

‘This new venture in police-community
relations’: a cultural history of liaison between
the New South Wales Police and the gay
community in Sydney between 1984 and 1990.

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CONTENTS PAGE

CONTENTS PAGE	2
ABSTRACT	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	4
LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	6
INTRODUCTION.....	7
HISTORIOGRAPHY	9
<i>Histories of homosexuality and policing in Australia</i>	9
<i>Liaison and its history</i>	12
<i>Criminologists on liaison in Australia</i>	13
METHODOLOGY.....	15
<i>Cultural history and governmentality</i>	15
THESIS OUTLINE	17
CHAPTER 1: GOVERNING THROUGH COMMUNITY	19
THE PGLG	19
CHANGING LAWS AND CHANGING POSSIBILITIES.....	20
COMMUNITY POLICING AND GOVERNMENT	25
THE PGLG AND CO-OPERATION THROUGH COMMUNITY	32
MARDI GRAS AND GOVERNING THROUGH COMMUNITY	34
CHAPTER 2: GOVERNING VIOLENCE THROUGH CITIZENS	44
VIOLENCE AND THE GAY COMMUNITY	44
RESPONSIBLE COMMUNITY AND CITIZENS	45
PGLG AND RESPONSIBILIZATION	48
AVP, STREETWATCH AND PGLG DECLINE	58
STREETWATCH	65
VIOLENCE AND THE INTRODUCTION OF POLICE GAY CLIENT GROUP CONSULTANTS AND GLLOs	69
CONCLUSION	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79
PRIMARY SOURCES	79
SECONDARY SOURCES	86
APPENDIX 1	91

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the complex and under-researched relationship between the New South Wales Police Force and gay community in Sydney between 1984 and 1990. It traces the police's shift to community policing as it coincided with what sociologist Nikolas Rose terms 'advanced liberalism' in the late 20th century. By combining Rose's analytics of government with the emphases of cultural history, this thesis focuses on the way the turn to liaison shifted meanings and relations between the police and gay community. It shows that liaison, a concept epitomized by the Police Gay Liaison Group (1984) and Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers (1990), involved an expansive set of relations outside of conceptions of the police as oppressors and gay and lesbian people as victims. It argues that this relationship of liaison was dynamic and contested and involved both state and non-state actors in the government of gay and lesbian citizens. Liaison regarding Mardi Gras demonstrated that the police and gay community were reimagined and repositioned by neoliberal mechanisms for performance review. The government of violence during this period highlighted how liaison and anti-violence campaigns attempted to responsibilize citizens, while community organisations made demands of the police for more services and support.

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The archive for this thesis was drawn together from the generosity of individuals who passed on documents that they had kept since the 80s and 90s. I am grateful to Nick Henderson at the Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives who ensured that I was put in contact with the perfect people. These people were Murray McLachlan, Robert French and Sue Thompson. Thank you all for speaking with me, sharing your perspectives and passing on the documents which form the focus of this thesis.

Thanks to the New South Wales Police Force Research Unit and Jackie Braw for endorsing my project and sharing some documents from the institution's past.

This thesis is all my own work and has not previously been submitted for a degree at any university.

ANNALISE HUMPHRIS

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself. Ethics approval for this project was #5201800361.

(Signed)_____

Date: __25/10/18_____
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Full name
ADB	Anti-Discrimination Bard
AVP	Anti-Violence Project
GLLO	Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officer
GLRL	Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby
GRL	Gay Rights Lobby
GSG	Gay Solidarity Group
MCC	Metropolitan Community Church
MGA	Mardi Gras Association
MGC	Mardi Gras Committee
NSW	New South Wales
NSWPF	New South Wales Police Force
NSWPS	New South Wales Police Service
PCRB	Police Community Relations Bureau
PGCGC	Police Gay Client Group Consultant
PGLG	Police Gay Liaison Group
PGLLG	Police Gay Lesbian Liaison Group
PGLU	Police Gay Liaison Unit

INTRODUCTION

In January 1984, representatives from a 'wide range of groups and interests amongst lesbians and gay men' met with the Anti-Discrimination Board at the first 'Gay Consultation' meeting in Sydney.¹ The meeting was convened 'to advise the Board on issues of concern to the gay community,' of which 'the poor relationship between the police and the gay community' was one such issue raised.² The Consultation believed that 'a traditional suspicion and hostility' between the police and the gay community had resulted in four problems: 'discrimination by police against gay people, police services inadequate to the gay community, unwillingness of gay people to use police services' and 'mutual intolerance and distrust.'³

Throughout 1983, beyond the walls of meetings and consultations, the gay community had protested and rallied against discriminatory policing.⁴ They denounced discriminatory laws that were far from 'a dead letter' to the police who enforced them.⁵ 1983 had been a turbulent year where three raids on the sex-on-premises venue Club 80 'graphically illustrated' the need for legal reform to the *Crimes Act*, as well as the 'anger' and 'frustration' within the gay community caused by 'constant police harassment.'⁶ While people in the gay community were implored 'to show you care' through rallies and protests, activists demanded four actions from politicians and the police: 'drop the charges, no more raids, destroy all records' and 'repeal Sections 79-81B of the Crimes Act.'⁷ Under questioning in Parliament, Police Minister Peter Anderson announced the Police Department's decision to include the gay community in the scope of the

¹ Gay Consultation, "Proposal for a Police-Gay Liaison Group," March 9, 1984, Robert B French archival collection; "ADB Consults with Gays," *The Star*, January 27, 1984.

² Gay Consultation, "Meeting of a Working Group to Discuss Proposals for a Police-Gay Liaison Unit," March 9, 1984, Robert B French archival collection.

³ Gay Consultation.

⁴ "Rally Draws Crowd," *The Star*, September 23, 1983; "Police Harassment of Minorities," *The Star*, September 23, 1983.

⁵ Gay Rights Lobby, "Club 80 Protest Rally," 1983, 80, Gay Rights Lobby records 1981-1988.

⁶ Robert French, "Law Reform Letter to Members," April 20, 1983, Gay Rights Lobby records 1981-1988; "An Appeal to Gay People from the Gay Rights Lobby," *The Star*, September 19, 1983; "Third Police Raid on Club 80," *The Star*, September 19, 1983.

⁷ Gay Rights Lobby, "Club 80 Raided Again," 1983, Gay Rights Lobby records 1981-1988; Gay Rights Lobby, "Club 80 Protest Rally."

‘Community Relations Bureau.’ Anderson believed that this liaison portfolio would be ‘welcomed by both the police and the homosexual community.’⁸ The events hereafter are the primary focus of this thesis. By suggesting that liaison through the Community Relations Bureau was ‘welcomed’, Anderson glossed over the historical tensions and antagonisms between the police and gay community; tensions which would continue into the future as well. Between 1984 and 1990, liaison through the Police Gay Liaison Group (PGLG) and Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers (GLLOs) did demonstrate, however, a marked rupture in the type of relations possible between the police and Sydney’s gay community, as co-operation and partnership were sought out against a history of discrimination and loathing.

Indeed, in recent times, ‘liaison’ between the police and the gay community has been celebrated and promoted annually through GLLOs at the Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras. In 2015, the NSWPF celebrated the 25th year of this relationship, through their ‘25 years GLLO-ing’ (pronounced ‘glowing’) installation at Surry Hills Police Station.⁹ The NSWPF portrayed GLLOs as a landmark development in the relationship between the police and the gay community. The advent of GLLOs in 1990, however, was preceded by many years of activism, liaison and attempts to improve the relations between the two groups.

This thesis consequently places ‘liaison’—the approach to co-operation between police and the gay community, whereby members of the gay community in Sydney advised, consulted and met with the police—at its centre. It analyses the emergence of liaison, its development and effects between 1984 and 1990, showing that the tense relationship of the past was not placated by liaison, as one may assume from the way it is celebrated nowadays. By adopting a cultural history approach to this period, this thesis examines the relations and identities that were reimagined through the liaising relationship.

Throughout the thesis I argue that relations between the state and citizens were contested and reformulated in and after the turn to liaison in 1984, in a manner that belies a straightforward classification. It also argues that within these complex and

⁸ NSW, “Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly,” September 29, 1983, 1458
<https://api.parliament.nsw.gov.au/api/hansard/search/daily/searchablepdf/HANSARD-290296563-1050>.

⁹ NSW Police Force, *25 Years and GLLO-ing: Since 1990* (Sydney NSW Police Force, 2015).

reformulating relations, state and non-state actors governed gay and lesbian people in ways that invested new meanings into the state and gay and lesbian people as citizens.

Historiography

Histories of homosexuality and policing in Australia

The Gay Consultation cited a 'traditional suspicion and hostility' between the police and the gay community. Legal, social and cultural historians have recorded histories from colonisation onwards that place gay and lesbian people's lives front and centre. In doing so, histories of homosexuality, at times inadvertently, also placed significance on the police and their interactions and attitudes towards gay and lesbian people. Through these histories, we see how the 'tradition' of 'suspicion and hostility' developed and entrenched itself as the status quo relationship. It is often this very history of suspicion that the Police and the gay community sought to move on from through the shift to liaison. Early works by social historians Robert French and Garry Wotherspoon in *Camping by a Billabong* and *Being Different* respectively, brought visibility to gay and lesbian peoples' lives to address what was 'previously ignored.'¹⁰ They recounted how police lurked at beats and made scandalous and publicized arrests of well-known individuals.¹¹ Indeed, French found the police to be a 'common thread' through his book, especially in histories of gay men.¹²

In 1991, the beginning of *Gay Perspectives*, now *Gay and Lesbian Perspectives*, signaled the growth of academic focus on the visibility of homosexual experience, theory and history. In 2014, Graham Willett and Yorick Smaal edited *Gay and Lesbian Perspectives'* seventh edition titled *Intimacy, Violence and Activism*, within which the relationship with police and policing featured.¹³ Smaal, for example, argued that both male citizens and

¹⁰ Garry Wotherspoon, ed., *Being Different* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1986), 8; Robert French, *Camping by a Billabong: Gay and Lesbian Stories from Australian History* (Sydney: Blackwattle Press, 1993).

¹¹ Robert French, *Camping by a Billabong*, 47, 67-69, 95.

¹² Robert French, 2.

¹³ Graham Willett and Yorick Smaal, *Intimacy, Violence and Activism : Gay and Lesbian Perspectives on Australasian History and Society*, *Gay and Lesbian Perspectives: V.7* (Clayton : Monash University Publishing, 2013).

police officers regulated and policed male homosexuals in turn-of-the-century Queensland, leading to an element of 'plasticity' in their policing as evidenced by the case files of 116 charges against men between 1890 and 1914.¹⁴ Combined with the policing of parties, bars, beats and protests, the figure of an oppressive police force and oppressed subculture of gay and lesbian people dominates histories of sexuality.¹⁵ While these histories create a clear picture of the policing of homosexuality, and how homosexuals have been victimized by the police, they rarely portray police outside of an oppressive force, and homosexual people as victims. This focus is largely shaped by the period they write about. I make this relationship the focal point of my thesis, studying between 1984 and 1990 and researching other possible relations. Therefore, the first contribution of this thesis is to take the relation between police and gay and lesbian people to consider how these actors figured outside conceptions of oppressor and oppressed.

Historians have paid considerable attention to mid-twentieth century Australia to consider how periods of social disruption and social reconstruction effected gay and lesbian people; histories which reinforce the 'common thread' of police and contribute to highlighting the intertwined relationship between police, ideas about homosexuality and the lives of gay and lesbian people.¹⁶ In addition to the narrowed focus of *Intimacy, Violence and Activism*, historian Shirleene Robinson's edited collection *Homophobia: an Australian History* focused on homophobia in order to gain a deeper understanding of sexual oppression in Australia.¹⁷ These histories revealed a multitude of ways lesbians and gay men interacted with police and policing. Ruth Ford contributed to this task, arguing that 'exclusion and discrimination' of lesbians varied according to things like

¹⁴ Yorick Smaal, "'Indecent and Indecorous' Behaviour," in *Intimacy, Violence and Activism : Gay and Lesbian Perspectives on Australasian History and Society*, vol. 7 (Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2013), 56–73, 60–72.

¹⁵ Rebecca Jennings, *Unnamed Desires: A Sydney Lesbian History*, Monash Studies in Australian Society (Clayton, Victoria Monash University Publishing, 2015); Clive Moore, *Sunshine and Rainbows: The Development of Gay and Lesbian Culture in Queensland* (St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 2001); Lisa. Featherstone, *Let's Talk about Sex: Histories of Sexuality in Australia from Federation to the Pill* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2011), http://simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/login?url=http://www.MQU.eblib.com.AU/EBLWeb/patron/?target=patron&extendedid=P_1106971_0.

¹⁶ Garry Wotherspoon, *Gay Sydney: A History* (Sydney, NSW NewSouth Publishing, 2016), 118–122.

¹⁷ Shirleene Robinson, ed., *Homophobia: An Australian History* (Annandale, N.S.W.: The Federation Press, 2008), 4.

occupation, class and location.¹⁸ For example, Ford contrasts how women from higher classes could socialize in private while working class women were more often policed in public spaces like known homosexual bars. As well as being policed, they were often denied protection from police when harassed and abused by members of the public.¹⁹ Meanwhile Peter Robinson's history of anti-homosexual prejudice in the 1940s to 1960s, contrasted stories where police raids were 'an amusing, minor aspect' of socializing, against the serious ramifications of being charged with 'loitering with intent.'²⁰ Smaal positioned 151 charges against men for homosexual acts between 1939 and 1948 within a broader context of war time moral panic. He argued that as police cracked down on 'improper uses of public spaces' more and more men were prosecuted through the 1940s, although public concern focused on a wide range of 'immoralities' and 'public expressions of sexuality' so that it appears homosexuality was not 'singled out for particular concern' by police.²¹

In post-war Australia, social historian Frank Bongiorno argued that 'some of the intensity with which Australian authorities persecuted homosexuals in the 1950s may well have had its roots in the greater sexual fluidity that the war had called into being.'²² Historians Graham Willett, Ruth Ford and Garry Wotherspoon have wrestled with the paradoxical nature of intensified police attention and repression in the 1950s, questioning whether it aided an expression of a subculture or hindered it.²³ Moreover, Lisa Featherstone and Amanda Kaladelfos revealed that unethical and illegal policing practices in the 1950s at beats in NSW produced unintended effects upon the law and policing practices.²⁴ For

¹⁸ Ford, Ruth, "'Filthy, Obscene and Mad': Engendering 'Homophobia' in Australia, 1940s-1960s," in *Homophobia: An Australian History*, ed. Shirleene Robinson (Annandale, N.S.W.: The Federation Press, 2008), 86-112, 88.

¹⁹ Ford, Ruth, 97.

²⁰ Peter Robinson, "Older Gay Men's Recollections of Anti-Homosexual Prejudice," ed. Shirleene Robinson (Sydney: Federation Press, 2008), 218-35, 230-231.

²¹ Yorick Smaal, "Revisiting Queensland's War-Time Sex Panics: Moral Alarm, Male Homosexuality and Policing Public Space.," in *Crime over Time*, ed. Shirleene Robinson and Robyn Lincoln (United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2010), 111-41.

²² Frank Bongiorno, *The Sex Lives of Australians: A History* (Collingwood: Black Inc., 2012), 216-217.

²³ Graham Willett, "The Darkest Decade: Homophobia in 1950s Australia," *Australian Historical Studies* 27, no. 109 (October 1, 1997): 120-32, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10314619708596047>; Ruth Ford, "'Filthy, Obscene and Mad': Engendering 'Homophobia' in Australia, 1940s-1960s", 86-112; Garry Wotherspoon, *City of the Plain: History of a Gay Sub-Culture* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1991).

²⁴ Lisa Featherstone and Amanda Kaladelfos, *Sex Crimes in the Fifties* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2016), 161-188.

instance, in 1955, amendments to criminal law increased the severity of the charges against sex between men but placed higher standards upon police in their testimony and evidence.²⁵

Taken together, these mid-twentieth century histories demonstrate a dynamic relationship between the law, policing and ideas about homosexuality.²⁶ Historians' focus on particular periods such as the mid-twentieth century reinforces the importance of understanding the depth of effects policing produces for gay and lesbian people. While still entrenching the narrative of oppressive policing of homosexuality in the 20th century, these histories create a sense of a changing, non-static relationship between police and gay and lesbians. My second contribution goes one step further to focus on this relationship through the lens of cultural history and government, to reveal shifting and diverse relations, meanings and identities and to consider how both state and non-state actors shape, frame and govern policing and gay and lesbian subjects.²⁷

Liaison and its history

The history of liaison between police and the gay community in Australia has received very limited scholarly attention. Notable exceptions that provide some analysis of liaison are scholars like Graham Willett, Garry Wotherspoon and Shirleene Robinson, who have

²⁵ Featherstone and Kaladelfos, 170.

