드립니다.

2008 년 9 월

영국 헐(Hull) 대학교 형사사법학과

Section One: 범죄두려움 및 피해경험과 관련된 질문들입니다.

※ 귀하께서는 거주하는 지역의 자율방범대 일원으로써 범죄예방활동에 참여하고 있습니까?

- 1) 예 ()
2) 아니오 ()

1. 귀하께서는 지역에 거주하면서 아래와 같은 질문상황에 놓였을 때 얼마나 위협하게 느끼십니까?

구 분	매우 안전	상당히 안전	보통	위험하다	매우 위험
야간에 혼자 거리를 걸을 때					
낮에 혼자 거리를 걸을 때					
야간에 집에 혼자 있을 때					

2. 귀하께서는 지역에 거주하면서 아래와 같은 생각을 할 때 얼마나 걱정하십니까?

구 분	매우걱정	상당히걱정	보통	걱정않는다	전혀걱정않음
내 집이 절도나 강도범죄의 대상이 되지 않을까?					
거리에서 피한에게 강도를 당하거나 공격의 대상이 되지 않을까?					
자동차가 주차되어 있는 동안 누군가 내차 혹은 내차속의 물건들을 훔쳐가지 않을까?					
낯선 사람으로부터 폭행이나 폭력을 당하지 않을까?					
공공장소나 거리에서 누군가 나를 괴롭히거나 무례한 짓을 하지 않을까?					

3. 귀하께서 느끼시는 범죄두려움의 정도는 어떠합니까?

- 1) 매우 느낀다 () 2) 상당히 느낀다 ()
- 3) 느끼지 않는 편 () 4) 전혀 느끼지 않는다 ()
- 5) 잘 모르겠다 ()

4. 귀하께서는 범죄피해의 경험이 있습니까?

- 3) 예 () 2) 아니오 ()

5. 대부분의 사람들이 범죄피해를 받은 후 여러 가지 반응을 보입니다. 개인적으로 귀하께서 범죄피해를 받은 후 어떠한 반응을 느끼셨습니까? 5 = 매우 그랬다, 1 = 전혀 그렇지 않았다.

구 분	5	4	3	2	1
범죄피해를 받은 것에 대해 격노와 피로움을 느꼈다					
내가 범죄피해를 받은 것에 대해 충격을 받았다					
범죄피해를 받은 것에 대 두려움을 느꼈다					
범죄피해를 받은 것에 대해 망연자실했다					
범죄피해를 받은 것에 대해 타인으로부터의 비난을 걱정했다					
경찰을 비롯한 형사사법기관들을 원망했다					
내 자신을 비난했다					
전혀 걱정하지 않았고 신경 쓰지 않았다					
기타 (※)					

※ 기타는 상기의 내용 외로 응답자께서 알고 계시는 반응을 기록하신후 그에 대해서 1-5 로 평가하는 것입니다.

6. 일반적으로 모든 범죄유형을 고려하였을 때, 귀하께서 미래에 범죄대상이 될 수도 있다는 생각에 대해 얼마나 걱정하십니까?

- 1) 매우 걱정한다 () 2) 상당히 걱정한다 ()
- 3) 별로 걱정하지 않음 () 4) 전혀 걱정하지 않음 ()
- 5) 잘 모르겠다 ()

Section Two: 귀하의 지역에 대한 질문들입니다.

7. 귀하께서 거주하시는 지역에 아래와 같은 문제점들이 얼마나 심각하다고 느끼십니까?

구 분	매우 큰문제	상당히 큰문제	보통이다	심각한 문제	전혀 아니다
이웃의 고성방가 및 주변의 시끄러운 소음					
거리의 비행청소년 문제					
자동차 혹은 사적재산에 대한 고의적 훼손, 그라피티					
공공장소에서 술 취한 사람에 의한 위협 및 괴롭힘					
술 취한 사람에 의한 고성방가 및 소동행위					
거리에서 사람을 위협하거나 괴롭히는 행위					
거리에서 모르는 사람에 의한 공격 및 위협행위					
거리에서 사람들의 구걸행위					
역이나 지하철에서의 무질서행위					

8. 7번 귀하께서 대답하신 문제들이 과거2년 전과 비교하여 개선되었습니까? 더 나빠졌습니까?

