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An Analysis on the Effectiveness of Community Policing Strategies on the Methamphetamine Trade in Tonga

A research project presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of International Development

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Abstract

Police reform in small island developing countries has seen the increasing implementation of the community policing strategies as a means to achieve trust and confidence of Police within the community. Over the past two decades, the Pacific Islands have adopted a community-oriented policing approach over more hardened methods of law enforcement found in traditional policing because its strategies offer a more loosened approach to restoring justice and peace in the community. However, there have been claims that foreign assistance provided by donor countries to support policing in the Pacific has introduced new problems for recipient countries, particularly in the areas of policy design, implementation and suitability. This report analyses the effectiveness of community policing strategies in Tonga relating to methamphetamine, and the ways in which New Zealand provides aid to support and improve Tonga's capacity and capability to tackle the issue.

Increased reports of methamphetamine around Tonga have been increasingly evident in media headlines and Police reports. The debate in this research draws upon findings in the literature, semi-structured interviews and document analysis through Tonga Police's current policy reviews. The findings also examine the suitability of foreign priorities in the local context and how improvements can be made to increase the efficacy and efficiency of Tonga Police. This research suggest that while New Zealand's proactiveness in Tonga has seen slow but progressive results, its drug related strategies lack input and direction from local government and Tonga Police. A shift towards culturally suitable policing strategies focused on improving community wellbeing through grassroots initiatives such as rehabilitation, training and education is urgently required. The research argues for more collaborative cross-sector efforts between local government agencies and external organisations whose involvement can help to alleviate the strain on Police resources whilst upholding and improving community wellbeing.

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A big malo `aupito to the beautiful Kingdom of Tonga for keeping me safe and well during an unprecedented time in history.

And to my daughter Delores – I love you.

Acronyms

ADAC	Alcohol and Drug Awareness Centre
AFP	Australian Federal Police
ATS	Amphetamine-Type Stimulants
COP	Community Oriented Policing
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration
DET	Drug Enforcement Taskforce
ESR	Institute of Environmental Science and Research
MFAT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
NIDS	National Illicit Drug Strategy
NZ	New Zealand
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OST	Officer Safety Training
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PPDVP	Pacific Prevention of Domestic Violence Programme
PPF	Policing Professional Framework
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
TPDP	Tonga Police Development Programme
TPP	Tonga Police Programme
TRG	Tactical Response Group
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

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Chapter One: Introduction

1. Introduction to the Research

“Facilitators should never come with ready-made solutions or tell the people what to do, they must rather encourage and assist people to think about their problems in their own way”

(Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000, p. 54).

This research aims to analyse how international development aid, funding and assistance is used to tackle Tonga’s ‘meth problem’ through community policing strategies. It explores the involvement of New Zealand in Tonga’s war against drugs and the ways in which Tonga utilises development aid to combat its growing meth issue. The research investigates the effectiveness of community policing strategies and ways in which New Zealand can provide better assistance for grassroots initiatives while analysing the cultural suitability of current strategies. This chapter will begin by providing essential background knowledge on the topic of illicit drugs in Tonga and the Pacific followed by the research aim, questions and objectives. It will conclude by explaining the structure of the research with a brief summary of each chapter.

1.1 Background on the Research Topic

Small Island Developing States (SIDS) have become increasingly exploited as transit areas for mass drug exporters such as China and Myanmar (Reid & Crofts, 2013, p. 647) evident in increased media reports of heightened addiction, internal corruption and an exacerbated strain on Tonga’s police resources (Dreaver, TVNZ, 2019). The targeting of pacific islands like Tonga is largely due to the fact that they have porous border crossings, are geographically isolated and are sparsely populated (International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, 2019, p. 217; McCusker, 2006, p. 4) whilst still being in close proximity to destination countries like Australia and New Zealand, making them favourable locations to avoid detection. Recent drug trends suggest that drug-trafficking organizations are transporting these shipments by sea and increasingly farther into the Pacific Ocean to evade international law enforcement (International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, 2019, p. 162).

The strong presence of drugs in the Pacific Islands is evident in increased media reports and police reports around the region. In 2000, 350kg’s of heroin bound for New Zealand, Australia and Canada was seized in Fiji, 74kg’s of methamphetamine bound for Australia and Fiji was found on a ship in Singapore in 2002 and in 2003, 2.5kg’s of pseudoephedrine bound for

Brisbane, Australia was detected in scuba tanks shipped from Fiji (Feizkhah 2004). In 2004, 5kg's of crystal meth, 700 litres of liquid meth and enough chemicals to produce an additional 1000kg's was seized from a warehouse in Fiji (DEA, 2004; McCusker, 2006, p. 2). Methamphetamine-related reporting's continue to increase around the Pacific today, evident in Samoa, Federated States of Micronesia, PNG, Fiji and Tonga (UNODC, 2003).