²⁶ See for 19th century histories: Libby Connors, "Two Opposed Traditions: Male Popular Culture and the Criminal Justice System in Early Queensland," in *Gay Perspectives II: More Essays in Australian Gay Culture*, Occasional Publications (University of Sydney. Dept. of Economic History) ; 5 (Sydney: Dept of Economic History, University of Sydney, 1994), 83–114; Adam Carr, "Policing the 'Abominable Crime' in Nineteenth Century Victoria," in *Australia's Homosexual Histories*, ed. David L. Phillips and Graham Willett, Gay and Lesbian Perspectives; 5 (Sydney : Melbourne: Australian Centre for Lesbian and Gay Research ; Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives, 2000), 27–40; Chesser, Lucy, "'What They Were Doing with Their Clothes off I Don't Know:' Homophobia, Lesbian History and Responses to 'Lesbian-like' Relationships, 1860s-1890s," in *Homophobia: An Australian History*, ed. Robinson, Shirleene (Annandale, N.S.W.: The Federation Press, 2008), 63–85.

²⁷ For a comparison of the usefulness of governmentality in analysing the relationship between gay men and the state in the response to AIDS, see Gary Dowsett, "Governing Queens: Gay Communities and the State in Contemporary Australia," in *Governing Australia: Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008., 1998), 139–55; and John Ballard, "The Constitution of AIDS in Australia: Taking Government at a Distance Seriously," in *Governing Australia: Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008., 1998), 125–38.

considered liaison to varying degrees in their work.²⁸ Robinson's work with legal scholar Alan Berman assessed the impact of homophobic and transphobic harassment and violence upon the LGBTIQ community in Queensland and named the beginning of liaison as 1990, with the introduction of GLLOs in NSW.²⁹ Willett, by contrast, briefly cited 'liaison committees' where gay people were invited to talk to police trainees in the 1980s and posits that GLLOs 'do seem to be effecting change in the police culture.'³⁰ The scant nature of scholarship on the history of liaison as a relationship between the gay community and police reveals a need to understand this history in better detail, particularly its earlier years which have been overshadowed by the introduction of GLLOs. By covering this earlier period, my third contribution is to demonstrate an antecedent to gay men who 'jumped into bed' with the state in the mid 1980s to address AIDS.³¹ Where sociologist Gary Dowsett claims gay men 'steadfastly refused and engagement with the state' in the 'early-1980s', my research in fact shows that gay men and gay community organisations sought out liaison with the police as early as 1980, and discussed the Police Gay Liaison Unit with the Police Minister twice in 1983.³²

Criminologists on liaison in Australia

While historians have paid limited attention to the history of liaison in Australia, criminologists have taken up the historian's task. Criminologists Angela Dwyer and Stephen Thomsen argued that historical relationships between the police and gay and lesbian people impacts, and perhaps limits, liaison in the present.³³ Moreover, Dwyer

²⁸ Graham Willett, *Living out Loud: A History of Gay and Lesbian Activism in Australia* (St Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2000), http://simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/login?url=http://www.MQU.eblib.com.AU/EBLWeb/patron/?target=patron&extendedid=P_227066_0; Wotherspoon, *Gay Sydney*, 244; Alan Berhman and Shirleene Robinson, *Speaking out: Stopping Homophobic and Transphobic Abuse in Queensland* (Bowen Hills QLD: Australian Academic Press, 2010).

²⁹ Alan Berhman and Shirleene Robinson, *Speaking out: Stopping Homophobic and Transphobic Abuse in Queensland*, 137.

³⁰ Graham Willett, *Living out Loud*, 246.

³¹ Gary Dowsett, "Abjection. Objection. Subjection: Rethinking the History of AIDS in Australian Gay Men's Futures," *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 19, no. 9 (2017): 935–947, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2016.1273392>, 940.

³² Gay Consultation, "Meeting of a Working Group to Discuss Proposals for a Police-Gay Liaison Unit"; Robert French, "Gay Rights Lobby Report," *The Star*, May 31, 1984; Gay Task Force, *N.S.W Inquiry into Police Administration* (Balmain: Gay Task Force, 1980); Dowsett, "Abjection. Objection. Subjection." 940.

³³ Angela Dwyer et al. (eds.), "The Past Is the Past? The Impossibility of Historical Erasure of Historical LGBTIQ Policing," in *Queering Criminology* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 36–50.

surveyed historical narratives of LGBT-Police relations specifically, mostly focusing on Australia, USA and UK. Dwyer argued that LGBT people were policed publicly and privately through ideas about 'perversion' which created 'pain' and criminalized people.³⁴ Dwyer and Matthew Ball argued that improving historical understanding of liaison is one aspect of improving policing relationships, particularly as liaison holds a questionable 'taken for granted' best model status.³⁵ The dearth of research and critical nature of research that does focus on liaison, reinforces the need to understand the context from which liaison developed in the mid 1980s. Moreover, since criminologists have shown that 'history' or the memory of a past full of conflict can disrupt and destabilize policing in the present, this thesis assists in moving past a narrative of police oppressiveness and gay and lesbian victimization that is prominent in historical scholarship and informs these conceptions of the past. This is not to say that this relation ceased to exist or that it is not important to acknowledge this well-established history, rather this thesis demonstrates an expansive set of relations whereby gay and lesbian people were victims, but also resisters, activists and lobbyists who successfully demanded the implementation of GLLOs and devised critical responses to violence like the Streetwatch Project.

Evidently, a well-established body of literature exists which clearly shows the policing of gay and lesbian peoples' bodies, homes, social spaces, work places and lives. This thesis reveals, however, that during the 1980s gay and lesbian people entered into a discernibly new relation with the state, beyond that of only confrontation, which is under-researched yet important. This was a relation where co-operation and partnership necessitated the gay community's input, people power, activism and management skill. By considering this relationship in terms of its governmental attributes—how and why issues and people are brought into partnership and made to manage other people and problems—it is apparent that the gay community was able to, and at times encouraged, to shape, mold and influence the police and policing practice. This speaks to a history

³⁴ Angela Dwyer, "Pleasures, Perversities, and Partnerships: The Historical Emergence of LGBT-Police Relationships," in *Handbook of LGBT Communities, 149 Crime, and Justice*, ed. D. Peterson and V. R. Panfil (New York: Springer Science+Business Media, 2014), DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4614-9188-0_8, 151-152.

³⁵ Angela Dwyer and Matthew Ball, "GLBTI Police Liaison Services : A Critical Analysis of Existing Literature.," in *Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand Critical Criminology Conference*, ed. Bartkowiak-Theron, Isabelle and Travers, Max (University of Tasmania, Hobart, TAS, 2012), 1–18, 5.

whereby focusing on meaning, processes and relations affords historians the opportunity to look at not only how the state acts upon the gay community—when bodies, venues and protests were and are policed oppressively and violently—but the effect the gay community can have on the state.

Methodology

Cultural history and governmentality

This thesis is informed by a cultural history approach and thus attends to the shifting attitudes, relations, meanings and identities intertwined through the people and groups that form the central site of analysis: the relationship between the police and gay and lesbian people. Following the insights of the cultural and linguistic turn, this thesis takes a 'culturalist' approach to the shifting relationship. I take 'culturalist' to mean that culture is the integral site of historical analysis and explanation for this thesis.³⁶ Culture is a difficult term to define, but as Richard White and Hsu-Ming Teo point out, by the 1970s historians were shedding earlier, elitist conceptions of culture, and adopting the use of the term in an anthropological sense.³⁷ From here on, culture was the 'social practices, beliefs and productions' of a time and place.³⁸ The cultural turn, which was the product of 'the romance of history and anthropology', brought this approach to the fore.³⁹ The task of the cultural historian, argues historian Mira Rubin, is 'to understand why and how and wherefore... meanings have attached, and thus to appreciate and spot those instances when the meaning is newly articulated, questioned, revealed or reinvested with meaning.'⁴⁰ Thus, amidst the shifting public policy, shifting laws and shifting relations of community policing and liaison with the gay community, I use sociologist Nikolas Rose's critique of government to emphasize the contingent and dynamic nature of relations,

³⁶ Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White, eds., *Cultural History in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), under "Introduction," 3, <http://simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=87575>.

³⁷ Teo and White, 8-9.

³⁸ Teo and White.

³⁹ Mira Rubin, "What Is Cultural History Now?," in *What Is History Now?*, ed. David Cannadine (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 80–94, 86.

⁴⁰ Mira Rubin, 90.

identities and meanings in the cultural history of police and the gay community between 1984 and 1990.⁴¹

‘Advanced liberalism’, a concept coined by Nikolas Rose and informed by Michel Foucault’s lectures on governmentality intersects with the emphases of cultural history in quite a productive symbiosis.⁴² Where cultural historians examine power relations, Rose theorizes their complexities through the lens of government.⁴³ My fourth and final contribution relates to Rose’s conception of relations between those state and non-state actors who govern through community in advanced liberal times, ideas which are explained later. I argue that his theory does not fully explain the contestation over the government of violence against the gay community, particularly the way in which non-state actors independently demanded a stronger and closer relationship with police, and by extension the state. Nevertheless, Rose’s theory remains extremely useful for the approach of this thesis.

Where cultural historians examine the contingency of identities, and seek to explain the ways they are made meaningful through discourse, Rose proposes that citizen-subjects were infused with the language and practices of neo-liberalism in the late 20th century.⁴⁴ And finally, where cultural historians trace the effects of meaning, Rose places paramount importance on the meaning of ‘communities’, such as the gay community, arguing that they were reimagined by the state and citizens, producing new relations, practices and ideas about government.⁴⁵ Here, insights from post-structuralist historian Joan Scott, also intersect implicitly with Rose’s emphasis on shifting forms of government and relations, for the ‘advanced liberal’ state sought to create a certain type of responsible citizen. Following Scott, this thesis does not explain the ‘experience’ of gay and lesbian people in relation to the police, rather it ‘instead interrogates the processes

⁴¹ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 4-9.

⁴² Nikolas Rose.

⁴³ Nikolas Rose, “Government, Authority and Expertise in Advanced Liberalism,” *Economy and Society* 22, no. 3 (August 1, 1993): 283–99, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03085149300000019>; Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 295.

⁴⁴ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 139-147; Rose, “Government, Authority and Expertise in Advanced Liberalism,” 295.

⁴⁵ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 135-136, 167-196.

of their creation' as citizen-subjects brought into a discernibly new relationship with the state via liaison with the police.⁴⁶

Furthermore, a few key terms like 'government' and what I mean by 'gay' and 'lesbian' people require brief attention. Throughout this thesis, 'government' and 'governing' refer to the Foucauldian concept of the 'conduct of conduct', that is, 'the formation and transformation of theories, proposals, strategies and technologies' which attempt to 'shape, guide, [and] direct the conduct of others.'⁴⁷

Though the broad and inclusive acronym 'LGBT' and variations like it have been used in this thesis to discuss scholars' work, from this point forward I refer only to 'gay' and 'lesbian' people to refer to the men and women who were same-sex attracted and appear as the primary focus and mobilizing force behind the 'gay community' and its history of liaison with the police in this period.

Thesis outline

This thesis is divided into two chapters, each with multiple sub-sections. Chapter One analyses the legal and political shifts through which a narrative of co-operation between police and gay and lesbian people emerged. Within this chapter, I focus on the 'gay community' and the police to argue that community policing and Mardi Gras reconfigured relations between the two; defying simple classifications of oppressor and oppressed. In contrast to the focus on community in the first chapter, Chapter Two focuses on the terrain of the individual within the gay community, arguing that the government of violence between 1984 and 1990 was a diverse and dynamic field, whereby non-state and state actors attempted to shape and remake citizens as partly responsible for society's security. Furthermore, in the midst of increasing violence, the relationship between the gay community and the police continued to oscillate, producing

⁴⁶ Joan W. Scott, "Experience," in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, ed. Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (New York: Routledge, 1992), 3–40, 38.

⁴⁷ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 3.

complex relations that are not fully explained by Rose's conception of self-governing communities and citizens.

CHAPTER 1: GOVERNING THROUGH COMMUNITY

The PGLG

'After an initial period of skepticism and doubt,' members of the Police Gay Liaison Group (hereafter 'the Group' or 'PGLG') looked to their second year buoyed by the productivity of their first, and acknowledged that 'both the police and the gay community have, generally, recognized that any efforts to overcome the old hostilities should be encouraged and assisted.'¹ Co-operation and liaison frameworks had been endorsed by activists in 1980, however, in 1983 during the reverberations of the Club 80 raids, the Minister for Police, Peter Anderson, became receptive to including the gay community in police liaison systems.² The Group hoped the new climate of co-operation would alleviate the 'long history of mutual fear, suspicion, and antagonism' between the police and gay and lesbian people.³

This chapter outlines the political, legal and social context from which the PGLG arose, demonstrating that the PGLG was a product of protest and agitation between the state and gays and lesbians. This agitation and activism are overshadowed or even neglected in histories that begin with the introduction of GLLOs in 1990. After establishing the confluence of forces which pushed the PGLG from a concept on paper to an operational group, I analyze the ways in which the PGLG and the NSWPF mobilized the idea of a 'gay community' as a cohesive entity in partnership with the police. Next, I focus on the shift to co-operation between the police and the gay community; a turn which coincided with the development of advanced liberal government in liberal democracies like Australia. Accordingly, I argue that narratives of co-operation within community policing produced new relations between the gay community and the state, as evidenced by a case study of Mardi Gras, whereby relations of accountability and feedback emerged.

¹ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," 1985, Robert B French archival collection.

² NSW, "Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly," September 29, 1983.

³ Police-Gay Liaison Group.

Changing laws and changing possibilities

The creation of the Police Gay Liaison Group in October 1984 was preceded by two major legal reforms which significantly reduced inequality and oppression in the lives of gay men and lesbians. These reforms, known as 'homosexual law reform' and anti-discrimination laws were achieved through lobbying and protests from the gay community which often highlighted the strained relationship between the gay community and police. Throughout this section, I show a parallel between changing laws in NSW, and the state gradually embracing recommendations from activists who, despite their own skepticism, sought co-operation from the police following the recommendation for 'community advisory committees' by the Gay Task Force in 1980.⁴ Whether it was demanding an end to police harassment while lobbying for legal change, or, conversely, anticipating how the police would react to the passage of new laws, gay and lesbian peoples' demands for legal equality were linked to changing the state of their relations with the police.

Decriminalization of sex between men was the main political ambition of activists in the years prior to the establishment of the PGLG. Groups like the Gay Rights Lobby were prominent lobbyists and 'concerned with one aim: democratic rights for lesbians and male homosexuals.'⁵ Through advertisements, rallies and lobbying, activists relentlessly pushed politicians for reforms. This was especially prominent after the third attempt at homosexual law reform.⁶ The third unsuccessful attempt at law reform was known as the Unsworth Bill. The bill was introduced by Barrie Unsworth into the Legislative Council (Upper House), where it was passed, but it was later defeated in the Legislative Assembly (Lower House). 'The end result of this saga', wrote the Anti-Discrimination Board (ADB), 'is that sexual activity between males is still an offence under all circumstances in NSW.'⁷

⁴ Gay Task Force, *N.S.W Inquiry into Police Administration* (Balmain: Gay Task Force, 1980), 15.

⁵ "New South Wales Needs Homosexual Law Reform," *The Sydney Star*, May 8, 1981.

⁶ For a review of the first and second attempt at law reform by Labor MPs George Petersen and Michael Egan see New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board, *Discrimination and Homosexuality* (Sydney: The Board, 1982), 336-341.

⁷ New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board.

The ADB warned that the criminalization of sex between men was ‘a sad commentary on the NSW parliament.’⁸

The failure of the Unsworth Bill put the relationship between gay and lesbian people and the police into focus: ‘the Bill, if passed could have encouraged police to crack down on male homosexual activities in public places,’ wrote Craig Johnston, suggesting that decriminalization would not end the persecution of gay men.⁹ The paradox of campaigning for law reform, it seemed, was that publicly fighting for equality tempted police to crack down on the powers that still remained with them. As the campaign for decriminalization continued, suspicious perceptions of the police were reinforced.¹⁰ Johnston warned,

The defeat of the Bill might be interpreted by the police that the current laws which prohibit gay male sex anywhere should be enforced...Gay people have to be aware of their rights, especially in relation to the police.¹¹

In June 1982, the ADB listed three recommendations that the NSWPF should adopt to advance ‘police-homosexual relations.’¹² The ADB endorsed ‘direct liaison’ between senior sections of the police and ‘organizations and individuals within particular subcultures.’¹³ The Gay Task Force made a similar recommendation for ‘community advisory committees’ and a ‘closer working relationship’ with the police in their submission to the Lusher Inquiry into NSW Police Force Corruption in 1980. The Task Force explained,

Our main emphasis in this submission is that to eliminate police discrimination against homosexuals we need to focus on the attitudes and prejudices of police

⁸ New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board.

⁹ Craig Johnston, “The End of Law Reform for Now,” *The Sydney Star*, April 9, 1982.

¹⁰ Robert French shared similar views, cautioning: “watch out that police don’t increase their harassment of gays and to fight them if they do,” in “Unsworth Bill Defeated,” *The Sydney Star*, April 9, 1982.

¹¹ Craig Johnston, “The End of Law Reform for Now.”

¹² New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board, *Discrimination and Homosexuality*, 384.