- 1) 매우 나빠졌다 () 2) 더 나빠졌다 ()
 3) 2년 전과 비교하여 그대로다 () 4) 어느 정도 개선 ()
 5) 매우 개선되었다 ()

9. 현재 귀하께서 거주하시는 지역의 범죄율에 대해서 어떻게 생각하십니까?

- 1) 고범죄율 지역 () 2) 중범죄율 지역 ()
 3) 낮은 범죄율 지역 () 4) 매우 낮은 범죄지역 ()
 5) 기타 _____()

10. 현재 귀하께서 거주하시는 지역의 범죄율이 과거 2년 전과 비교하여 어떻게 변했다고 생각하십니까?

- 1) 매우 높아졌다 () 2) 어느 정도 상승하였다 ()
 3) 2년전과 비교하여 같다 () 4) 어느 정도 감소하였다 ()
 5) 매우 낮아졌다 ()

11. 현재까지 귀하께서 거주하시는 지역에 얼마동안 거주하셨습니다가?

- 1) 12개월 미만 () 2) 12개월 이상 2년 미만 ()
- 3) 2년 이상 5년 미만 () 4) 5년 이상 10년 미만 ()
- 5) 10년 이상 ()

12. 귀하께서 생각하시기에 거주하시는 지역사회에 내가 얼마나 끈끈하게 소속되어 있다고 생각하십니까?

- 1) 매우 끈끈하게 소속 () 2) 상당히 끈끈하게 소속 ()
- 3) 끈끈하게 소속되어 있지 않음 () 4) 전혀 소속되어 있지 않음 ()
- 5) 기타 _____ ()

13. 아래의 지역사회에 대한 설명들에 대해서 귀하께서는 어떻게 느끼십니까?

구 분	매우 그럼	그런 편임	보통 이다	그렇지 않다	전혀 아님
내가 사는 지역사회는 굳게 단결된 지역사회이다					
지역사회주민들은 서로 도우려고 노력하며 함께 일하려함					
지역사회사람들은 지역사회일 보다 자신의 일에만 신경					
지역사회청소년들의 문제는 지역사회사람들이 지도를 하려힘					
우리지역사회는 다른 지역 출신들로 이루어져 있다					
나는 우리지역사회의 의사결정에 영향을 미칠 수 있다					
나는 우리지역사회에서의 삶을 즐긴다					

14. 귀하께서는 지역사회의 구성원들을 얼마나 알고 계십니까?

- 1) 많이 알고 있다 () 2) 어느정도 알고 있다 ()
- 3) 약간 알고 있다 () 4) 조금도 모른다 ()
- 5) 기타 _____ ()

15. 현재 귀하께서 영위하고 계시는 지역의 생활에 대해서 얼마나 만족하십니까?

- 1) 매우 만족한다 () 2) 상당히 만족한다 ()
- 3) 보통이다 () 4) 만족하지 못한다 ()
- 5) 매우 만족하지 못한다 ()

Section Three: 경찰에 대한 경험에 관한 질문들입니다

16. 귀하께서는 범죄사건이나 혹은 다른 사유 (경찰에 신고할 만한 사안) 들에 대한 경험이 있습니까?

예 () 16-1로 가십시오
아니오 () 17로 가십시오

16-1. 귀하께서는 범죄사건이나 혹은 다른 사유 (경찰에 신고할 만한 사안) 로 인하여 경찰에 신고해본 적이 있습니까?

예 ()
아니오 ()

16-2. 만약 16-1 에서 ‘예’ 에 체크하셨다면 귀하께서 신고하신 내용에 대한 경찰의 수사 및 대응상황에 대해서 얼마나 만족하십니까?

1) 매우 만족한다 () 2) 상당히 만족한다 ()
3) 보통이다 () 4) 만족하지 못한다 ()
5) 전혀 불만족 ()

16-3. 만약 16-1 에서 ‘아니오’ 에 체크하셨다면 “왜 신고를 하지 않았는지”에 대해서 작성해 주십시오.