The level of corruption amongst authorities, exacerbated by growing drug-trafficking rates has also been apparent in media headlines. Corruption in the Pacific remains a major issue (Transparency International, 2004 cited in McCusker, 2006, p. 3), triggered by organised crime networks who systematically target local staff employed in both public and private sectors, particularly in environments where conditions of service is poor and payment is low (Urwin, 2004). Despite ample reportings on the topic, there has been little to no research undertaken in regards to the effectiveness of development aid targeting drug strategies in the Pacific, nor the suitability of such strategies. A possible solution to ensure the suitability of international drug policy to recipient countries is through the blending of community policing principles that align with local values in combination with existing traditional justice systems, therefore creating a democratic policing system in a way that acknowledges not only cultural diversity and non-Western concepts but also encourages self-determination whilst recognising and adhering to the principles of human rights (Chopra & Hohe, 2004; McLeod, 2009).

The findings in this research discovered that although New Zealand provides fundamental aid that is undoubtedly appreciated by Tonga, there are extensive gaps in services to the community. Meth and drug related community policing strategies requires maximum input and direction from local government, police and civilians in order to meet these needs. Furthermore, while international goals are focal points for donors, the findings in the research suggests that collaboration and partnership between donors and recipients may fast-track the success of both goals. In regards to Tonga, this means a shift of direction towards incorporating culturally suitable policing strategies focused on improving community wellbeing through grassroots initiatives such as rehabilitation, training and education. Doing so will substantially increase Police productivity and the effectiveness of its strategies as public trust and cooperation is improved, both of which are essential elements to good community policing which is critical for the capacity of small forces like Tonga Police.

1.2 Research Aim, Questions and Objectives

Research Aim

To Analyse the Effectiveness of Community Policing Strategies on the Methamphetamine Trade in Tonga.

Research Questions

1. How does NZ Police assist, support or strengthen drug-related strategies in Tonga?
2. How can Tonga utilise development aid to assist, support or strengthen current grassroots community policing initiatives in relation to methamphetamine?

Research Objectives

- 1a) To explore Tonga's drug strategies and grassroots community policing initiatives in relation to methamphetamine.
- 1b) To examine the cultural suitability of New Zealand's Tonga-specific policing strategies.
- 2a) To analyse New Zealand's aid development allocation in the Pacific and how this affects Tonga's drug strategies.
- 2b) To understand how Tonga utilises development aid to respond to its "meth problem."

1.3 Research Structure and Chapter Overview

This research report consists of six chapters. Following this introduction, chapter two will explain the methods and methodology of the research, first by exploring my positionality as a researcher and the development theories that will assist in analysing the research. The first literature review will commence in chapter three which examines the effectiveness and suitability of community policing strategies in the Pacific, drawing upon various case studies in environments similar to Tonga. It describes the traits that make community policing an attractive policing method to SIDS like Tonga while remaining open and critical to certain drawbacks it may present. Chapter four focuses on New Zealand's involvement in the Pacific region and the ways it provides development aid and assistance to Tonga. It draws primarily

upon document analysis, obtaining information and statistics on New Zealand's ODA via official government websites and public documents.

Despite limited access to credible and up to date statistical data in Tonga, the use of document analysis of public policy, official government websites, national statistics, official data from international organisations and NGO's and media and news articles have helped to shape an illustration of Tonga's social and economic setting regarding illicit drugs in both the literature and qualitative data. However, it was important to remain critical of information gathered from secondary sources like this due to the possibility of underlying motives of governments and organisations that may hold underlying bias perspectives or serve alternative purposes (O'Leary, 2014, p. 243, Overton & van Dierman, 2014, p. 42). Furthermore, such documents often conceal the methods and methodologies used for obtaining the information provided so it is essential to approach with caution and maximise credibility by rechecking sources.

Chapter five reveals key findings of my fieldwork in Tonga including invaluable, up to date statistical information provided by all four participants. It reinforces the vast knowledge gaps on the meth-problem in Tonga as well as highlights challenges faced with data-collection. Chapter six will then analyse the findings in-depth whilst drawing upon similarities and inconsistencies previously noted from the literature reviews in chapter two and three. The chapter concludes by revealing key findings to answer each of the research questions and objectives, providing brief development recommendations for Tonga and New Zealand moving forward and a summary of the research to answer the overall research aim.