¹³ New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board, 385. Note: I address the grouping together of gay and lesbian people in the following section in a discussion of community.

and attempt to change them. To achieve a satisfactory change in attitudes requires not only a full understanding of the problem but willing co-operation on the part of the police authorities.¹⁴

Though the ADB were the first state institution to endorse liaison, they were only cautiously optimistic, writing:

The Board does not consider that these recommendations will be a panacea for changing the relationships of power that are actually played out between police and homosexuals on the streets. We hope, however, they may at least establish the preconditions for other changes.¹⁵

Wary of framing the need to change this relationship as a process of forging community relations, the Board explained:

...the concept of 'community relations' is questionable in that it cannot simply be applied to homosexuals as a population group any more than it can be applied to a modern society in general. To do so is to mask the existence of contradictory social interests and the different functions that the police force is required to play with respect to those interests.¹⁶

It is telling that it was through the exact concept of community relations that the NSWPF would later embrace co-operation with gay and lesbian people. Later I explain and analyze how the idea of a gay community, or 'subculture' according to ADB, was utilized by the NSWPF to enact their 'community relations' objectives.

The first substantive change to NSW law for gay and lesbian people were the amendments to the *1977 Anti-Discrimination Act*, which, after submissions to and

¹⁴ Gay Task Force, 1.

¹⁵ New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board, *Discrimination and Homosexuality*, 386.

¹⁶ New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board, 385.

lobbying of the government by activists, were enacted on December 20, 1982.¹⁷ From this date forward, it was unlawful, 'in certain circumstances' to discriminate against someone because they were homosexual or perceived to be homosexual.¹⁸ Denying a person employment, membership to a group or union, access to education or the provision of goods and services was illegal and monetarily punishable by the ADB.¹⁹ Petitioners had included these demands, in addition to demands for decriminalization and an end to police harassment of gay and lesbian people, in their submissions to members of parliament.²⁰

Between 'anti-discrimination' in December 1982 and 'homosexual law reform' in May 1984, the relationship between police and the gay community continually deteriorated. The events of 1983 undoubtedly reinforced notions of the police as antagonists who subjected venue owners and gay and lesbian people to power plays and discriminatory policing. "Anno miserabilis," concluded Robert Johnston in his reflection on 1983.²¹ Poor police service was continually reported and compounded by the police's enforcement of an archaic 'disorderly house' law and a new *Liquor Act*, which combined to dull Oxford Street to a mere collection of 'long faces.'²² Three police raids on sex-on-premises venues called Club 80 were the primary reason for the deteriorating relationship, which had previously involved some semblance, albeit corrupt and transactional, of a workable relationship.²³ In parliament, Fred Miller, Labor Member for Bligh and future Co-ordinator of the Police Gay Liaison Unit, questioned the Minister for Police about the police's behavior in the Club 80 raids and their actions towards gay and lesbian people more generally.²⁴ Since the club 80 raids were under investigation, Mr. Anderson only answered the latter part of the question,

¹⁷ NSW, "Anti-Discrimination (Amendment) Act," no. 142 § (1982).

¹⁸ NSW.

¹⁹ NSW.

²⁰ NSW, "Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly," April 13, 1981, 5694, <https://api.parliament.nsw.gov.au/api/hansard/search/daily/searchablepdf/HANSARD-290296563-936>; NSW, "Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly," November 11, 1981, 429, <https://api.parliament.nsw.gov.au/api/hansard/search/daily/searchablepdf/HANSARD-290296563-960>.

²¹ Robert Johnson, "1983: Anno Miserabilis," *The Star*, December 16, 1983.

²² Robert Johnson.

²³ Michael Glynn, "Editorial," October 21, 1983; Michael Glynn, "Upfront," *The Sydney Star*, May 7, 1982.

²⁴ NSW, "Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly," September 29, 1983; "Mr Frederick Joseph MILLER (1926 - 1992)," accessed October 10, 2018,

It is appropriate that I should comment briefly on action being taken in the police force to improve the force's relationship with the community and with specific groups, including homosexuals...Proposals are being finalized for the creation of a greatly expanded community relations bureau within the New South Wales police force...I am able to inform honourable members that the Commissioner of Police intends that the new bureau will include liaison between police and homosexuals. From my discussions with concerned groups and with senior officers of police forces in the United States of America, this move will be welcomed.²⁵

Thus, the 1983 Club 80 raids were a turning point in the relationship between the police and gay and lesbian people. Amidst the reverberations of the three raids the Minister for Police became amenable to liaison, as the ADB and activists had suggested earlier.²⁶ However, in early 1984, prominent activist and academic Lex Watson warned,

Our homophobic police will continue to harass gays in various ways, as they have in this town since well before living memory. The Police Minister's promise of a liaison unit hopefully will become reality, but problems will continue and we will need to fight those.²⁷

1984 was a state election year in NSW and decriminalization was at the fore of the political agenda. The Gay Rights Lobby urged people to attend their rally for repealing anti-gay laws, explaining,

Lobbying of parliamentarians is already underway; we are strongly telling parliamentarians that the movement demands an equality bill and will oppose any 'reform' including special provisions on 'public sex' that would permit

<https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/members/formermembers/Pages/former-member-details.aspx?pk=1853>; "Frederick Joseph Miller," *SYDNEY'S ALDERMEN* (blog), accessed October 10, 2018, <http://www.sydneyaldermen.com.au/alderman/frederick-miller/>.

²⁵ NSW, "Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly," September 29, 1983.

²⁶ See for results of the investigation into Club 80 police behaviour: "Ombudsman Criticises Police over Club 80 Raid," October 2, 1987; "Police Liaison," *The Star*, October 7, 1983; Robert French, "Gay Rights Lobby Report."

²⁷ Lex Watson, "Comment," *The Star*, January 13, 1984.

prosecutions like Club 80, or other discriminatory behaviour by the police and courts.²⁸

In May 1984, lobbying and agitation succeeded, and legislation known as the *Crimes Amendment Act* was passed by the NSW government, repealing sections 79-81B of the 'Unnatural Offences' Part of the *NSW Crimes Act (1900)*. The Government inserted section 78G-T into the *Crimes Act* and in doing so they legislated 'reform but not equality' for gay men.²⁹ The passage of decriminalization, perhaps unsurprisingly after deteriorating relations in 1983, did not alleviate concerns about police behavior and harassment. The Gay Solidarity Group issued a pamphlet for a rally which read, 'end police harassment of lesbians and gay men, no entrapment, no backlash after law reform.'³⁰ Evidently, the commitment from the Police Minister in September the year before was overshadowed by suspicion and uncertainty around how the police would react to these legal changes. Part of the response to law reform included educating readers about their rights in relation to police.³¹ *The Star* warned 'police may step up campaigns in beats or use activity in beats to try and mount a campaign against gays.'³²

The agitation and conflict between the police and gay community, particularly in 1983, made the police amenable to liaison in the future, something which is overlooked and overshadowed when scholars cite the beginnings of liaison as 1990 when GLLOs were introduced. Nevertheless, as we have seen, neither law reform nor the prospect of liaison was enough to allay the gay community's suspicions of the police. The narrative of co-operation that was to come was part of the answer to this predicament.

Community policing and government

²⁸ Gay Rights Lobby, "Repeal Anti-Gay Laws," May 1984, Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives.

²⁹ Denise Thompson, *Flaws in the Social Fabric: Homosexuals and Society in Sydney* (Sydney: George, Allen & Unwin, 1985); "Reform but Not Equality," *The Star*, May 18, 1984.

³⁰ Gay Solidarity Group, "March and Rally for Lesbian and Gay Liberation," June 1984, Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives.

³¹ "The Law and You," *The Star*, May 31, 1984.

³² "The Law and You."

It is within this context of prolonged uncertainty and suspicion towards the police that the PGLG was workshopped and devised. During the planning and implementation of the PGLG, representatives conceptualized a 'gay community' with whom the police would co-operate. The following section examines the conception of a 'gay community' that police and groups mobilized, highlighting the relatively new and tangled ideas it encompassed. As the police brought this 'gay community' into the orbit of community policing, I argue that citizens were brought into a new relation with the state, one where the ideas of community and co-operation were integral. The PGLG was one major site through which community policing reshaped and reformulated ideas about citizens in the gay community and their relations to the state. As such, community policing and the new Police Community Relations Bureau (PCRB) need to be understood as more than benevolent actions by a police force rehabilitating its image and ethos.

The PGLG was in planning since late 1983.³³ Inheriting a past with the police force that was deeply troubled and divisive, the proposal for the PGLG acknowledged the desire for a constructive relationship: 'for some time both the Police and members of the gay community have felt the need to establish some form of liaison to assist in overcoming mutual hostility and misunderstanding.'³⁴ On Sunday October 14th 1984, the Gay Centre in Sydney held a community meeting to deliberate upon the proposal for 'police-gay liaison.'³⁵

At this meeting, five representatives were elected to the Group, they were: Terri Thomas from the Gay Crisis Network, Terry Goulden from the Gay Counselling Service, Barry Charles from the Gay Rights Lobby (replaced by Robert French in 1985), Brian Hobday from the Gay Mardi Gras Association and Jim Dykes from the Metropolitan Community Church.³⁶ Jim Dykes was involved in 'police-gay liaison' in three American cities and his experience was noted as instrumental in formulating the Sydney model, which took after

³³ "Police Liaison"; Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report," 1.

³⁴ Gay Consultation, "Meeting of a Working Group to Discuss Proposals for a Police-Gay Liaison Unit."

³⁵ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," 1985, Robert B French archival collection, 3.

³⁶ Ben Drayton from the Sydney Gay Youth Group joined in 1986. Police-Gay Liaison Group, 3, 8; Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," November 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection, 3.

San Francisco.³⁷ These representatives joined Greg Tillett from the ADB and Fred Miller and Les Thorgood from the Police Community Relations Bureau.³⁸ The members of the PGLG reflected a combination of experience in gay rights activism, anti-discrimination, community services and police community relations.

As outlined, during 1983 the police became amenable to the idea of liaising with gay and lesbian people in line with the institution's community policing principles. The PCRB aimed 'to promote community-based policing methods and to improve general police/community relations.'³⁹ The NSWPF anticipated that the PCRB would be successful, asserting in 1984 that it would 'significantly improve Police community relations, particularly those involving various minority groups whilst at the same time reducing crime in a number of areas.'⁴⁰ Neighbourhood watch schemes, crime prevention education and 'Safe House' projects were techniques introduced under the umbrella of community policing, in the aim of minimising crime and maximising safety. So too were liaison programs with minority groups, such as the 'Ethnic Liaison Unit' and 'Police-Aborigine Liaison Unit.'⁴¹ The PCRB embodied the institution's commitment to community policing principles and while community policing aimed to better the whole of society, the PCRB identified specific communities to funnel resources into. Along with Aboriginal, Youth and Ethnic communities, the gay community was a 'relevant minority/disadvantaged group' that received a 'specialized' liaison unit and District Community Relations Officers.⁴²

The concept of a 'gay community' in Sydney, however, was a fairly recent concept which remained ambiguous into the 1980s, despite the uncomplicated manner in which the police referred to it. Indeed, activist Craig Johnston asserted that the confrontations with police in 1978 and campaigns against police harassment led to a 'decisive point in the

³⁷ Gay Consultation, "Meeting of a Working Group to Discuss Proposals for a Police-Gay Liaison Unit."

³⁸ Fred Miller left Parliament earlier in 1984. Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," 3, 13.

³⁹ NSW Police, "NSW Police Annual Report 1983/4," 1984, 105.

⁴⁰ NSW Police, 106.

⁴¹ NSW Police, 105.

⁴² New South Wales Police Department, "New South Wales Police Department Annual Report 1986/7," 1987, 78.

formation of a cohesive community.⁴³ Some insight into the instability and nascent nature of the gay community is evidenced in the writing of Johnston, who, in 1981, suggested,

One can perhaps see community as a *process*, and find evidence of an embryonic community in cities like Sydney or Perth. One should not rule this out as a possibility. But it will only be achieved to the degree to which there is a fusion of the gay subculture and the gay movement...But generally, at the moment referring to a 'gay community' in any city is more wishful thinking than thought-out description of a concrete reality.⁴⁴

Three years later, the PCRB adopted the 'gay community' as a target community for community policing. Perhaps part of the reason why they could adopt the 'gay community' as an object and subject without the apprehension Johnston showed was because of a second assertion that he made,

Of course the more people think there is a 'community' the more there is a community, since the sense of community is an important part of the conceptualization. But there has to be a material basis to it—the communality of interests and the realizability as a social action. And it is these which are problematic at the moment. Nevertheless the gay scene is changing fast, and the formation of a gay community is much more advanced in Sydney, for example, than it was six months ago...⁴⁵

The PCRB and PGLG certainly brought together interests and social action, all the while presupposing the existence of 'gay community' which, as Johnston suggested, reinforced its existence.⁴⁶

⁴³ Craig Johnston, *A Sydney Gaze: The Making of Gay Liberation* (Darlinghurst, N.S.W.: Schiltron Press, 1999), iv.

⁴⁴ Craig Johnston, 79. Emphasis original.

⁴⁵ Craig Johnston.

⁴⁶ See also Dan Bulley, "Producing and Governing Community (through) Resilience," *Politics* 33 (2013), <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9256.12025>.

The PCRB employed a notion of the gay community which ignored the gendered differences between the people who made up the community. They made it clear that 'gays' and 'homosexuals' made up the 'gay community', effectively combining lesbians and gay men into a monolithic community bound by the fact that they were not heterosexual.⁴⁷ Though the PGLG adopted the terms set by the PCRB and organized in the name of positively influencing the 'gay community', they did demonstrate some attention to the difference between gay men and lesbians' relation to crime, violence and the police.

For example, after the resignation of the only woman on the committee of the PGLG, the absence of lesbians' perspectives perturbed the Group. They sought a replacement for Terri Thomas immediately, but were perpetually trying to fill the void she left from that point forward.⁴⁸ In 1988 the Group started recording its name as the 'Police Gay and Lesbian Liaison Group', and included a 'lesbian issues' item on their agenda.⁴⁹ As such, the concept of a cohesive 'gay community' remained dominant from the point of PGLG's inception onwards, and was the organizing principle of the Group. Perhaps due to a regular absence of women on the committee or the prevalence of bashings near beats where men had sex, there is little evidence that issues specific to lesbians produced new initiatives or new education programs until the 1990s.⁵⁰ While acknowledging difference within the community, the PGLG, by and large, did not address the government of the community through gendered approaches to violence though they attempted to be attentive to gendered differences around lesbians' experience of violence, evidenced by concern at the lack of lesbian responses to their phone-ins.⁵¹

⁴⁷ NSW Police, "NSW Police Annual Report 1984/5," 1985.

⁴⁸ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary April 1986," April 17, 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection.

⁴⁹ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary March 1988," March 24, 1988, Murray McLachlan personal collection.

⁵⁰ For example, after Streetwatch identified the low response rate of lesbians in their first report the GLRL subsequently made them the central focus of the 'Off our Back Report' in 1992: Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby and Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, *Summary of The Off Our Backs Report: A Study into Anti-Lesbian Violence* (Darlinghurst: Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby, 1992); Gary Cox, "The Streetwatch Report: A Study into Violence against Lesbians and Gay Men" (Sydney: Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby, 1989), 13.

⁵¹ Police Gay Liaison Unit, "Gay Hotline Report," 1985, New South Wales Police Force collection, 12.

That the nature and make-up of the 'gay community' was still developing in the 1980s is also evidenced in its geographical diversity. For instance, in 1986, after successfully establishing and publicizing liaison in Sydney, the PGLG 'embarked upon a programme of extending contact to gay communities and police in regional areas.'⁵² One example was Wollongong:

Following an increase level of anti-gay violence...strong local interest was expressed in establishing formal police-gay liaison arrangements in the region. During 1986 a number of meetings have been held with representatives of the Wollongong gay community to discuss regional problems and options for establishing a structure for police-gay liaison in the area.⁵³

Between 1986 and 1989, the Sydney PGLG assisted in setting up liaisons in Wollongong, Lismore, Newcastle, Melbourne, Paramatta and Illawarra.

Community policing concepts had wide effects within and outside of the police institution. They catalyzed not only the Minister for Police's first formal commitment to liaison, but the creation of the Police Gay Liaison Unit (PGLU) within the Police Community Relations Bureau in 1984.⁵⁴ Where the PGLG was a voluntary network of elected members, including police, the PGLU was situated within the NSWPF and was coordinated by Fred Miller. With the aim of overcoming 'existing problems' and the 'improvement of Police/Community' relations, the PGLU endorsed the PGLG backed by the philosophies of consumer satisfaction and community relations.⁵⁵ The PCRB explained their change in mentality as follows,

The notion of consumer satisfaction which is applied by management of many organisations providing goods and services to the community, can equally be

⁵² Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," November 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection, 8.

⁵³ Police-Gay Liaison Group.

⁵⁴ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," 1985, 2.