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17. 귀하 혹은 귀하가 알고 있는 다른 사람들이 경찰관으로부터 경찰관의 신분을 이용하여 괴롭힘을 당하거나 그런 일을 조장한 괴롭힘을 당한 경험이 있습니까?

1) 있다 - 나에게 개인적으로 그랬다 ()
2) 있다 - 내가 알고 있는 다른 사람들에게 그랬다 ()
3) 있다 - 나뿐만 아니라 다른 사람들에게 까지 그랬다 ()
4) 전혀 그런 일 당한 적 없다 ()

18. 귀하께서는 지난 5년 동안 경찰의 업무수행에 대해서 공식적 민원을 제기하려고 노력한 적이 있습니까?

- 1) 있다 - 공식적인 민원을 제기했다 ()
- 2) 공식적인 민원을 제기하려고 시도를 했지만 실패했다 ()
- 3) 그런 적 없다 ()

19. 만약 18번에서 1) 을 택했다면 귀하께서는 제기했던 민원에 대한 경찰의 민원처리가 만족스러웠습니까?

- 1) 매우 만족한다 ()
- 2) 만족한다 ()
- 3) 보통이다 ()
- 4) 만족하지 못한다 ()
- 5) 전혀 아니다 ()

20. 일반적으로, 귀하께서 느끼기에 한국에서 경찰이라는 직업에 대해 어떻게 느끼십니까?

- 1) 매우 좋은 직업이다 ()
- 2) 좋은 직업입니다 ()
- 3) 보통의 직업이다 ()
- 4) 좋지 않은 직업이다 ()
- 5) 매우 좋지 않은 직업이다 ()

21. 일반적으로, 귀하께서 거주하는 지역사회에서 경찰직업에 대해 어떻게 느끼십니까?

- 1) 매우 좋은 직업이다 ()
- 2) 좋은 직업입니다 ()
- 3) 보통의 직업이다 ()
- 4) 좋지 않은 직업 ()
- 5) 매우 좋지 않은 직업이다 ()

22. 아래는 귀하의 지역사회에서 근무하는 경찰에 대한 내용입니다. 아래의 설명들에 대해서 귀하는 어떻게 느끼십니까?

구분	매우 그렇다	상당히 그렇다	보통이다	그렇지 않다	전혀 아님
경찰도움이 필요한 어떤경우에도 경찰을 신뢰함					
경찰관들은 귀하께서 어떤 이유로든 간에 경찰과 만났을 때 친절하게 서비스제공자로서 역할을 한다					
경찰관들은 아는 사람 혹은 모르는 사람의 일이든 공정하게 법에 의해서 대응한다					
경찰이 지역범죄문제를 다루는 것에 대해 신뢰					
경찰은 지역사회의 현안과 문제점에 대해 이해					
경찰들은 지역주민의 문제점에 대해서 알고 있다					
경찰이 무한한 신뢰를 가지고 있어 지역주민들이 모든 지역의 사안들에 대해서 경찰에게 이야기한다					

23. 귀하께서 경찰이 주민에게 친절하고 비권위적으로 대화하는 것을 본적이 있습니까?

- 1) 예 () 24 로 가십시오
- 2) 아니오 () 25 로 가십시오

24. 만약 23번에서 ‘예’ 를 선택하셨다면, 그 경찰관과 이야기 한 사람은 어떤 사람입니까?

- 1) 경찰에서 근무하는 동료경찰관의 남편 혹은 부인 ()
- 2) 경찰업무와 관련이 있는 사람 ()
- 3) 경찰관의 친구 ()
- 4) 담당경찰관이 이웃주민이거나 아는 사람 ()
- 5) 단지 경찰관의 의무로서 그랬을 뿐이다 ()
- 6) 기타 _____ ()

25. 귀하께서는 자율방범활동 말고 다른 지역사회범죄예방활동에도 참여하십니까?
(e.g. 치안행정협의회 / 범죄예방협의회 / 시민경찰학교 기타 등등)

- 1) 예 ()
- 2) 아니오 ()

26. 귀하께서 일반적으로 생각하시기에 귀하께서 참여하시는 자율방범대활동이 범죄를 줄이는데 효과가 있다고 생각하십니까?

- 1) 매우 효과적이다 () 2) 효과적이다 ()
 3) 보통이다 () 4) 효과적이지 않다 ()
 5) 전혀 아니다 ()

27. 아래의 설면들에 대해서 귀하께서 생각하기에 지역사회의 주민들이 어떠한 반응에 안전감을 더욱더 느낀다고 생각하십니까?

구 분	5	4	3	2	1
기존보다 더 많은, 더 자주 경찰들의 도보순찰					
기존보다 더 많은, 더 자주 경찰들의 차량순찰					
지역사회에 정규경찰관의 영구적인 상주					
기존보다 더 많은 CCTV 카메라					
적극적인 주민들의 범죄예방활동					
범죄예방 및 경찰활동에 대한 기존보다 더욱 많은 정보를 접할 때					
기타 _____					

Section Four: 자율방범활동에 대한 일반적 질문들입니다.

28. 아래와 같이 시민들이 자율방범활동에 참여하는 이유는 다양합니다. 아래의 설명들에 대해서 귀하는 어떻게 느끼십니까? 5 = 매우 그랬다, 1 = 전혀 그렇지 않았다.

구분	5	4	3	2	1
내가 사는 지역에 범죄율이 심각하기 때문에 자율방범활동에 참여					
개인적으로 범죄두려움 때문에 자율방범활동에 참여					
개인적인 범죄피해경험 때문에 자율방범활동에 참여					
경찰과 경찰활동에 대한 신뢰 때문에 자율방범활동에 참여					
형사사법기관에 대한 신뢰 때문에 자율방범활동에 참여					
내가 사는 지역사회를 사랑하기 때문에 자율방범활동에 참여					
다른 범죄예방활동의 참여로 인한 자율방범활동에 참여					
미래의 직업 (경찰관이 되기 위해서) 자율방범활동에 참여					
권력과 권위 때문에 자율방범활동에 참여					
재정적인 지원 때문에 자율방범활동에 참여					
여전히 자율방범활동에 참여하기를 원하십니까?					
기타 _____					

29. 귀하께서 지역의 자율방범활동에 참여함으로써 지역을 위해 특별히 기여하는 점이 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

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30. 귀하께서 자율방범대활동을 통해 얻는 것은 무엇입니까?

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Section Five: 인구사회학적 특성에 대한 질문들입니다.

31. 귀하의 연령은 어떻게 되십니까?

32. 귀하의 성별은 어떻게 되십니까?

- | | |
|------------|-----|
| 1) 남성 | () |
| 2) 여성 | () |
| 3) 기타_____ | () |

33. 귀하의 고용상태는 어떻하십니까?

- | | |
|--------------|-----|
| 1) 일반회사의 근무자 | () |
| 2) 자영업 | () |
| 3) 실직상태 | () |
| 4) 퇴직상태 | () |
| 5) 기타_____ | () |

34. 귀하의 교육수준은 어떻게 되십니까?

- | | |
|--------------|-----|
| 1) 대학원 박사 졸업 | () |
| 2) 대학원 석사 졸업 | () |
| 3) 대학교 졸업 | () |
| 4) 전문대학 졸업 | () |
| 5) 고등학교 졸업 | () |
| 6) 기타_____ | () |

35. 아래의 질문에 대해서 답변 해주십시오.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| 1) 현재 거주하는 집이 내 소유다 | () |
| 2) 현재 거주하는 집이 전세 및 월세이다 | () |
| 3) 기타_____ | () |

36. 귀하의 소득수준은 어떻게 되십니까? (세전 월 소득)