⁵⁵ NSW Police, "Report of the N.S.W Police Department 1984-85," 1985, Murray McLachlan personal collection, 33-35.

applied to policing. To assist the Bureau in perceiving what each section of the community requires in terms of Police services... [we] encourage citizens to play an active part in determining what is needed in their area.⁵⁶

In this policing paradigm, citizens as consumers were meant to assist the police in keeping their community safe. This shift to community policing corresponds with what sociologist Nikolas Rose has termed 'advanced liberalism.' Rose's concepts provide a useful vocabulary for explaining the political and social shifts that created the PGLG. Rose argues that in the last decades of the 20th century, government operated in a distinctly different way to the rest of the 20th century.⁵⁷ Following Foucault, Rose avoids attributing the processes of government, systems of rule and power to 'the State' as a coherent entity, rather, Rose defines government as the 'conduct of conduct.'⁵⁸ That is, government consists of the activities and the mentalities that strive to influence and guide subjects, something which ultimately transcends the nation-state because both state and non-state actors contribute to government. Rose elaborates,

In this 'advanced' diagram of community...individual conduct no longer appears to be 'socially determined': individual choices are shaped by values which themselves arise from ties of community identification. Community thus emerges as the ideal territory for the administration of individual and collective existence, the plane or surface upon which micro-moral relations amongst person are conceptualized and administered.⁵⁹

In light of this analysis, community policing and the operations of the Police Community Relations Bureau can be read as practices of government, a 'technology' of community that promoted self-governance and administered the state's aspiration for a safe and crime free society.⁶⁰ Indeed, Rose asserts that community policing programs 'mobilized

⁵⁶ NSW Police, 33.

⁵⁷ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 135-136.

⁵⁸ Rose, "Government, Authority and Expertise in Advanced Liberalism", 286; Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 3.

⁵⁹ Nikolas Rose, 136.

⁶⁰ Nikolas Rose, 52.

territories in the name of community self-management.’⁶¹ Where the welfare state gradually formed a centralized and totalized style of government throughout the late 19th and most of the 20th century, ‘advanced liberalism’ sought to ‘de-totalize’ government and thus draw back its direct rule over subjects, its authority over expertise and knowledge of its subjects.⁶² ‘To govern better,’ asserted Rose, the conductors of conduct, the governmental machines, needed to ‘govern less.’⁶³ In governing less, the expectations and behavior of citizens expanded to include new knowledges, powers and responsibilities. One main way this occurred was through investing citizens with consumer attributes, just as community policing did. Rose argues,

The citizen as consumer is to become an active agent in the regulation of professional expertise; the citizen as prudent is to become an active agent in the provision of security...The citizen was to be located at the nexus of ties and affinities that were not those of the social, but appeared to have a more powerful, and yet more natural existence: community.⁶⁴

The PGLG, as a landmark initiative in NSW and in Australia, provides a detailed case analysis of systems of ‘advanced liberal’ government and its effects on citizens, particularly as an example of ‘governing through community.’ In the sections below, I examine how the gay community became an ‘active agent in the regulation of professional expertise.’ In particular, I focus on narratives of co-operation as they partnered the gay community and the police together, reformulating the police and the gay community through the language and processes of neo-liberalism. In Chapter 2 I examine the role of citizens in the ‘provision of security’ as violence was governed through the community.

The PGLG and co-operation through community

⁶¹ Nikolas Rose, 189-190.

⁶² Nikolas Rose, 135-136.

⁶³ Nikolas Rose, 139.

⁶⁴ Nikolas Rose, 166.

Co-operation became the central narrative through which the PGLG governed—as a conductor of conduct—the gay community. From its inception, the Police Gay Liaison Group (PGLG) was defined in terms of its ability, and the necessity, for it to forge a co-operative relationship between the police, and gay and lesbian people. As a joint initiative between the Police Community Relations Bureau (PCRB), the Anti-Discrimination Board (ADB) and representatives and activists from prominent gay and lesbian organisations in Sydney, the PGLG required numerous parts to work in tandem.⁶⁵ In the first Annual Report of the PGLG, the importance of co-operation was emphasized:

It must be conceded that the police and the gay community, no less than the people who constituted the newly-established Police-Gay Liaison Group in October 1984, looked on this new venture in police-community relations with some feelings of pessimism and anxiety.

However, the worst fears were not realized; the worst difficulties did not have to be faced; and the pessimism proved to be unnecessary...Support from the Minister for Police and the Commissioner, no less than from the leaders of the gay community, have ensured that co-operation—and, in most cases, enthusiastic cooperation—has been given.⁶⁶

Chief Superintendent L.E Poulton, head of the PCRB confirmed that the relationship had continued positively throughout 1986, noting that ‘the past two years have seen a vast improvement in the attitude of the Police and the Gay Community towards each other.’⁶⁷ Looking to the future, Poulton asserted that ‘to continue to improve this situation requires, above all, co-operation.’⁶⁸ Taken together, these quotes from the PGLG and representatives of the organisations involved, reflect the centrality of ‘co-operation’ to the philosophy of the Group. This narrative of co-operation, both implicitly and explicitly,

⁶⁵ Police-Gay Liaison Group, 3.

⁶⁶ Police-Gay Liaison Group, 13.

⁶⁷ Police Community Relations Bureau, “Co-Operation: A Two-Way Street,” 1987, Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives.

⁶⁸ Police Community Relations Bureau.

underpinned attempts to improve upon hostilities and overcome barriers in the relationship thereafter.

Mardi Gras and governing through community

The annual Gay Mardi Gras in Sydney was especially important to a co-operative relationship between the police. Alongside notions of citizens as consumers there grew an understanding of an empowered 'end-user' who could hold service providers—including bureaucratic services like the police—accountable. Scholars have discussed the politics, significance and impact of the Sydney Gay Mardi Gras.⁶⁹ For example, Graham Carbery traced the history of the Mardi Gras, focusing on the political and social history of the parade and its organisers. In this section I build upon Carbery's mentions of Brian Hobday, Murray McLachlan and the Police Gay Liaison Group to consider interactions between the PGLG, the Mardi Gras Association and the police in depth.⁷⁰

In doing so, I extend upon what Carberry refers to as the 'professionalization' of Mardi Gras in the mid-1980s by drawing a link between this internal shift and the wider trend of advanced liberal governing. By focusing on the ways in which the Gay Mardi Gras was a site where advanced liberal government unfolded, my aims are less about assessing its impact socially and politically, and more about assessing its governmental impact. That is, I analyze the process by which the police were reimagined in the terms of neoliberal performance analysis. As Rose asserts, in advanced liberal programs, 'no longer would bureaucracy authorize itself through its ethical claims: it would focus on the delivery of services, and be judged according to its capacity to produce results.'⁷¹ Through reports, monitoring and agreements, the gay community participated in processes which judged the police's performance and held the police accountable to judgements about their level of service during the planning and delivery of the Mardi Gras parade. Therefore, I frame

⁶⁹ Ian Marsh and Larry Galbraith, "The Political Impact of the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 30, no. 2 (July 1, 1995): 300–320, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00323269508402338>.

⁷⁰ Graham Carbery, *A History of the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras* (Parkville, Vic.: Australian Lesbian & Gay Archives Inc, 1995), 78, 79, 84.

⁷¹ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 151.

the meetings and discussions that took place between the PGLG, the police and Mardi Gras Association in terms of their significance as a technique of government and how this altered the Mardi Gras Association's understandings of the police and the position of 'community' in governing.

The success of 'effective' liaising in the lead up to Mardi Gras in February 1984 cemented the police's support for the implementation of the PGLG.⁷² After this, Mardi Gras continued to be a significant site through which liaison occurred each year. Because it was an annual, highly orchestrated and popular public event, which required police involvement, the Mardi Gras was heavily scrutinized by the PGLG in meetings and discussions. As promotional material for the PGLG and Annual Reports of the NSWPF demonstrate, a successful and co-operative Mardi Gras reflected well on community policing, as well as the gay community who organized it.⁷³

As such a large, important event, the Mardi Gras required months of pre-planning, negotiations and liaison between the PGLG, the Mardi Gras and the police. This meant setting goals and targets and communicating the needs of the consumers. As consumers and 'end-users' of police service, the PGLG and the Mardi Gras Committee (MGC) implemented a performance review for the police, by way of a report on the parade. This tension positioned the PGLG as the arbiter of what the gay community expected from the police in relation to the servicing of the parade in 1985.⁷⁴ In 1985, they advised that 'effective policing of the Mardi Gras together with the establishment of a good relationship between the police and the gay community, will depend on a sufficiently visible and supportive police service at the Mardi Gras.'⁷⁵

To ensure the best possible outcome for the Mardi Gras parade in 1985, the Group prepared a detailed proposal for the Police. The proposals and performance reports that

⁷² Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," 1985, 2.

⁷³ "NSW Police Annual Report," 1987, 82; Police Community Relations Bureau, "Co-Operation: A Two-Way Street."

⁷⁴ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*. 188-191.

⁷⁵ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Police Services at the 1985 Mardi Gras Parade," 1985, Murray McLachlan personal collection, 3.

figured in the planning and evaluation of Mardi Gras over the coming years, demonstrated the adoption of neo-liberal techniques for empowering the consumer.⁷⁶ Members of Mardi Gras had been in contact with senior police to organize past parades before the PGLG was operating.⁷⁷ Therefore, the advent of the PGLG reinforced existing lines of communication between the police and the MGC, while creating new networks of communication between the PCRB, the PGLG and by extension, the gay community. As I demonstrate, when these two spaces of communication combined, they effectively made Mardi Gras a barometer for the health of the relationship between police and the gay community, which produced an immense amount of pressure on 'police-gay liaison.' As the PGLG made clear in their 1985 parade proposal:

The Police-Gay Liaison Group considers that the policing of the Mardi Gras will be a major test of police relations with the gay community, and will be closely watched by the gay community. If police-gay liaison is to be maintained, the Mardi Gras must be seen to be a success in which the police have played an important role.⁷⁸

If Mardi Gras was the test for assessing the relationship between police and the gay community, then the PGLG were clearly the adjudicators to whom the police were answerable. Despite the fact that the Group was open about the scrutiny they were placing on the police, they worked with them prior to and during the event to give them the greatest chance of success. After 'initial difficulties' the Group liaised with senior officers and the Commissioner for Police to resolve tensions with the Traffic Branch.⁷⁹ The Group were impressed with these interactions and reflected that '...it was clearly apparent that the Minister for Police and the Commissioner recognized the importance of the Mardi Gras to the gay community, and were eager to ensure that it was a success.'⁸⁰ They discussed the parade route, crowd control, parking options, potential disruptions,

⁷⁶ Police-Gay Liaison Group.

⁷⁷ Gay Consultation, "Meeting of a Working Group to Discuss Proposals for a Police-Gay Liaison Unit."

⁷⁸ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Police Services at the 1985 Mardi Gras Parade," 4.

⁷⁹ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," 1985, 10.

⁸⁰ Police-Gay Liaison Group, 10.

road closure times and explicitly outlined the role and expectations of the Group.⁸¹ Expectedly, the Group was also planning 'to monitor the effectiveness of cooperation between the police and the Mardi Gras organizers and participants, and, if necessary, to liaise between them.'⁸²

Throughout the night, Inspector Leslie Thorgood (representative for the PCRB) and Greg Tillett drove in a police car along with the procession, liaising when needed with senior police officers while also monitoring the police radio.⁸³ After much planning, liaising and deliberation, the parade of 1985 was considered a 'remarkable success...on the part of the Mardi Gras Committee, of policing and of police-gay relations.'⁸⁴ The *Star* reported similarly, quoting parade coordinator and PGLG member Brian Hobday as saying,

The success of Mardi Gras is an important step in the establishment of police gay relations...I hope that the co-operation provided for Mardi Gras will be used as a model for the development of future police assistance to the gay community.⁸⁵

Thus, as much as the Group was positioned to hold the police accountable for their inadequate service, they were also invested in congratulating good police service. The 'general friendliness and helpfulness' of the police at the parade was such that 'a number of gay groups' passed on their congratulations to the Commissioner of Police.⁸⁶

Unlike the *Star*, the Sydney Morning Herald published a piece quoting inflammatory comments from a supposed 'police spokesman' following the parade. An unnamed police spokesman was quoted as saying the parade was 'bloody disgusting.'⁸⁷ The Herald article posed a threat to the perception of good relations between the gay community and the police, thus needed to be addressed and rectified. The director of Mardi Gras, Mr.

⁸¹ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Police Services at the 1985 Mardi Gras Parade," 1-4.

⁸² Police-Gay Liaison Group, 4.

⁸³ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," 1985, 11.

⁸⁴ Police-Gay Liaison Group, 11.

⁸⁵ Brian Hobday, "Carbon Copies," *The Star*, March 7, 1985; "Police Praise Mardi Gras," *The Star*, March 7, 1985.

⁸⁶ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," 1985. See 14a CGG letter.

⁸⁷ "Aids Victims Watch as the Parade Passes By," *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 25, 1985. SMH 5/2/85

Furlong, had the support of the police in rebuking the comments, and the Editor of the Herald retracted the article and apologized for the inaccuracies.⁸⁸ Consequently, the Sydney Morning Herald article actually highlighted the co-operative relationship between the police and the gay community. When the PCRB and senior police responded to the Herald's article promptly and supportively, one is reminded of the Group's earlier priority whereby 'the Mardi Gras must be seen to be a success in which the police have played an important role.'⁸⁹ While these events reinforce the centrality of the Mardi Gras to the PGLG and its stakeholders, it also suggests something further. It suggested that the Group and the police were invested in maintaining a positive public perception of good and constructive, indeed co-operative, relations.

Successful parades in the two years prior to 1986 did not ensure that there was a third. Indeed, productive meetings and liaising prior to a parade did not ensure its success. The meetings and liaison that occurred before the parade effectively created an ideal, a gold standard to which the police would be judged against. In a letter to Police Commissioner Avery, Chairman of the MGC, Bill Whittaker and Parade Co-ordinator (and PGLG member) Brian Hobday noted the success of liaison for the 1985 parade,

You will recall that the work of the Police Gay Liaison Group resulted in the adoption of various procedures and agreements for police servicing of the 1985 Parade. These arrangements worked very well for the 1985 Parade and we understood that police procedures this year would follow the recommendations...Prior to the recent Parade, the Police Department had been co-operative and had also agreed to a number of innovations which we felt were essential to complement the growth of the Parade.⁹⁰

Although a mutual emphasis on co-operation opened dialogue about planning, logistics and target outcomes for the Parade, this did not mean that the police would necessarily

⁸⁸ "The Herald and the Mardi Gras Parade," *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 1, 1985; "Herald Retracts Front Page Mardi Gras Story," *The Star*, March 7, 1985.

⁸⁹ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Police Services at the 1985 Mardi Gras Parade," 4.

⁹⁰ Bill Whittaker and Brian Hobday, "Police Service at the Mardi Gras Parade February 22 1986," March 20, 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection.

deliver on these arrangements when it came to the day of the parade. The 1986 parade served as evidence of this.

In the case of 1986, the feedback, or the performance report in neoliberal terms, was extensive and critical of the police. Whittaker and Hobday outlined seven main concerns with the police service encountered by the Group and MGC on the day of the parade. They cited a decrease in numbers of Police along Oxford and Flinders Streets and in Whitlam Square, which resulted in poor crowd control in some of the busiest sections.⁹¹ As these issues were unfolding on the night, various Committee members alerted Inspector Geyer, who was the Police Community Relations Officer for the PGLG. However, Geyer had been instructed by someone, presumably a superior, not to liaise with officers on duty but to be 'an observer.'⁹² Whittaker and Hobday concluded that this was an 'absurd' and 'unworkable' arrangement.⁹³ Compared to the previous year when Inspector Thorgood—Geyer's much respected predecessor—rode along with the procession in a police car and listened in on the police radio, Inspector Geyer's presence was redundant. Whittaker and Hobday summarized their disappointment with police service at the 1986 parade:

These matters are of great concern to the Gay Mardi Gras Committee and no doubt they are to you as Police Commissioner, as they represent a serious breakdown in effective Police/gay community relations and threaten the significant advances made in this area during 1985. In the interests of promoting constructive decisions about these problems, we have refrained from making any public comments on Police servicing of the Mardi Gras Parade and we trust this will not be necessary.⁹⁴

Whether it was a veiled threat or a display of faith, the MGC trusted that the Commissioner would join them in consultation. Here was the Mardi Gras Committee, as

⁹¹ Bill Whittaker and Brian Hobday.

⁹² Bill Whittaker and Brian Hobday.

⁹³ Bill Whittaker and Brian Hobday.

⁹⁴ Bill Whittaker and Brian Hobday.

representatives of the gay community, calling the police in for a performance review. When a break down in 'Police/gay community relations' occurred, the PGLG also followed the same policy as MGC and refrained from making comments in the media.⁹⁵ The stance of the PGLG was clear,

In the past, considerable tension, if not hostility, between the Police and the gay community has been provoked by comments very critical of or offensive to one group by someone identified as representing the other. Members of the liaison should endeavor to discourage provocative statements, and to promote the concept of an effective and harmonious working relationship.⁹⁶

From the outset of the Group's endeavors, they took their commitment to being a symbol of co-operation seriously. Behind the scenes, co-operation entailed critical feedback, as well as positive reinforcement, but the public was only privy to criticism in certain circumstances. One such instance was when the results of a phone-in known as the Gay Hotline were released. In that situation the difference was that the PGLG had sought out this information through phone ins, and specifically asked for a critical response so they knew what to improve upon. While the PGLG 'considered in detail' the findings the MGC's report, and supported them, the Group as a whole did not follow up these issues with the police.⁹⁷

Instead, Greg Tillett and MGC members, independent of the PGLG, met with senior police throughout 1986 to 'develop strategies to ensure a more effective cooperation with the police at the 1987 Mardi Gras.'⁹⁸ Considering the fluctuating service from the police at various points since the PGLG's involvement in the Mardi Gras, it is unsurprising that the MGC pursued a written agreement from the police for future parades.⁹⁹ Throughout these deliberations, tensions returned to the relationship when the MGC reported

⁹⁵ Bill Whittaker and Brian Hobday.