- 1) 40만원 미만 ()
- 2) 40만원 이상 - 80만원 미만 ()
- 3) 80만원 이상 - 166만원 미만 ()
- 4) 166만원 이상 - 250만원 미만 ()
- 5) 250만원 이상 - 330만원 미만 ()
- 6) 330만원 이상 - 420만원 미만 ()
- 7) 420만원 이상 - 500만원 미만 ()
- 8) 500만원 이상 - 580만원 미만 ()
- 9) 580만원 이상 - 670만원 미만 ()
- 10) 670만원 이상 - 750만원 미만 ()

37. 상기의 질문들과는 별도로 귀하께서 생각하시기에 지역주민 (귀하를 포함한 자율방범대원들 모두) 들이 무보수의 경찰범죄예방활동에 참여하는 이유가 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

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38. 귀하께서는 본 설문주제와 대해서 연구자(최관)와 추가적인 인터뷰를 원하십니까? 만약 추가적인 인터뷰를 원하신다면 귀하의 연락처(전화번호 등) 를 기입해 주십시오.

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※ 끝까지 설문에 응해 주신 점 진심으로 감사드립니다 ※

Appendices: British PCSOs Questionnaire Survey (Appendix 2)

Date

Dear Madam/Sir,

Research on voluntary citizen participation in police crime prevention: A comparative study in the United Kingdom and South Korea

I am a serving South Korean researcher undertaking a PhD Degree in Criminal Justice at the Hull University at United Kingdom. As a requirement of my research programme, I need to carry out a survey of volunteers involved in police crime prevention activities in the capital cities of Seoul (South Korea) and London (United Kingdom). The key aim of my study is to investigate the personal, community and other factors that explain why people would voluntarily participate in police crime prevention work (e.g. as a PCSO, Community Warden etc). Your contribution to this research would be highly appreciated.

Please complete the attached questionnaire as truthfully as you can. Your responses will be treated as confidential and no names will be mentioned in the thesis, unless you wish me to do so. If you wish to help further by participating in a follow-up in-depth interview, please indicate by inserting your details as requested in the last question of the questionnaire. Your participation in this regard will also be greatly appreciated.

Should you have any queries, please feel free to contact me directly on <*phone number protected*>. As my study period is limited, I would be very grateful if you could complete and send your questionnaire back to me in the self-addressed envelope attached by 1 September 2008.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you again for helping me with this research.

Yours sincerely

Choi, Kwan (PhD Student in Criminal Justice)

Instruction:

Studies have shown that people volunteer for police crime prevention duties for various reasons. Please answer the following questions as truthfully as you possibly can. Read each question carefully. Where indicated, please tick only one answer that best explains your feelings or situation. I would appreciate it if you could use a ballpoint pen in completing the questionnaire. Where there are open-ended questionnaire, your honest opinion will be appreciated. The questionnaire should not take more than 20 minutes to complete.

Thank you so much for your cooperation.

NAME OF POLICE STATION

(This is required for statistical purpose only)

Section One:

※ Do you live in the area where you work as a PCSO?

- 1) Yes ()
2) No ()

Section One: Crime and Victimization

1. In the area where you LIVE, how safe do you feel

Section	Very safe	Fairly safe	Safe	A bit unsafe	Very unsafe
Walking alone after dark?					
Walking alone during the day?					
When you are alone in your own home at night?					

2. In the area where you live, how worried are you about

Section	Very worried	Quite worried	Worried	Not very worried	Not worried at all
Having your home broken into and something stolen?					
Being attacked or robbed in the street?					
Having your car stolen or having things stolen from your car?					
Being physically attacked or assaulted by strangers?					
Being insulted or pestered by anybody, while in the street or any public place?					

3. If possible, how would you rate your level of fear of crime?

- 1) Very afraid ()
- 2) Fairly afraid ()
- 3) Not very afraid ()
- 4) Not at all afraid ()
- 5) Don't know ()

4. Have you ever been a victim of ANY crime, however minor?

- 1) Yes ()
- 2) No ()

5. Many people have reactions after incidents in which they are victims of crime. Did you PERSONALLY have any of these reactions after any of the incidents that happened to you? Please rank in the order of importance. 5 = very important, 1 = least importance

Section	5	4	3	2	1
Anger or annoyance					
Shock					
Fear					
Upset and let down					
Worried & feeling vulnerable					
Felt that the criminal justice system could do better to protect victims of crime					
Blame yourself					
Not worried/did not mind/no feelings					
Other (Please specify and rank)					

6. Thinking about all types of crime in general, how worried are you about becoming a victim of crime?

- 1) Very worried ()
- 2) Fairly worried ()
- 3) Not very worried ()
- 4) Not at all worried ()
- 5) Don't know ()

Section Two: Your Local Area (Neighbourhood)

7. How much of a problem are the following in the area where you live (local area)?

Section	Very big problem	Fairly big problem	A problem	Not a very big problem	Not a problem at all
Noisy neighbours or loud parties					
Groups of gangs of youths hanging around on the streets.					
Vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property or vehicles					
People being intimidated, verbally abused, insulted or assaulted by drunken people in public places					
Noise or disturbance caused by people who are drunk or people who have been to pubs, bars or nightclubs					
People being insulted, pestered or intimidated in the street					
Aggressive or threatening behavior by people in the streets.					
People begging in the streets					
Disorderly behaviour on public transport					

8. Still thinking about the types of problems we have just discussed, would you say they have got worse, got better, or stayed the same in your local area over the past 2 years? Has it got a little or a lot worse/ better?

- 1) Got a lot worse () 2) Got a little worse ()
- 3) Stayed the same () 4) Got a little better ()
- 5) Got a lot better ()

9. In terms of crime levels, would you regard your area as a

- 1) High crime area? ()
- 2) Medium crime area? ()
- 3) Low crime area? ()
- 4) Very low crime area? ()
- 5) Other (please specify) ()

10. How much would you say the crime rate has changed in your area since two years ago?

Would you say there is more crime or less crime?

- 1) A lot more crime ()
- 2) A little more crime ()
- 3) About the same ()
- 4) A little less crime ()
- 5) A lot less crime ()

11. Roughly speaking how many years have you lived in your local area?

- 1) Less than 12 months ()
- 2) 12 months but less than 2 years ()
- 3) 2 years but less than 5 years ()
- 4) 5 years but less than 10 years ()
- 5) More than 10 years ()

12. How strongly do you feel you belong to your local areas?

- 1) Very strongly ()
- 2) Fairly strongly ()
- 3) Not very strongly ()
- 4) Not at all strongly ()
- 5) Other (please specify) ()

Section Three: Experience with the Police

16. Did you have experience of crime accidents?

Yes () go to 16-1

No () go to 17

If No, Why not?

16-1. (For those who have experienced crime), did you call the police on any of the occasions?

Yes ()

No ()

16-2. If Yes about 16-1, how satisfied or dissatisfied were you with police response and investigation of your case on that occasion?

1) Very satisfied ()

2) Fairly satisfied ()

3) Satisfied ()

4) A bit unsatisfied ()

5) Very unsatisfied ()

16-3. If no about 16-1, why not? Please answer the this question?

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17. Have you ever been really annoyed about the way a police officer behaved towards you or someone you know, OR about the way the police handled a matter in which you were involved?

- 1) Yes - towards me personally ()
- 2) Yes - towards someone else ()
- 3) Yes - towards both myself and someone else ()
- 4) No ()

18. Have you made, or tried to make, an official complaint against the police in the last five years?

- 1) Yes - made a complaint ()
- 2) Tried but failed to make a complaint ()
- 3) No ()

19. If 1 or 2 about 18, were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the police dealt with your complaint?

- 1) Very satisfied ()
- 2) Fairly satisfied ()
- 3) Satisfied ()
- 4) A bit unsatisfied ()
- 5) Very unsatisfied ()

20. Generally, how good a job do you think the police are doing in the country?

- 1) Excellent ()
- 2) Good ()
- 3) Fair ()
- 4) Poor ()
- 5) Very poor ()

21. How good a job do you think the police are doing in your local area?

- 1) Excellent ()
- 2) Good ()
- 3) Fair ()
- 4) Poor ()
- 5) Very poor ()

22. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the police in your area?