⁹⁶ Gay Consultation, "Meeting of a Working Group to Discuss Proposals for a Police-Gay Liaison Unit," 3.

⁹⁷ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary Late June 1986" (ADB, June 26, 1986), Murray McLachlan personal collection.

⁹⁸ Police-Gay Liaison Group.

⁹⁹ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary March 1986" (ADB, March 20, 1986), Murray McLachlan personal collection.

difficulty negotiating with the Police Traffic Branch for the 1987 parade. Between June 1986 and February 1987, these and other issues were addressed at meetings between members of the police, the MGC and the PCRB.¹⁰⁰ Murray McLachlan, Mardi Gras' deputy coordinator and PGLG member, reflected on the first two meetings,

Although a number of issues were discussed, the meetings did not result in significant furthering of the negotiations. In fact, it was felt that the venue of the meetings and the participation of the Community Relations Bureau representatives may have been a barrier to productive discussion.¹⁰¹

Indeed, McLachlan urged that 'consideration needs to be given to the role of the Community Relations Bureau and the PGLG in these negotiations. It may be that indirect participation has been more productive than direct involvement.'¹⁰² In 1988, the MGC cemented their preference for the PGLG playing a less direct role in negotiations for the parade, so that the MGC liaised with police directly.¹⁰³

The logistics of the parade were continually interrogated and improved upon by the police and MGC after 1986, with support—but less direct involvement—from the PGLG.¹⁰⁴ For instance, the direction of parade route and how to best manage crowds safely remained under discussion.¹⁰⁵ While the logistics remained a process for fine tuning, the parade as a whole in both 1987 and 1988 were considered successful. A successful parade, of course, relied upon successful policing. McLachlan relayed his findings to the PGLG, remarking that in 1988 'the Police handled themselves well and that it was a better response than it has been for previous years.'¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ Murray McLachlan, "Police Service at 1987 Sydney Gay Mardi Gras Parade" (Sydney Gay Mardi Gras Association, April 23, 1987), Murray McLachlan personal collection.

¹⁰¹ Murray McLachlan.

¹⁰² Murray McLachlan.

¹⁰³ Murray McLachlan, "Police Service at the 1988 Sydney Gay Mardi Gras Parade" (Sydney Gay Mardi Gras Association, May 26, 1988), Murray McLachlan personal collection.

¹⁰⁴ "Mardi Gras: Saturday's the Night," *The Star*, February 20, 1987.

¹⁰⁵ Murray McLachlan, "Police Service at the 1988 Sydney Gay Mardi Gras Parade."

¹⁰⁶ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary March 1988," March 24, 1988, Murray McLachlan personal collection, 1.

The declining influence of the PGLG in the organisation of Mardi Gras is not necessarily an indication of failure, as much as it demonstrates the crowded nature of community policing and governing through community. Reading the professionalisation of Mardi Gras in terms of its governmental significance revealed a dynamic process of feedback and relationship reformulation between the police and gay community organisations. Through feedback from the PGLG and Mardi Gras, the police themselves became subjected to the effects of governing through community. The principles of community policing bound them, at least ostensibly, to responding to this feedback in ways which formally scrutinised their service and thus created new structures of accountability within the relationship. By bringing the police and the gay community into a new relation, therefore, governing through community allowed community organisations to shape the state in certain contexts like policing of community events.

The emergence of liaison and its use by state and non-state actors as a tool to govern through community was the focus of this first chapter. Though it is often overshadowed by the introduction of GLLOs in 1990, the emergence of liaison in 1984 with the PGLG and the agitation that occurred prior to its inception reveal that gay community organisations pursued liaison to improve the relationship between police and the gay community. The police were amenable to this relationship in 1983 through an institutional shift to community policing. As this chapter demonstrated, the relationship between the police and the gay community was reformulated through a narrative of co-operation which underpinned the PGLG and events like Mardi Gras. The case study of Mardi Gras demonstrated that this relationship involved not only a reimagining of the gay community as now partnered with the police, but that the police were reimagined as accountable, and subjected to feedback. At the end of their first year, the Group warned: ‘the hostility and suspicion of the past will not be easily overcome—even with the success of things like Mardi Gras. But the Group hopes that all gay people will be prepared to support an attempt at better relations with the police.’¹⁰⁷ The complex and diverse paths

¹⁰⁷ Police-Gay Liaison Group, “Appendices of 1985 Annual Report,” October 31, 1985, New South Wales Police Force collection.

that gay and lesbian people took in response to forging better relations with the police forms the focus of Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2: GOVERNING VIOLENCE THROUGH CITIZENS

Violence and the gay community

In 1982, the *Sydney Star* reported an increase in violence against gay men, a problem compounded by a poor relationship with the police which lead to an unwillingness to report violence. They insisted,

We have to work towards preventing the attacks happening. It is essential therefore to involve the police no matter how you feel about them. We all know how disappointing the police have been in following up reports of attacks. This will continue unless pressure is put on them. Police often deny there is a major problem of gay related bashings as they get few reports of the attacks. Statistics are important to the police. Every attack must be reported so that police are forced into intensifying patrols and more vigorously pursuing bashers. So always go to the police and persist in getting them to search with you, if you are in a physical state to be on your feet.¹

Violence against the gay community in Sydney, particularly towards men at beats, highlighted the complex relations between the community and police. In 2018, the NSWPF released *Strike Force Parrabell*, their report into eighty-eight deaths suspected of 'gay-hate bias' between 1976 and 2000.² While analysis of this report is outside the scope of this chapter, it is crucial to note that the NSWPF was 'acutely aware and acknowledges without qualification both its and society's acceptance of gay bashings and violence directed at gay men and the LGBTIQ community' during this time.³ This acknowledgement by the NSWPF attempts to mask its negligence in broader societal attitudes of the time, however, recent books and documentaries have singled out the

¹ "Rise in Gay Bashings," *The Sydney Star*, December 3, 1982.

² New South Wales Police Force, "Strike Force Parrabell: Final Report," 2018, <https://www.police.nsw.gov.au/?a=575265>, 14.

³ New South Wales Police Force.

police for their dismissive handling of these deaths and the potential murder of gay men by policemen.⁴ Within this period of murders, violence and police neglect, this chapter examines the government of violence between 1984 and 1990 by state and non-state actors. Government, here, means how violence was approached as an issue, by who and to what effect. This chapter argues that the government of violence in this period was a contested field in two ways. Firstly, the ‘conductors of conduct’ shifted and changed, and from this contestation the Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby (GLRL), independent of any policing or liaison structure, demanded the implementation of GLLOs. I argue that Nikolas Rose’s ‘analytics of government’ does not fully explain the situation whereby a community organization independently demanded a stronger relationship with the police and revived liaison in the process. Secondly, citizens persistently contested the concept of liaison and forces of responsabilization which were dominant in the government of violence.

Responsible community and citizens

The shift to community policing produced a shift in understandings of communities and citizens whereby they were reconfigured by the state to be partly responsible for the safety of society.⁵ Crime prevention, such as preventing violence against gay men and lesbians, as we will see, was particularly important for the relationship between the police and the gay community. Building on Chapter 1 which established the role of community in community policing, in this section I demonstrate that citizens figured prominently in this shift too, as the individuals who made up the community.

The idea of communities and the police forming a partnership and co-operating to minimise crime and maximise safety saturated the Police’s institutional objectives and philosophies between 1984 and 1990. As evidenced by the objectives of the PCRB, the community and the police were to answer pressing ‘community problems’ together.⁶ The

⁴ Duncan McNab, *Getting Away with Murder* (Australia: Random House, 2017); Greg Callaghan, *Bondi Badlands* (Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2007); Amanda Blue, *Deep Water: True Story*, Documentary (Blackfella Films, 2016).

⁵ NSW Police, “NSW Police Annual Report 1982/83,” 1983, 97.

⁶ NSW Police Department, “Report of the N.S.W Police Department 1984-1985,” 33.

first objective of the PCRB was to ‘prevent and reduce crime through the introduction of programmes which encourage the community to actively assist Police.’⁷ For example, Neighbourhood Watch and Safe House schemes diagnosed problems ‘which may affect the incidence of crime in the community’, and developed ‘remedial programmes with community involvement.’⁸ Prominent here is the manner in which community functions as both the site of problems—crime and unsafeness—and simultaneously as the solution: communities in partnership with police. Community is the space being fixed, and the fixer of that space—along with police.⁹

Some years later, in 1987, the NSWPF released corporate objectives, which aimed to: ‘increase feelings of safety and security in the community by giving priority to crime prevention and detection programmes’ and ‘make policing services more responsive to the needs and feelings of the community,’ and ‘encourage greater involvement of citizens in policing.’¹⁰ On an official level, NSWPF heavily promoted the connection between the police and citizens working together through community policing to ensure the safety of the community,

This concept [community policing] involves Police and citizens working together towards a common goal to overcome problems of mutual concern. These problems are related to the activities of criminals and hoodlums and the effect of their viciousness on the community.¹¹

Police Commissioner John Avery similarly acknowledged the contribution of individuals to community safety by concluding a letter in the 1989 to 1990 Annual Report with this message: ‘my warm thanks go to the people of New South Wales: the other half of the community based policing equation.’¹² Evidently, individual citizens were important to the project of community policing, despite its rhetorical focus on communities.

⁷ NSW Police Department.

⁸ NSW Police Department.

⁹ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 173.

¹⁰ New South Wales Police Department, “Report of the New South Wales Police Department 1986-1987” (Sydney, 1987), 24.

¹¹ New South Wales Police Department, 25.

¹² NSW Police Service, “New South Wales Police Service Annual Report 1989-1990” (Sydney, 1990), 6.

As we have seen, the Police placed enormous emphasis on community policing and the involvement of citizens in maximising safety in society, but there were limits to what citizens were expected to do. The police explained that community policing ‘does not mean members of the community become part-time police. It does mean that police must create an awareness in the community that they (the community) have a role to play in the maintenance of law and order.’¹³ In creating ‘awareness’ of the role for citizens in the maintenance of law and order, we see that gay and lesbian citizens were reformulated as partners to the police and invested with responsibility. Rose identifies this shift as the retreat of the social state, alongside the emergence of the ‘facilitating state, the enabling state or the state as animator’ which elevated a whole range of non-state actors and individuals into positions of responsibility over a variety of society’s needs, including its well-being.¹⁴ Rose explains that those governing through the social state were, ‘relieved of its [their] powers and obligations to know, plan, calculate and steer from the centre.’ The space left by the state as it retreats does not remain empty, as issues and problems like crime and public health still need fixing and addressing. Therefore, it is citizens and other non-state actors—responsible and autonomous actors and citizens—that are actively molded to take on the task. Rose argues,

The state is no longer to be required to answer all of society’s needs for order, security, health and productivity. Individuals, firms, organizations, localities, schools, parents, hospitals, housing estates must take on themselves—as ‘partners’—a portion of the responsibility for resolving these issues—whether this be by permanent retraining for the worker, or neighborhood watch for the community. This involves a double movement of autonomization and responsabilization.¹⁵

The PGLG is a prime example of the enabling state, as it brought the gay community into partnership with the police. The government of violence against the gay community, as an issue that affected the security and health of citizens, involved the responsabilization

¹³ NSW Police, “NSW Police Annual Report 1987-1988,” 18.

¹⁴ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 174.

¹⁵ Nikolas Rose.

and autonomization of citizens, in an attempt to reduce future crime. Having established the connection between citizens and community policing, this next section elaborates on the processes of responsabilization and autonomization and their effects.

PGLG and responsabilization

The PGLG provides the first case study of autonomization and responsabilization of people in the gay community by the state. While Rose explicitly references Neighbourhood Watch Programs as evidence of these processes, I build on this example to argue that anti-violence campaigns attempted to responsabilize and autonomize.¹⁶ I demonstrate the effects of 'responsibilizing' phone-ins and anti-violence campaigns on the community and highlight the way that responses to violence effected the 'conductors of conduct', the groups who governed through the gay community. Namely, I trace the dissipation of the PGLG in the late 1980s which was supplanted by the Police Gay Client Group Consultancy role (PGCGC) and Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers (GLLOs), who worked from within the police to 'service' the gay community and address the issue of violence.¹⁷

As discussed, the PGLG embodied the partnership of co-operation which the NSWPF aimed to foster in their turn to community policing. The PGLG was the primary means through which the police learnt about and assessed the needs and problems of the gay community. From providing 'regular meetings between representatives of the Police Force and the gay community' to providing 'a working group' where 'specific problems (including crisis situations) can be discussed and resolutions sought,' the PGLG co-operated with police and was involved in remedying issues pertinent to the community's safety.¹⁸ In advanced liberal government, 'the relation of the state and the people was to take a different form', a reformulation which explains why the PGLG sought to ascertain the issues and problems facing the gay community. Rose explains, the state 'would maintain the infrastructure of law and order,' while citizens 'would promote individual

¹⁶ Nikolas Rose, 174.

¹⁷ Sue Thompson, "Improving Police Gay/Lesbian Relations and Targeting Hate Crimes against Gays and Lesbians (1985-1997)" (New South Wales: New South Wales Police Service, 1998), 4.

¹⁸ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," 1985, Robert B French archival collection, 4.

and national well-being by their responsibility and enterprise.’¹⁹ In this ‘new partnership between the enabling state and responsible citizens’ the PGLG promoted the well-being of gay and lesbian citizens through the ‘natural bonds’ of community, such as the desire to eradicate violence.²⁰

For example, according to the PGLG, major issues such as ‘anti-gay’ violence required addressing, as did the corollary issues of poor police service and citizens not reporting crimes to police.²¹ These three issues were intertwined. The Group explained that issues related to ‘crimes against gay people’ were ‘the continuing reluctance of gay people to report crimes against them, especially where these relate to their sexuality. The policing of Oxford Street’ and ‘the policing of other areas where gay people may be at special risk.’²² The government of violence—how the police and the community responded to it and how the PGLG attempted to responsabilize and autonomize citizens to reduce it—focused on addressing these interrelated issues.

¹⁹ While some issues identified were concerned with influencing the police other issues were concerned with influencing both the police and citizens. For example, discriminatory police attitudes towards gay people because of AIDS paranoia and misinformation was addressed through education at police stations, an article in the Police Association Journal and eventually through an AIDS Education Unit within the NSWPF staffed by two men in 1987. Police-Gay Liaison Group, 10; Police-Gay Liaison Group, “Meeting Summary February 1988,” February 25, 1988, Murray McLachlan personal collection, 3; Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 139.

²⁰ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 186.

²¹ This thesis uses the term ‘anti-gay violence’ to describe prejudiced violence against gay and lesbian people that occurred between 1984 and 1990. This was the terminology used by the police, media and Streetwatch to describe violence inflicted against gay men and lesbians because of their sexuality or perceived sexuality. Other scholarship uses different terms like ‘homophobia’ and ‘heterosexist violence’ and ‘homophobia related violence’. See for discussions of these terms and their merits: Gail Mason, *The Spectacle of Violence: Homophobia, Gender, and Knowledge*, Writing Corporealities (New York: Routledge, 2002), 6; Shirleene Robinson, ed., *Homophobia: An Australian History* (Annandale, N.S.W.: The Federation Press, 2008), 2-3; Police-Gay Liaison Group, “Meeting Summary July 1987,” July 30, 1987, Murray McLachlan personal collection; ADB, “Meeting Summary January 1987,” January 22, 1987, Murray McLachlan personal collection; Police-Gay Liaison Group, “Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group,” November 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection; Police-Gay Liaison Group, “Meeting Summary Late June 1986” (ADB, June 26, 1986), Murray McLachlan personal collection; Police-Gay Liaison Group, “Meeting Summary July 1986” (ADB, July 24, 1986), Murray McLachlan personal collection; Police-Gay Liaison Group, “August Meeting Summary 1986,” August 28, 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection; Police-Gay Liaison Group, “Meeting Summary November 1986,” November 27, 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection.

²² Police-Gay Liaison Group, “Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group,” 1985.

After a year of increased violence against gay people, the PGLG's 1986 Annual Report now classified violence, reporting and policing as 'long term' priorities.²³ The group listed the following as some of the 'most important' issues for 'on-going work' in the future:

The need to further address traditional mistrust and hostility between the police and the gay community; the need for properly planned and implemented police services, in consultation with the gay community, to respond to anti-gay violence; the continuing reluctance of many gay people to use police services.²⁴

As it stood, these issues clearly prevented some citizens, especially victims of crime, from contributing to the 'maintenance of law and order.' Community policing implored citizens and police to collaborate, but lesbian and gay citizens remained reluctant to go to the police. Reporting crime to the police, so that information about attackers and victims could be catalogued, and perpetrators caught, was a vital way for citizens to contribute to society's safety. Both reporting to the police and complaining about police service figured in the responsabilization of citizens, as these actions put the onus on citizens to alter their behaviour with the understanding that better police service, through complaining, and arresting more criminals through reporting, would lead to a safer community.²⁵

As violence continued, however, the reluctance to report to police became clearer. In the media and throughout the meetings of the PGLG there were numerous reports of violence against men at beats and people walking and socialising throughout inner Sydney. Though a few reports to the PGLG and media referred to lesbians and theft, mostly it was gay men who recounted their attacks, often mentioning in depth details to inform and warn others. For example, in March 1986 the *Star Observer* reported the attack of four different men in one night near Green Park in Sydney. One of the victims

²³ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," November 1986, 9.

²⁴ Police-Gay Liaison Group.

²⁵ Greg Tillett, "Complaining: A Practical Guide," *The Star Observer*, December 12, 1986; Greg Tillett, "Name Calling and the Police-Gay Liaison Unit," *Campaign*, no. 109 (January 1985): 17; Greg Tillett, "Comments on 'Someone Should Do Something about It'" (Village Voice, April 10, 1986), Murray McLachlan personal collection.

involved recalled walking through Green Park and being punched in the face and neck by an unknown man.²⁶ The *Star Observer* reported the attack in detail,

The gay man managed to get to his feet and ran out of the park into St Vincent's casualty where he was treated for a split lip, cuts and bruises. He also lost a tooth. While escaping he heard another man screaming for help. While in casualty, he said three other victims came in to be treated. "I have no doubt they were all victims of the same basher," the first victim, a 43-year-old man, said.²⁷

Though the man had reported this information to the press, he had 'no intention of reporting the incident to the police.'²⁸ As Rose asserts, governing through community promoted social justice 'through the building of responsible communities, prepared to invest in themselves.'²⁹ In many ways the gay community reflected this, but, as Rose contrasts, 'a whole variety of groups and forces make their demand, wage their campaigns, stand up for their rights and enact their resistances' in honour of their communities.³⁰ In making the choice to not report, or avoid a relationship with police, victims enacted their resistance. Though responsabilization of citizens was easily encouraged and promoted, it was not inevitable that responsabilize behaviours and outlooks were adopted by citizens.

Under a 'complaints of anti-gay violence' agenda item a few months later in June, the 'meeting heard reports of an increased level of anti-gay violence.'³¹ PGLG member Terry Goulden advised the Group that,

²⁶ John Wishart, "Bashings Increase: Four Men Attacked in Green Park," *The Star Observer*, March 21, 1986.

²⁷ John Wishart.

²⁸ John Wishart.

²⁹ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 136.

³⁰ Nikolas Rose.

³¹ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary Early June 1986," June 5, 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection.

...there was a continuing need to encourage gay people to make formal complaints to the police of any incidents of violence. He [Terry] said many people were still reluctant to make complaints to the police.³²

Later in June 1986 the PGLG discussed reports of assault which Greg Tillett from the ADB had received: 'further reports have been received of violence directed at gay men, both in the Oxford Street area and at beats.'³³ These included 4 allegations of assault occurring in Moore Park, of which 'most assaults had not been reported to the police.'³⁴ In St Leonards Park, 5 assaults occurred where youths had used baseball bats were reported to North Sydney Police. They also discussed another assault of a man at Victoria Park and the assault of 2 men outside a club called '253.'³⁵ The low rate at which these incidents were reported to police was preventing the arrest of attackers and contributing to the continuation of crime, not the reduction of crime. To reduce crime and harm to the community, the PGLG needed citizens to co-operate with police in stations, especially victims of violence.

Violence proved to be an issue that was consistently addressed in the PGLG's meetings, and at certain points throughout its lifetime, the Group responded to 'increasing press coverage of violence against lesbians and gay men' through phone-in 'Gay Hotlines.'³⁶ The Hotline reflected an attempt to responsabilize the gay community and citizens in two ways. Firstly, it promoted the role of citizens, especially victims, as necessary to the process of gathering information about issues concerning the community. Secondly, it actually managed to gather some information from citizens who were encouraged to share their experiences with the PGLG so that the PGLG could address violence and police service in the future.

Promoting the Hotlines meant promoting citizens' participation in community policing and by extension, their role in society's safety. In the words of the PGLG: 'unless crimes

³² Police-Gay Liaison Group.

³³ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary Late June 1986."

³⁴ Police-Gay Liaison Group.

³⁵ Police-Gay Liaison Group.

³⁶ Matthew Blackmore, "Hotline Proposal," June 24, 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection.

are reported, the police cannot respond properly.³⁷ Accordingly, the first step in their proposal was to organise a Hotline to 'encourage victims of violence to report the crime against them.'³⁸ Similarly, Greg Tillett, convenor of the PGLG implored people to complain, so that police service could improve, in turn increasing the likelihood that victims would report to police,

The only way in which their [police] attitudes and behaviour will be changed is when gay people stop acting like second class citizens, and begin to assert their rights. Failing to use the police service, or putting up with poor service is accepting that you don't have equal rights.³⁹

The PGLG considered the first Gay Hotline a success, in particular because it produced data about violence against gay men. Over a forty-eight hour period on the weekend of Friday 19th July to Sunday 21st 1985, beginning and ending at 8pm, the Gay Hotline received sixty-nine calls.⁴⁰ Fifty-three of these were from gay men reporting that they had been attacked in the time before the Hotline. Some callers rang just to express their support for the PGLG and the Hotline. As a way of measuring the condition of the relationship between the police and gay and lesbian people, it was also productive. The 1985 Hotline revealed 'discriminatory behavior on the part of the NSW Police Force towards lesbian (sic) and gay men', and recorded 'a measure of the level and type of violence perpetrated by both police officers and 'poofteer-bashers.'⁴¹ The Group also

³⁷ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Increase in Anti-Gay Violence" (ADB, August 28, 1986), Murray McLachlan personal collection.

³⁸ Police-Gay Liaison Group.

³⁹ Greg Tillett, "Police Force or Service?," *Sydney Star Observer*, June 27, 1986; The Group published similar sentiments elsewhere, stating "Gay people have the same rights as everyone else to expect efficient, polite and effective service from the police. But unless that service is called on, there is no way of knowing whether it's being provided. And if it isn't being provided, there's no way in which the police can be expected to improve unless attention is drawn to problem areas. So if the service isn't what it ought to be, a complaint ought to be made. Likewise, if the service is good, a compliment may help to keep it that way." Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Appendices of 1985 Annual Report," October 31, 1985, New South Wales Police Force collection.

⁴⁰ Police Gay Liaison Unit, "Gay Hotline Report."

⁴¹ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary April 1986," April 17, 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection; Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary July 1986" (ADB, July 24, 1986), Murray McLachlan personal collection; Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary June 1986" (ADB, June 26, 1986), Murray McLachlan personal collection; Police-Gay Liaison Group, "August Meeting Summary 1986," August 28, 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection; Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay

noted, that 'many gay people are still unwilling to report even crimes of violence committed against them because of fear of or hostility towards the police.'⁴² In essence, the first Gay Hotline confirmed what the Group already knew, but they elicited this information directly from citizens.

The second Gay Hotline in October 1986 incorporated the same aims as the first, with two newer objectives. It hoped to gauge the perceived increase in violence in the preceding few months and to compare its findings from 1985 to 1986.⁴³ Once again it took place over a weekend, because it was commonly perceived that gay and lesbian people were more likely to be attacked when out socializing in their leisure time. Between October 18th and 19th 1986, forty-three relevant calls were received, twenty-three of which required follow-up action by police employees Fred Miller and Dennis Dack. The PGLU concluded, 'the result of the phone in highlighted the fact that there was a greater need for education.'⁴⁴ The PGLG were attentive to this and ran education programs at the stations that received poor feedback through the Hotline.⁴⁵ Ten calls alleged police discriminatory police service or underservicing, while six commended the police for good service.⁴⁶

However, the second Hotline reaffirmed that a reluctance to seek help from the police still existed, and that callers who had not sought police help 'invariably stated that they did not think they would receive service because of their homosexuality.'⁴⁷ The results of the Hotline confirmed that victims still did not report to police, that responsabilization of victims was not inevitable and that barriers and distrust remained in the relationship. The PGLG elaborated on the effects of such a barrier, saying, 'this reluctance to report incidents is of even more concern when it is considered that in a number of cases, if the matters HAD been reported to Police, sufficient information was available in most cases

Liaison Group," November 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection; ADB, "Meeting Summary January 1987," January 22, 1987, Murray McLachlan personal collection; Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary July 1987," July 30, 1987.

⁴² Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," 12.

⁴³ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Press Release" (ADB, October 1986), Murray McLachlan personal collection.

⁴⁴ Police Gay Liaison Unit, 3.

⁴⁵ Police Gay Liaison Unit.

⁴⁶ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," November 1986, 8.

⁴⁷ Police Gay Liaison Unit, "Gay Hotline," November 25, 1986, 2.

for an arrest to be made.⁴⁸ When there was resistance to these systems, or to working with the police in general, citizens were not responsabilized in the way the conductors of conduct—the PGLG in this case—intended them to be. Traditional hostility between the police and gay community was a difficult, almost unresolvable barrier to overcome, despite the pull exerted on citizens by community policing's rhetoric of partnership and co-operation.

Around the time of the 1986 Hotline, prejudiced ideas about AIDS were seen as the cause of increased violence. The PGLG explained,

During the past year there has been a significant increase in anti-gay violence ... The increased level of violence, has, at least in part, been due to the greater levels of homophobia in society as a result of ill-informed fears and attitudes on AIDS.⁴⁹

The PGLG responded to the increase in violence by running a Hotline and attempting to bring victims into the systems of community policing which prioritised partnership and interdependence. As discussed, some members of the gay community participated through this avenue, but others advocated for measures that excluded the involvement of the police, the PGLG, or both. Rose frames these differences as 'contestations', because they are not simply relations of domination and resistance, us and them, but combinations of alliances, oppositions and conflicts.⁵⁰

For example, an unnamed group of people responded to an attack on the Albion Street AIDS Centre Bus independently of the PGLG. The bus was a mobile outreach unit located in inner Sydney. This unnamed group launched a meeting titled 'Reclaim the Night' in response to the three carloads of men who attacked the bus while it was operating at Green Park.⁵¹ The staff and men being assisted at the bus hid inside while it was 'pummelled' into an 'inoperable' state by men wielding iron bars, timber and bricks.⁵²

⁴⁸ Police Gay Liaison Unit, "Gay Hotline Report," 4. Emphasis original.

⁴⁹ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Annual Report of the Police-Gay Liaison Group," November 1986, 5.

⁵⁰ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 277-279.

⁵¹ "Reclaim the Night," August 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection.

⁵² "Reclaim the Night."

The response of this group is notable for its insistence on responding to the violence for the benefit of the 'greater community' and 'visitors' to Sydney.⁵³ They argued,

The assault on the bus is in effect a peak in the disgusting trough of attacks and vicious actions against members of our community. A common link between these attacks is their anti-gay and aids hysteria motivation. However, it is not only gay men who have become victims. The thugs currently roaming the streets are blinded by ignorance, prejudice and anger. Certainly, gay people need to organize but at the same time our greater community must act as a many other local resident and even visitors to our local area have felt the violent reality of being on the streets and victimized. If we are to stop the attacks we must organize—we must act positively.⁵⁴

In contrast to the organisers of the Reclaim the Night meeting, the Gay Solidarity Group (GSG), responded with a more insular objective. That the GSG had a representative on the PGLG as they launched this response is evidence of the diverse 'allegiances' and 'bonds' between the people that form and communities. In a pamphlet dated September 4, 1986—the date which Reclaim the Night was scheduled for—the GSG questioned the efficacy of the PGLG and suggested a different strategy.⁵⁵

The recent attack on the Albion Street AIDS bus, its workers, and the street boys in Darlinghurst Road, is yet another example of the recent increase in anti-gay violence. The bashers are out for blood—our blood—and will only be stopped by firm, united action on our part. Any strategy we develop to end these bashings should aim first to prevent them from taking place, rather than simply cleaning up the mess afterwards.⁵⁶

⁵³ "Reclaim the Night."

⁵⁴ "Reclaim the Night."

⁵⁵ Gay Solidarity Group, "Recent Attack," September 4, 1986, Murray McLachlan personal collection.

⁵⁶ Gay Solidarity Group.

Here was an emphasis on preventing violence, rather than reacting to it. At this point, the pamphlet reads as a perfect profile of citizens wanting to engage in the prevention of crime to secure their community. However, in the midst of recent violent attacks, the GSG questioned the impact of the role of the PGLG, and distanced themselves from community policing, writing,

Reliance on the work of the Police Gay Liaison Group is a self-defeating strategy. The Police have themselves been the perpetrators of anti-gay harassment on the beats. Along Darlinghurst Road the police are definitely not the first people to turn to in times of trouble... At best police will plead inability to follow up on poofter-bashers. The work of the PGLG can only be a secondary strategy in the defence of our rights.⁵⁷

Despite having an elected member on the PGLG, the GSG explicitly singled out the police as a threat to the safety of gays and lesbians. Thus, by associating and working with the police, the strategies of the PGLG were futile. Safety would have to come from within the community:

What we need is a strategy that gives us—lesbians and gay men—power: one that places no reliance on outside groups and organisations...This is not about factions or political point scoring. It is about lesbians and gay men getting together and contributing to the development of a successful anti-violence organization.⁵⁸

In this form of preventative action, power came from within the gay community. Unlike the picture painted by community policing though, this conception of community was consciously divorcing itself from the police. Indeed, for the GSG it seemed that divorcing the gay community from the state was the way in which to secure safety, something which undermined every facet of community policing promoted at this time. The fact that

⁵⁷ Gay Solidarity Group.

⁵⁸ Gay Solidarity Group.

the GSG was a liberationist, left-wing group helps explain this position towards the police, and their politics proposed an alternative way to shape conduct and secure society.⁵⁹

The different responses to violence while the PGLG were operating reflect the contested nature of the government of violence. Both the 'Reclaim the Night' and GSG response to the rising attacks on the gay community shared with the Gay Hotline an emphasis on encouraging the gay community to participate in securing their safety, something which was suggested through a variety of means. Each response diverges from this basic similarity at other points, however. Where the GSG sought to avoid the gay community partnering with the police, this was the driving force behind the PGLG's Hotlines. Where the Reclaim the Night framed their response to violence in terms of the gay community as linked to the greater community, GSG and the Hotlines focused more on the gay community's citizens in isolation. Moreover, although the PGLG and community policing promoted the responsabilization of citizens, the transformation of this idea into practice was not inevitable on an individual citizen level, as demonstrated by the continued reports of gay and lesbian citizens' reluctance to work with the police.

AVP, Streetwatch and PGLG decline

Violence perpetrated against the gay community produced multiple and different forms of governing through community between 1984 and 1990. As just discussed, citizens and the community were governed through their relationship with the police, where they were encouraged by the PGLG to participate in keeping society secure. This section examines how citizens were governed by non-state groups and organisations like the Anti-Violence Project (AVP) and Streetwatch Project, which also sought to shape citizens' conduct in relation to violence. The many organisations attempting to tackle the problem of violence in the gay community from 1984 reinforce the different and contested

⁵⁹ Rose's schema is not faulted by radical politics or extremism as it seeks to make politics answerable to questions not restricted to left wing/right wing, dominated/repressed binaries and thus render politics governmental, not political and open up new possibilities for analysis. See for examples of GSG's values: Gay Solidarity Group, "Gay Solidarity Newsletter," April 1979, Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives; Gay Solidarity Group, "A Proposal for a Summer Offensive for Gay Rights," 1979, Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives.

attempts to govern citizens' behaviour in relation to violence. As Rose argues, 'contestations are not between power and its others, but between diverse programmes, logics, dreams and ideals, codified, organized and rationalized to a greater or lesser extent.'⁶⁰ In comparison to emerging activism from community groups who prioritised violence as their sole issue, the PGLG's broader focus earned them scrutiny from gay community organisations and the media. With a narrow focus on violence perpetrated against gay and lesbian people, both the AVP and Streetwatch questioned the efficacy of the PGLG's response and the PGLG's role in the gay community more generally.

The AVP had initially been set up in 1986, following multiple community meetings initiated by the PGLG.⁶¹ As a response to 'increasing levels of anti-gay violence' in the streets and at beats, the initiation of the AVP was the final part of a proposal the Group put together.⁶² The potential of the AVP was dubious, as even at its inception, 'doubts were expressed as to the ongoing viability of the project.'⁶³ In 1987 the AVP's primary aim was to ascertain 'the extent of violence against lesbians and gay men' and their secondary aim was to consider 'the effectiveness of existing support agencies such as Gay Crisis Network and the Police/Gay Liaison Group.'⁶⁴

After a lull in its early months, the AVP reconvened in early 1987 and after this proved to be more consistent.⁶⁵ In 1988, Graham Harvey from the AVP updated the PGLG on the project's standing. The Project's phone service which provided callers with information about AIDS and helped with incidents of violence had stopped due to old equipment breaking down.⁶⁶ The Project needed funds to replace the phone service, as well as volunteers to staff phones. Notably, both the AVP and Robert French of the GLRL informed the PGLG that they planned to create new phone numbers which could be placed in advertisements for people to call if they had been bashed. Where the PGLG once advertised their phone numbers and assistance to anyone who needed them,

⁶⁰ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, 279.