Section	Strongly agree	Tend to agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to disagree	Strongly disagree
They can be relied on to be there when you need them					
They would treat you with respect if you had contact with them for any reason					
They treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are					
They can be relied on to deal with crimes in the area					
They understand the issues that affect the area.					
They are dealing with the things that matter to people in the area					
Taking everything into account I have a lot of confidence in the police in my area					

23. Do you know any regular police officers well enough to talk to?

- 1) Yes () go to 24
- 2) No () go to 25

24. If YES about 23, is the person.,

- 1) A husband, wife or other household member in police? ()
- 2) Other relative in police? ()
- 3) A close friend in police? ()
- 4) Neighbour/acquaintance? ()
- 5) A local officers seen on duty? ()
- 6) Someone else (Please specify) ()

25. Do you participate in any other crime prevention activities in your area? (e.g. neighbourhood watch)

- 1) Yes () 2) No ()

26. How effective do you think local crime prevention schemes are generally in helping to reduce crime?

- 1) Very effective () 2) Fairly effective ()
 3) Effective () 4) Not very effective ()
 5) Not at all effective ()

27. What would make the people in your area feel safest? Please rank the following in the order that you think they are important. 5 = most important 1 = least important

Section	5	4	3	2	1
More police officers on patrol on foot					
More police officers on patrol in cars					
A community police officer permanently stationed in the area					
More CCTV cameras					
Active Neighbourhood Watch					
More information on police activity and crime prevention initiatives					
Other (please specify and rank)					

Section Four: General

28. Various reasons have been given for why people voluntarily work for the police. Please rank the following in the order that you think they explain YOUR reasons for being a PCSO. 5= most important 1 = least important

Section	5	4	3	2	1
Concern about crime and disorder in my area OR the area where I work as volunteer					
Personal fear of crime					
An effect from having been a victim of crime					
A strong faith in policing and the police					
Faith in the criminal justice system					
My attachment to my area					
Participate in other crime prevention schemes					
Future career – I hope to join the regular force in future and having served as a PCSO might help					
The power and authority that go with the duties of policing and crime prevention					
There are personal gains (ex. financial benefit)					
Do you still want to participate in the PCPVs?					
Other (Please specify and rank)					

29. What specific contribution do you think you make as a volunteer to policing in your area?

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30. What has the experience done for you?

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Section Five: Background Information

I would now like to ask you for a few further details about yourself. You do not have to answer any of these questions. However, I would be grateful if you did. You are reminded that all responses will be anonymous and confidential. The information is required for statistical purposes only.

31. How old are you?

32. Are you

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| 1) Male? | () |
| 2) Female? | () |
| 3) Other Please specify | () |

33. Are you

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) In paid employment? | () | 2) Self-employed? | () |
| 3) Unemployed? | () | 4) Retired | () |
| 5) Other (Please specify) | () | | |

34. Educational level?

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1) Higher degree/postgraduate qualifications | () |
| 2) First degree | () |
| 3) Diploma in Higher Education/other HE qualification | () |
| 4) FE College qualifications | () |
| 5) Secondary | () |
| 6) Other (Please specify) | () |

35. Are you a

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----|
| 1) A house owner | () |
| 2) A tenant? | () |
| 3) Other (Please specify) | () |

36. Looking at the figures below, could you tick the ONE that is nearest to your overall MONTHLY household income (including tax) during the last 12 months? This should include income from all sources in the last year

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Under £200 () | 2) £200 - £399 () |
| 3) £400 - £829 () | 4) £830 - £1249 () |
| 5) £1,250 - £1,649 () | 6) £1,650 - £2,099 () |
| 7) £2,100 - £2,499 () | 8) £2,500 - £2,899 () |
| 9) £2,900 - £3,349 () | 10) £3,350 - £3,749 () |

37. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about why you volunteered for police crime prevention work?

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38. Would you like me to contact you for further interview? If so, please give me some details (address or phone number) that I could use to contact you.

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Thank you for your kindness

Kwan Choi

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