⁶¹ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Increase in Anti-Gay Violence."

⁶² Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary March 1988."

⁶³ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary November 1986."

⁶⁴ "Anti-Gay Violence Being Surveyed," *Sydney's Star Observer*, July 24, 1987.

⁶⁵ "Move to Revive Anti-Violence Project," *Sydney's Star Observer*, February 1987.

⁶⁶ Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary March 1988."

including those who had been bashed, two community groups were now taking up this mantle instead.⁶⁷ Similarly, the AVP began monthly meetings at the Gay Centre in Sydney.⁶⁸ These meetings were a 'a safe place' for gay men and lesbians to 'get support if they have been bashed or harassed.'⁶⁹ Evidently, as the AVP offered new services to the gay community and the GLRL added their assistance, the field in which members of the gay community could access information and services regarding violence broadened.

Later in 1988, amongst this dynamic field of projects and services—what Rose would label a 'marketplace of services'—civilian community relations officer for the PCRB, Fred Miller, attempted to raise the profile of the PGLG.⁷⁰ 'Set up four years ago, the Police Gay and Lesbian Liaison Unit these days is pretty low profile,' began the byline of a profile piece on Miller in the *Sydney Star*. 'But the new anti-violence project Streetwatch', continued writer Leigh McLaughlin, 'highlights once again the whole question of the relationship between the police and the gay and lesbian community.'⁷¹ The nature of the relationship was indeed a question which received critical attention in the gay community, especially when violence was perceived to be increasing but victims remained reluctant to report to police.

The profile on Miller not only brought publicity to the Group, but a critical gaze to their place in the gay community, McLaughlin wrote, 'in Government circles, the buzz words of the 80s are community policing.'⁷² McLaughlin's skepticism for these buzz words was clear,

Just how effective this policy has been in regard to the gay and lesbian communities and other minority groups such as aboriginal people is open to debate. As Mr. Miller said (after the tape had been turned off following a lengthy interview) the police don't necessarily like gays and lesbians but they know they

⁶⁷ Police-Gay Liaison Group.

⁶⁸ "Anti-Violence Meetings," *Sydney's Star Observer*, May 15, 1987.

⁶⁹ "Anti-Violence Meetings."

⁷⁰ Leigh McLaughlin, "Profile: Fred Miller," *Sydney Star Observer*, November 11, 1988.

⁷¹ Leigh McLaughlin.

⁷² Leigh McLaughlin.

have to provide them with exactly the same service as any other member of the public.⁷³

Here a general skepticism about the relationship was reinforced by a questioning of how police policy transpired in practice. Critically, Miller confirmed a distinction between police rhetoric and police actions, and also divulged that there had been ‘considerable opposition in police ranks to the Unit being established in 1984.’⁷⁴ Questions about the PGLU’s interactions with lesbians reinforced doubt about the position of the Unit and PGLG. Miller was uncertain as to whether lesbians benefitted from the group, and explained they were ‘hard to contact’ and to ‘keep in touch with.’⁷⁵ Aside from hearing a few reports of property damage and theft, no lesbians had complained to the Unit about assault or harassment.

One thing Miller was confident about, was the positive improvement in relations between the police and gay and lesbian people, ‘particularly in Sydney.’⁷⁶ But Miller’s comments to the journalist managed to put the Group’s difficulties with the issue of violence and underreporting front and center,

I think you could say they [the gay community] trust the police more, and with the exception of these bashings going on, they will report a break and enter or something. Previously they wouldn’t even report a break and enter because they were frightened of not getting service from police.⁷⁷

As McLaughlin deduced, the relationship may have improved, but ‘the huge reluctance’ to report to police threatened to undermine these advances, showing that ‘this improved relationship still has some way to go.’⁷⁸ The people and groups invested in moving this relationship onward, to tackle things like underreporting, appeared to be shifting.

⁷³ Leigh McLaughlin.

⁷⁴ Leigh McLaughlin.

⁷⁵ Leigh McLaughlin.

⁷⁶ Leigh McLaughlin.

⁷⁷ Leigh McLaughlin.

⁷⁸ Leigh McLaughlin.

‘Interestingly,’ noted McLaughlin, ‘the GLRL has independently initiated Streetwatch—a six month project to monitor violence and harassment directed at gays and lesbians.’⁷⁹

The GLRL was a member of the PGLG from its inception, and provided critical support through lobbying in the lead up to its implementation. It is notable, therefore, that they had independently launched an initiative outside of, rather than in conjunction with, the PGLG.

At this point in time, however, the PGLG had suffered a period of ‘limbo’ with the ADB in early 1988 and now met bi-monthly, when it had previously met monthly.⁸⁰ According to McLaughlin, the group was ‘relatively inactive’ and were concerned with merely ‘maintaining a relationship with the police rather than initiating projects or playing developmental role.’⁸¹ Less frequent meetings, combined with criticism about its reactive approach to issues did not reflect well on the PGLG.⁸²

Miller’s interview concluded with an attempt to justify the low profile of the Unit, ‘I like to think that the quietness is because of what we’ve achieved over the past five years.’ The insinuation here being that the PGLU had done such an effective job that they had put themselves out of business. ‘I hope that’s the truth,’ wished Miller, ‘otherwise, if this isn’t the case, then we haven’t done our job.’⁸³ Despite its decreasing prominence, the PGLG maintained a link from the gay community to the police. Streetwatch, for example, suggested that the PGLG (now sometimes referred to as Police Gay Lesbian Liaison Group/PGLLG) was the link through which their findings would be used to ‘improve policing and police service.’⁸⁴ However, the emergence of other projects and initiatives in the late 1980s suggests that the PGLG was no longer adequately meeting the needs of the community.

⁷⁹ Leigh McLaughlin.

⁸⁰ Robert French, “Police-Gay/Lesbian Liaison Group,” *Sydney Star Observer*, April 15, 1988.

⁸¹ Leigh McLaughlin, “Profile: Fred Miller.”

⁸² Leigh McLaughlin.

⁸³ Leigh McLaughlin.

⁸⁴ Gay Consultation, “Meeting Summary November 1988” (ADB, November 9, 1988), Murray McLachlan personal collection.

The final months of the PGLG, sketched together from meeting minutes and media articles, suggest that this specific technology of government was struggling to survive. In 1989, after a period of inaction, the PGLG was re-endorsed during a meeting of the ADB's Gay Consultation, injecting it with one final burst of activity. The PGLLG 'will continue' noted Murray McLachlan's minutes, and it will 'focus on the proposed Summary Offences provisions.'⁸⁵ The Group's main task throughout 1989, however, proved to be battling allegations of police entrapment and a widespread perception that the relationship was losing significance under a newly elected Grenier Liberal government. The perpetration of violence against members of the gay community, once again, threaded these events together.

'Despite glowing reports in the straight media' the *Sydney Star's* front page reported a 'dive' in relations between the police and gay and lesbian people following allegations of police misconduct at a beat at Bondi.⁸⁶ Two men alleged 'entrapment, physical assault, falsification of statements and anti-gay abuse,' against Transport Police officers.⁸⁷ With Fred Miller absent for health reasons, the PGLU lost its public spokesperson, and the silence allowed criticism to mount, the *Star* wrote:

The allegations cast doubts on the rosy picture of relations with police given by Fred Miller in an interview in November. They also raise questions about the effectiveness of a liaison unit which has taken a band aid approach to solving problems with police attitudes, preferring to deal only with specific allegations made by the individuals directly involved. In light of events such as these, it is hardly surprising gay men and lesbians are suspicious of police, and frequently reluctant to lodge complaints, even to a civilian official such as Fred Miller.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Note that the Group had added 'lesbian' to its title. Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary May 1988" (ADB, May 11, 1988), Murray McLachlan personal collection.

⁸⁶ "Police/Gay Relations Take a Dive," *Sydney Star Observer*, January 13, 1989.

⁸⁷ "Police/Gay Relations Take a Dive."

⁸⁸ "Police/Gay Relations Take a Dive."

Publicly and to the PGLG, Miller denied the entrapment allegations after speaking to the Bondi police.⁸⁹ After 5 years of working to reduce the hostile divide between gay and lesbian people and the police through co-operation and community policing, distance between these groups had undoubtedly resurfaced. These were discerning remarks from the *Star* which echoed the GLRL's remarks about the reactive approach of community policing.⁹⁰ In the same issue of the *Star*, Police actions were castigated,

There are two kinds of poofter bashers—but only one has the power to arrest you. Three recent cases involving police entrapment, physical assault, abuse and falsification of statements, raise the old issue of police/gay relations with new urgency...⁹¹

The diagnosis of a 'band aid' relationship compounded qualms within the PGLG about the decreasing seniority of sworn in officers in the PGLG, a disappointing response from a third Hotline and an 'ebb' in participation from gay community representatives.⁹² Amidst this trying atmosphere, Fred Miller medically retired in 1989, putting the PGLU 'at a crossroads.'⁹³ The Group, it appears, remained stuck at the crossroads beside the PGLU, as its absence is obvious in the ensuing months when violence rose and criticism of the police's response to violence continued. Where the PGLG had once come to fill the void left by the state retreating from its responsibilities, other organisations like the GLRL now took up the mantle of the PGLG as it retreated. However, as was made clear by citizens who pushed back upon responsabilization by refusing to report violence to the police or plainly refused to co-operate with them, the 'conductors of conduct'—whoever they may be—could only encourage and promote ideas of self-government. Resistance to responsabilization, therefore, demonstrated that citizens were not always straightforward, advanced liberal, self-governing subjects.

⁸⁹ Police-Gay/Lesbian Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary January 1989," January 19, 1989, Murray McLachlan personal collection.

⁹⁰ See also: "Police/Gay Unit - What Happens Now?," *Sydney Star Observer*, July 14, 1989.

⁹¹ Terence Bell, "Where Are the Crimes?," *Sydney Star Observer*, January 30, 1989.

⁹² "Moore Pursues Gay Liaison Issue," *Sydney Star Observer*, July 28, 1989; "Police/Gay Unit - What Happens Now?"; Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary July 1987"; Gay Consultation, "Meeting Summary November 1988"; Police-Gay Liaison Group, "Meeting Summary November 1988," November 17, 1988, Murray McLachlan personal collection.

⁹³ "Police/Gay Unit - What Happens Now?"

Streetwatch

As violence continued, the Streetwatch Report by the GLRL claimed that institutional 'silence' and inadequate policing was perpetuating discrimination of gay and lesbian people.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, the GLRL began to distance themselves from the PGLU, who they had previously been working with through the PGLG. The *Star* reported,

The role of the Police Department's Gay-Lesbian Liaison Unit, in monitoring anti-gay violence, has come under question by Sydney's GLRL. The picture it sees is very different from the Liaison Unit's Fred Miller...The GLRL has said that violence against lesbians and gays should be monitored more regularly, certainly more often than with a one day hotline every year or two.⁹⁵

In light of this opposition to the infrequency of PGLG's Hotlines, the GLRL began their own campaign, announcing, 'the Lobby does urge gay people to report assaults. The Lobby will shortly be announcing a violence monitoring project to be run in conjunction with the Gay and Lesbian Counselling Service and Lesbian Line.'⁹⁶

Streetwatch, as the 'violence monitoring project' was later named, operated from 1988 to 1994 and spanned the trajectory of both the PGLG's final years and the implementation of new roles within the police force, like Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers (GLLOs). Through this section I analyse the first two years of the Streetwatch Project, from 1988 to 1990, and argue that the GLRL independently brought the gay community back into partnership with the police as the PGLG declined, primarily through their recommendation to implement GLLOs. On this point, I extend Rose's 'analytics of government' to demonstrate that governing through community eventually strengthened the relation between the state and citizens, as evidenced by the demand for GLLOs. Ultimately, the GLRL's recommendations also attempted to responsibilize citizens to

⁹⁴ Gary Cox, "Streetwatch Report," 37.

⁹⁵ "Lobby Goes after Bashers," *Sydney Star Observer*, October 14, 1988.

⁹⁶ "Lobby Goes after Bashers."

overcome distrust and hostility towards the police and hence break a barrier in responding to violence.

Streetwatch set themselves apart from existing strategies of community policing, like the PGLG. Though it had similar aims to the PGLG's Hotlines, it framed its first report in 1988 as a formal research study.⁹⁷ They hoped the report would enable them to 'to make a case for better protection of the gay and lesbian communities.'⁹⁸As was the case with the Hotlines, Streetwatch relied upon citizens sharing their experiences so that the nature and causes of violence were recorded somewhere, since they were not often reported to police. Their advertisements appeared regularly:

Been bashed or hassled because you're gay or lesbian? Something should be done! Together we can stop violence against gays and lesbians! Streetwatch is a violence monitoring project of the GLRL. We want to know when and where anti-gay/lesbian violence takes place so we can make Sydney a safe place for all of us.⁹⁹

The Streetwatch Project gathered 67 responses over the six month period between November 1988 and April 1989.¹⁰⁰ The findings of the first Streetwatch project were extensive; they covered information about location, time, perpetrators, verbal assault, weapons, robbery, quality of health service, quality of police service, victims, witnesses, acquaintances, knowledge of services for victims, immediate action after attacks and 'post-assault action.'¹⁰¹ Streetwatch's findings were summarized as such:

The results of the Streetwatch survey leave no doubt that a major section of the community, gay men and lesbians, are singled out for abuse and violence in a

⁹⁷ Gary Cox, "The Streetwatch Report: A Study into Violence against Lesbians and Gay Men" (Sydney: Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby, 1989), 8-11.

⁹⁸ "Anti-Violence Campaign Launched: STOP THE BASHERS!," *Sydney Star Observer*, November 11, 1988.

⁹⁹ "Been Bashed or Hassled?," *Sydney Star Observer*, November 25, 1988. See also December 1988 and January and February 1989 editions No. 94-99 of *Sydney Star Observer*.

¹⁰⁰ Gary Cox, "Streetwatch Report," 12.

¹⁰¹ Gary Cox, 15-36.

consistent manner. Furthermore, the police response has been shown to be inadequate in tackling these crimes.¹⁰²

By substantiating and recording the problem of violence, the Streetwatch Project reignited the need for an active, strong and co-operative relationship between the police and the gay community on this issue, something lacking at this time, as the PGLG faded out. This was evidenced by the fact that eleven of Streetwatch's thirty recommendations involved the police specifically.¹⁰³ Crucially, Streetwatch's first recommendation for the Police was to introduce the Gay/Lesbian Liaison Officer (GLLOs). They requested that 'Gay/Lesbian Liaison Officers, being uniformed members of the NSW Police Force, be nominated for every police station in NSW to monitor incidents of violence and to act as contact points for gay men and lesbians otherwise reluctant to report to the police.'¹⁰⁴ As evidenced by this recommendation, the re-introduction of liaison between the police and gay community was central to the future government of violence, but currently liaison waned.¹⁰⁵ GLLOs reflected one of numerous ways the GLRL demanded change to police practices, however they were not a fix-all solution.

The problems diagnosed by Streetwatch were multifaceted. For example, only 48% of respondents reported their experiences to police and 51% of those who did not report decided not to because they expected 'low clear up rates.'¹⁰⁶ Thus, its second point recommended that 'an innovative outreach program be established to encourage gay men and lesbians to report incidents of violence to the police.'¹⁰⁷ The recommendations of Streetwatch's first report were exhaustive, detailed and ambitious. Importantly, they demanded increased services and stronger commitment from the Police, publicly and institutionally. When the recommendations of Streetwatch are read in terms of government, it appears that the silence and negligence of the enabling and facilitating

¹⁰² Gary Cox, 37.

¹⁰³ Gary Cox, 8-10.

¹⁰⁴ Gary Cox, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Streetwatch found only 61% of respondents knew of the PGLU, which they deemed 'low'. They recommended a state-wide awareness campaign to promote the work of the Unit: Gary Cox, 9, 35.

¹⁰⁶ Gary Cox, 7.

¹⁰⁷ Gary Cox, 8.

state could be remedied through more police services and the revival of liaison with victims and the community.

Amidst continuing violence, the slow response to these recommendations by the Police was magnified. In January 1990, co-convenor of the GLRL, Carole Ruthchild, commented that 'anti-gay violence was running at a very high, perhaps unprecedented, level...it's the hottest topic in town...If the police took this really seriously and made it common knowledge that they were increasing patrols, it may deter bashers...' ¹⁰⁸ Ruthchild and the GLRL were at an impasse with the police. After demanding a meeting to discuss Streetwatch, they visited Minister for Police, Ted Pickering, who 'acknowledged' the research GLRL had done, but had not yet moved publicly on any of its recommendations. ¹⁰⁹ To complicate matters, in response to this perceived increase in violence, a debate about co-operating with the police ensued between individuals in the *Star*. Reader Michael Schembri clarified,

'I wish to make clear that not all gay activists are of the same opinion. There are many among us, myself included, who contend that police are part of the problem, not the solution to it. I think that it is wishful thinking to believe that yesterday's uniformed gay bashers will be tomorrow's gay defenders.'¹¹⁰

Motivated by a prior letter in the *Star* that suggested the new *Summary Offences Act* could assist gays and lesbians by allowing police to arrest would-be attackers, Schembri asked GLRL committee members to 'clear their thinking.'¹¹¹ Another letter writer, Ken Lovett shared the same apprehension: 'the use of the Summary Offences Act...could very well be turned against us by homophobic police. From my personal experiences with NSW police, more of them around is not necessarily a deterrent to bashers either.'¹¹² Clearly, hostility and distrust of the police were engrained in some individuals. However, the GLRL's Streetwatch Report, independent of both liaison structures and police

¹⁰⁸ "Sydney's Gay Bash Goes On," *Sydney Star Observer*, January 26, 1990.

¹⁰⁹ "Sydney's Gay Bash Goes On."

¹¹⁰ Michael Schembri, "Police and Bashers," *Sydney Star Observer*, January 26, 1990.

¹¹¹ Michael Schembri.

¹¹² Ken Lovett, "Bashers, Police and Whistles," *Sydney Star Observer*, January 26, 1990.

involvement, pressured the police sufficiently that they eventually introduced a Police Gay Client Group Consultant (PGCGC) and Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers (GLLOs), to which I turn now.

Violence and the introduction of Police Gay Client Group Consultants and GLLOs

After a ‘frightening escalation’ in violence between January and March 1990, Carole Ruthchild of the GLRL commented that it was ‘difficult to know what to do about the attacks.’¹¹³ Ruthchild succinctly captured the standstill the gay community faced with the police:

Vigilante groups may well be effective, however this is an expensive and extremely dangerous way of confronting the gangs. The best thing we can do is to make our community aware of the dangers. They ultimately have to be responsible for them selves, particularly as we are not getting any help from the police.¹¹⁴

While Ruthchild advocated for citizens’ self-sufficiency—in a very neo-liberal, self-governing manner—the police were also responding by implementing new people and roles in an effort to address violence, although this clearly had not made an impression upon GLRL yet. Many changes were underway in policing and these would come to shape relations between the police and gay community significantly in 1990. As a case study for this final section, I examine various aspects of the relationship between police and the gay community which shifted in 1990. I analyse the introduction of the PGCGC role, the GLLO role, the Streetwatch Project launch by the NSWPF and the ‘Stop the Bashings, Report the Violence’ campaign. I end upon 1990 as it was the year that the PGCGC role and GLLO role were implemented. I argue that the implementation of the PGCGC and GLLO role—as demanded by the GLRL—demonstrated community and the state combining in manner that sits uneasily with Rose’s conception ‘self-governing’

¹¹³ Dean Andrews, “Alarming Rise in Bashings - Police Inactive,” *The Galah*, March 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

¹¹⁴ Dean Andrews.

communities. After all, this was a community organisation demanding more services, liaison officers and public endorsement from the police on the issue of violence.¹¹⁵

As the Police Gay Client Group Consultant role and Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officer role were introduced in 1990, the relationship between the gay community and the police shifted once again. The first major change occurred in January 1990, when amidst rising violence and rising discontent in the community, Sue Thompson, the first 'Gay Liaison Officer' (officially titled Police Gay Client Group Consultant) was formally introduced.¹¹⁶ After the retirement of Fred Miller in 1989, 'gay and lesbian rights activists regarded his replacement as top priority.'¹¹⁷ Now, in early 1990, Thompson assured the gay community of the police's support and service, of which her appointment was one element. Thompson insisted,

There is a lot of determination in the police force to provide good service to the community—and that includes the gay and lesbian community. The resources are here to ensure they are provided with a good service. There are good historical reasons for suspicion of police by gays and lesbians. Getting over that suspicion takes time, but from the highest levels in the police force, there is a very serious commitment to this job. That is from Commissioner John Avery, down.¹¹⁸

With Thompson working for the Police, as a 'Client Group Consultant', the institution cemented its community policing ethos yet again. Consultants were justified by the belief that 'there are some important groups in the community who have special needs to be taken into account in the delivery of policing services.'¹¹⁹ Consultants were required to 'review and create programs, policies and procedures to make mainstream policing services more responsive to these needs.'¹²⁰ Thompson's role was, in many respects, an

¹¹⁵ Gary Cox, "Streetwatch Report," 8-9.

¹¹⁶ Sue Thompson, "Improving Police Gay/Lesbian Relations and Targeting Hate Crimes against Gays and Lesbians (1985-1997)" (New South Wales: New South Wales Police Service, 1998), 4.

¹¹⁷ Sue Thompson, "Tackling the Bully Boys," *OutRage*, April 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

¹¹⁸ "New Police Liaison Officer Appointed," *Sydney Star Observer*, February 9, 1990.

¹¹⁹ New South Wales Police Service, "New South Wales Police Service Annual Report 1989/1990" (Sydney, 1990), 14.

¹²⁰ New South Wales Police Service.

attempt to bridge the divide between the community and the police, in the hope that violence could be reduced. Following the police's renewed commitment to the gay community, Thompson reiterated the importance of gay and lesbian people showing confidence and trust in the police.¹²¹ *Lesbians on the Loose* reported

Thompson says her role as Liaison Officer is to establish good working relations between lesbians/gays and police, to ensure that police are aware of our needs and provide sensitive service. She wants to empower the lesbian and gay community to feel confident about approaching the police.¹²²

Changes from the police continued in quick succession throughout the early months of 1990, supporting the suggestion as one outlet reported, that Sue Thompson was 'a catalyst for change.'¹²³ For instance, in March, Alf Peate, Executive Chief Superintendent of Sydney District announced,

This situation is very serious and police will not tolerate sections of the community being targeted for street violence in this way...our greatest concern is the physical and violent nature of the crime but we don't really know how big the problem is...we need to know so we can give all appropriate resources to the areas of need.¹²⁴

Following this announcement, two days later advertisements in the press alerted readers to newly appointed officers at Surry Hills, Newtown, Paddington and Kings Cross stations who were there 'to deal with reports of bashings of gays and lesbians, and to coordinate investigations.'¹²⁵ Known as GLLOs, these officers were 'central' to the Police's responses to 'anti-gay/lesbian violence.'¹²⁶ GLLO, Steve Ford, from Surry Hills station commented

¹²¹ Sue Thompson, "Tackling the Bully Boys"; "Police, Poofs and Public Servants," *Campaign*, March 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

¹²² "Police Lesbian and Gay Liaison," *Lesbians on the Loose*, March 1990.

¹²³ "Darlo Days Are Over," *OutRage*, June 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

¹²⁴ "Police Concerned about Gay Bashings" (NSW Police Media Unit, March 7, 1990), New South Wales Police Force collection.

¹²⁵ "Police and Violence," *Sydney Star Observer*, March 9, 1990.

¹²⁶ Sue Thompson, "Improving Police Gay/Lesbian Relations and Targeting Hate Crimes against Gays and Lesbians (1985-1997)," 4.

that 'cynicism' towards the police persisted in the gay community, thus Ford acknowledged that 'he will only succeed in his new role if he wins the confidence and trust of the gay community,' and accordingly, 'he has started building this trust through attending events such as the Mardi Gras Awards Night and meeting with community leaders.'¹²⁷ Be it Thompson's aim to 'empower' citizens or GLLOs' aim to build trust, these roles emphasized citizens' duty to work with the police and take part in preventing and reducing crime by reporting.

In April 1990, Police Minister, Ted Pickering launched the GLRL's Streetwatch Report at an event at the Pride Centre, reinforcing the police's commitment to addressing violence.¹²⁸ At the launch three new actions were unveiled in response to Streetwatch's demands. Firstly, the Minister announced an extra 25 officers to the inner Sydney area to tackle anti-gay violence.¹²⁹ Secondly, he announced a Steering Committee, chaired by Steve Mark from the ADB, that would consider the 30 recommendations put forward by the GLRL.¹³⁰ Finally, the 'Stop the Bashings, Report the Violence' campaign was launched.¹³¹ This campaign promoted the role police could play in ameliorating violence against the gay community; but any response to violence rested on members of the gay community reporting violence. Accordingly, the campaign's slogan was 'help the Police to help you.'¹³²

Sue Thompson reflected on the campaign's meaning for the relationship between the gay community and the police at the Streetwatch launch, calling it a 'significant statement of joint efforts.'¹³³ Thompson argued that it 'is a statement of the police working together with the community and it is a request to all members of the community to work with the police.'¹³⁴ Citizens, here, were to co-operate with the police since the police had finally

¹²⁷ "Doing the Surry Hills Beat," *Sydney Star Observer*, April 6, 1990.

¹²⁸ "Streetwatch Report Launched," *The Village Voice*, April 12, 1990.

¹²⁹ "Streetwatch Report Launched."

¹³⁰ "Police, Gays and Bashing," *OutRage*, June 1990; "Extra Police to Combat Anti-Gay Violence," *Sydney Star Observer*, April 20, 1990.

¹³¹ "Stop the Bashings, Report the Violence" (NSW Police Service and Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby, April 9, 1990), Sue Thompson personal collection.

¹³² "Stop the Bashings, Report the Violence."

¹³³ Sue Thompson, "Speech at Streetwatch Launch," April 9, 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

¹³⁴ Sue Thompson.

acted and provided a 'direct response to a request by the Rights Lobby for police efforts and assistance in encouraging reporting of these bashings so that police can allocate appropriate resources...' ¹³⁵ In terms of the conductors of conduct, the government of violence had shifted from the PGLG in the mid-1980s, to the GLRL independently researching and recording violence in 1989, to the police acquiescing in 1990. However, the specific conduct in question—the reluctance of victims to report violence and work with the police—persisted through-out this period and produced these varied responses to violence.

The momentum of Streetwatch was evidenced by the 'Stop the Bashings, Report the Violence' campaign, the implementation of GLLOs and the PGCGC. These shifts attempted to responsibilize the gay community and promote a partnership with the police which rested on citizens reporting violence to GLLOs and the PGCGC so that the police could arrest perpetrators. In doing so, an ethics of community safety, trust and citizens' responsibility to prevent violence was encouraged in order to minimize the barrier posed by a consistently tense and distrustful relationship between police officers and the gay community. Importantly, these new and far-reaching initiatives were produced by a complex relation between community and state; one where governing through community led back to demands for greater support from the facilitating state to help the community tackle violence.

By charting the various groups who governed responses to violence against the gay community, this chapter revealed three features of the relationship between the police, the gay community and its citizens. Firstly, community policing targeted citizens by drawing them into partnership with the police and encouraging their participation in securing society. Secondly, the government of violence against the gay community demonstrated how a 'facilitating state' was supplemented by multiple groups like the PGLG and GLRL which attempted, but were not necessarily successful, to shape, guide, autonomize and responsibilize citizens' responses to violence. Finally, I argued that liaison between the police and the gay community dissipated with the decline of the

¹³⁵ Sue Thompson.

PGLG but was revived by the GLRL in 1990 after the demands of their Streetwatch Report were met and GLLOs were implemented. Here I extended upon Rose's 'analytics of government' and suggested that the enabling state needed to do more than 'enable' and 'facilitate' the community. Indeed, the perceived inaction and inadequacy of the NSWPF led to the request for more policing services to respond to violence. The government of violence between 1984 and 1990 revealed numerous contestations between the conductors of conduct, as well as opposition from citizens over conductors' use of liaison. Nevertheless, the government of violence in this period relied heavily on liaison to ensure that violence against the gay community received adequate attention and services from the police.

CONCLUSION

On October 1st 1990, twenty gay and lesbian people were arrested protesting against Reverend Fred Nile's 'cleansing march', despite assurance they were allowed to protest.¹ In December, *OutRage* reported that the infamous and discriminatory 'Darlo days' were back, just months after reporting they were over.² The aftermath of the arrests in late 1990 serve to reinforce the persistently contested relationship between the police and the gay community, and the tension between citizens and the processes of liaison that enmeshed them with the state.

Chapter 1 demonstrated the dynamic relationship that unfolded between police and the gay community with the turn to liaison. Amongst changing laws and protests against the Club 80 raids, the NSWPF acquiesced and liaison was implemented through the PGLG as an attempt to improve relations. These events reflect an often overshadowed beginning to liaison that highlights the gay community's proactiveness and the turn to community policing which enabled the PGLG. The recommendation from the Gay Task Force for 'community advisory committees' and the GRL's meetings on the topic between 1982 and 1984 demonstrated an antecedent to the merger of gay men and the state in responding to the AIDS crisis. Chapter 1 also showed that meanings attached to ideas about the 'police' and the 'gay community' were reformulated through the liaison relationship which portrayed the police as service providers and the gay community as consumers of their service. Accordingly, relations were reformulated through narratives of co-operation, customer service and neoliberal feedback mechanisms to include accountability, as evidenced in the case study of Mardi Gras.

In 1990, the consumer group had shifted in title to 'gay and lesbian communities', but this relation of accountability and feedback remained. The GLRL's co-convenors wrote to

¹ "Holy War Hits Cross," *Sydney Star Observer*, October 5, 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection; "Nile Arrests: New Action," *Sydney Star Observer*, October 19, 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

² "Darlo Days Are Here Again," *OutRage*, December 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

the *Star* after the events of October 1st defending the concept of liaison against charges that it was a 'waste of time.'³ They assured readers of its potential,

The Lobby is determined to see a marked change in the police's attitude and level of service to the Gay and Lesbian Communities. To achieve this the Lobby will continue to liaise, negotiate, demonstrate and agitate for real and sustained change.⁴

Chapter 2 considered the impact of advanced liberal government on citizens as individuals who belong to communities. It argued that amongst shifting ideas and the government of violence through community, citizens responded diversely and not necessarily in a typical advanced liberal, self-governing style. 'Liaison activities are promoting the Police within our community,' deduced S. Foster in 1990.⁵ 'Is this what we want?' they questioned, citing 'unjust, cruel, perverse and violent' treatment of gay and lesbian people by the Police as reason to reassess this assumption.⁶ Foster had written earlier in October supported by friends, urging Sue Thompson to reflect on the futility of her role,

How much evidence does she need to convince her that liaising with the police doesn't work and won't work because of the nature of the police force as a front-line icon of heterosexist male power? We therefore urge all gay and lesbian people to view Police-Gay Liaison activities as so much whitewash! Begging the police to be nicer to us is not the answer to our difficulties...⁷

Steve Mark from the ADB on the other hand, acknowledged peoples' 'frustration' at 'continued clashes', but added that it was 'unrealistic to expect that the habits of two

³ Bruce Grant and Carole Ruthchild, "Police-Gay Liaison," *Sydney Star Observer*, November 2, 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

⁴ Bruce Grant and Carole Ruthchild.

⁵ "Police and Gays: Pro-Longing the Debate," *Sydney Star Observer*, November 30, 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

⁶ "Police and Gays: Pro-Longing the Debate."

⁷ "Where Was Sue Thompson?," *Sydney Star Observer*, October 19, 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

centuries will change in the space of a year.’⁸ Regardless of whether citizens would co-operate with police in the manner that police and community forces impelled them to, community organisations and the Police were firmly convinced of the need to maintain and indeed, strengthen liaison, not do away with it. Accordingly, liaison continued through GLLOs and Sue Thompson.

The dynamic and tense relations between the police and gay community elicited diverse and changing forms of government, as evidenced by the PGLG, AVP, Streetwatch and GLLOs between 1984 and 1990. Chapter 2 demonstrated that members of the gay community as citizens, were not only subjected to these sources of government but involved in their formulation and delivery. This positioned them as subjects of government and also conductors of government; a hybridization that defies simple categorisation but nevertheless reinforces the variety of spaces they occupied outside of, or alongside, being victims of police discrimination. Indeed, the GLRL was independent of liaison structures, and in opposition to the PGLG, when it demanded in the Streetwatch Report that the police implement GLLOs and improve their response to violence against the gay community. This sort of relation is not fully explained by Rose but suggests that historians can use his ‘analytics of government’ to examine the processes and causes of reconfigurations like the implementation of GLLOs in 1990. By reading liaison between the gay community and the police from 1984 to 1990 through the lens of government, this thesis has demonstrated that gay and lesbian people were involved in complex and contested relations with the state and oscillating forms of government.

Liaison epitomized governing through community with the support of a facilitating state and remained a dominant force upon citizens, despite scepticism and contestation. Police Commissioner Avery cemented the relationship between the police and the gay community yet again in the aftermath of the counter-rally and arrests: ‘I believe it is important to restate the NSW Police Service’s commitment to improving co-operation between Police and the gay and lesbian communities.’ However, in the midst of yet more

⁸ “Police-Gay Liaison: The Gains,” *Sydney Star Observer*, n.d., Sue Thompson personal collection.

tension and uncertainty, Avery acknowledged that the police were ‘some way down this path with a distance left to go.’⁹

⁹ Police Gay Liaison Unit, “Commissioner Calls for Working Party,” October 17, 1990, Sue Thompson personal collection.

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Appendix 1

Appendix 1 of this thesis has been removed as it may contain sensitive/confidential content