Chapter Two: Methods & Methodology

2 Positionality

My interest in drugs began when I joined NZ Police in 2015 as an emergency call-taker. The role exposed me to New Zealand's drug-use problem and what seemed to be an increasing mention of methamphetamine in high priority jobs. Over my six years of service I learnt that methamphetamine—commonly referred to as P, meth or ice—was a notorious drug that could instantly change a 'priority two' job into a 'priority one'. During this time, I was in the midst of completing my Bachelors' degree double majoring in Criminology and Journalism which heightened my curiosity of the correlation between meth and crime. The study of crime, understanding criminal behaviours and theorising these behaviours prompted me to delve deeper into the root causes of meth-use and addiction. However it was not until I began my post-graduate studies in International Development that I became aware of the "meth problem" in Tonga.

Referred to as "The Kingdom of Ice" by media outlets (Dreaver, TVNZ, 2019) and newspaper agencies, Tonga's situation caught my attention as I naturally identified with the small island being a Pacific Islander myself. With career aspirations to one day work for Police Intelligence or MFAT, my interest turned towards development aid, in particular community policing strategies tackling Tonga's meth issue. Questions such as 'How was aid being utilised by Tonga Police to deal with this issue?' and 'What policing strategies are currently in place and how effective are they?' came to mind. With this research, I hope to gain insight on how New Zealand provides development aid to support grassroots initiatives via community policing strategies within Tonga Police and to examine how they can better assist Tonga in their war against drugs.

2.1 Methods & Methodology

This report explores, analyses and examines the information found throughout the research using a post-development framework. The literature reviews will be conducted using document analysis and draws upon various literature sources. However the academic 'newness' of this topic being 'meth in Tonga' rather than 'illicit drugs in the Pacific' made it difficult to assess the literature based on the research's specific aims and objectives. For this reason, the research relies primarily on qualitative data with the support of relevant literature

and case studies to achieve its objectives. This research report includes two literature reviews which draw upon a range of academic literature, grey literature, media reports and information retrieved from official government organisations including MFAT, NZ Police and Tonga Police, as well as international organisations and non-government organisations (NGOs) such as the United Nations (UN) and Pacific Islands Forum (PIF).

The research project begins with an extensive review of existing literature on community policing and deployment initiatives in the Pacific. Literature reviews assist in generating ideas and are central to writing up a clear rationale whilst providing researcher credibility (O’Leary 2014, p. 86). The literature was reviewed through a post-development lens in support of Tonga’s right to self-determination to allocate development aid and implement culturally suitable policing strategies to achieve positive results. It also helped to shape a credible development framework from a grassroots policing perspective which provided valuable examples of community policing initiatives in similar contexts to Tonga.

The main source of information will derive from qualitative data which includes a semi-structured interview with key informants. These participants were chosen due to their relevance and capacity to provide valuable insight on community policing strategies in Tonga, the scope of their meth-problem and the needs of the community. Qualitative research methods such as semi-structured interviews help to gain insight into people’s attitudes, interpretations, behaviours, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture or lifestyle (O’Leary, 2017). Qualitative methods are also helpful when researching newer academic issues as they allow the researcher more flexibility to interpret the literature whilst giving participants an opportunity to be heard. This is important due to the lack, and sometimes complete absence of credible, reliable and trustworthy quantitative data available on drug crime in Tonga.

The reflections and experience offered by each participant provided invaluable grassroots knowledge on internal procedures influenced and affected by Tonga’s donor/recipient relationship with New Zealand.

a) Semi-Structured Interviews

These participants were chosen due to their relevance and capacity to provide valuable insight on community policing strategies, the scope of the meth-problem in Tonga and the needs of the community. Qualitative research methods such as semi-structured interviews help to gain

insight into people's attitudes, interpretations, behaviours, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture or lifestyle (O'Leary, 2017). The reflections and experience offered by each participant provided invaluable grassroots knowledge on internal procedures influenced and affected by Tonga's donor/recipient relationship with New Zealand.

b) Interview Questions

Each participant was asked 10 questions. The questions were primarily open-ended and allowed the participant to expand as much or as little as they wanted. The questions were formulated to gain a holistic understanding of the meth-problem in Tonga as well as different perspectives from external agencies outside of Tonga Police to help gauge suitable community policing responses to tackle the issue. The questions are as follows:

1. Explain your position/role in relation to the meth response.
2. What is your department/organisation's stance on the meth issue in Tonga?
3. What are you doing as an organisation to combat this issue and how?
4. How effective do you think the strategies/policies you currently have in place are?
5. What have you learned from past policies?
6. How do you think Community Policing improves or can better improve the meth problem in Tonga?
7. How do you think Tonga can improve its capacity to control drug trafficking and drug abuse?
8. How do you think NZ can better support/improve Tonga's meth-problem moving forward in terms of aid, funding and development?
9. If you were given an open budget, what development implementations would you recommend to eradicate the meth-problem in Tonga?
10. Any last comments? ie. The future for Police, the future of Tonga etc

2.2 Post-Development Theory

[P]ost-development has destabilised the.... norms, truths and languages of development by directing attention to how development discourses are produced... [Its] ... future will depend on how well researchers can... deconstruct and contribute usefully to people's struggles to improve their lives.

(McGregor, 2009, p. 1699)

Post-development theory examines how development actors have the ability to reshape development and seek alternatives to it whilst looking at how development shapes and influences people and places (McGregor, 2009, p. 1696). My decision to use a post-development lens to examine policing strategies will assist in understanding the role and influence of New Zealand on Tonga's policy-making decisions and Police direction and how it impacts the local community. When analysing local participation, Walker et al. (2007) questions the decision making process of deciding who gets invited to participate in development discussions and the power imbalance that exists amongst locals that results in particular local representatives being recognised or selected to participate over others (p. 436). In post-development studies, the role and influence of the donor is critical to understanding the role of the local.

Power and relationships are critical elements of post-development theory because they highlight the significance of agency and authority which is particularly important when acknowledging New Zealand's aid contributions to the Pacific. New Zealand's proactive role in the islands as a main aid contributor makes its voice in decision making processes a loud one. Underhill-Sem and Lewis (2008) explain the diverse positionalities of development actors when they interact with local agencies and the fluctuating levels of power that enable or constrain different stakeholders based on cultural strengths, ethical decision-making and community enterprises (cited in McGregor, 2009, p. 1697 & 1698). Interestingly, McKinnon (2007) points out the role of the recipient in such discussions, arguing that 'the local' can sometimes create awkward positionalities for outsiders which can potentially weaken the contributions made by donors (p. 776).

Unintentional underlying tensions caused by recipient countries as described above can obstruct their access to aid, reinforcing the huge power imbalance between the two groups. In regards to Tonga's meth-related community policing strategies, the lack of funding in areas of local necessity is an obvious example of how agency and authority is allocated between Tonga and New Zealand. Post-development theory goes against this perspective, believing in a non-linear approach to power and more people-centric alternatives to doing development (Eyben, 2010, p. 15 & 16). This research supports the perspectives of post-development theory, in that a more collaborative, people-centric approach to strategy design and implementation that increases self-determination amongst local agencies is more culturally suitable for Tonga.

2.3 Alternative Approaches

In addition to post-development, the research draws upon alternative analytical perspectives for aid distribution in developing countries such as SIDS and sheds light on correlating issues to community policing including transnational crime and border control. Alternative approaches to development such as participatory development aims for sustainable, ‘bottom up’ progression that emphasizes the importance of the ‘subjects’ of development in the development design and process (Potter, 2002, p. 64). Participatory development acknowledges the fact that development is a flawed concept requiring positive change which can only occur by acknowledging alternative viewpoints, learning from others and valuing differing perspectives (Mohan, 2008, p. 27). Participatory development is executed in an attempt to shift the focus of development to those who will directly benefit from it in the belief that the success of a development project is correlated to the direct involvement of its beneficiaries (Peet & Hartwick, 2015, p. 236).

In this research, community policing is considered a form of participatory development due to its attempt to reform traditional policing methods by transferring greater responsibility onto the community, requiring Police to surrender a level of power and authority. More participation in regards to the maintenance of social order is offered to civilians who in turn, become more involved in deciding appropriate responses to criminal activity.

2.4 Limitations of the Research

One major and unexpected limitation to my research was the Covid-19 pandemic which began in the middle of my fieldwork. Unforeseen travel restrictions and expenses, lockdowns and natural disasters in Tonga severely impacted my schedule and access to information. The added constraints caused by the pandemic affected all participants involved with the research and consequently obstructed the quality of information I was able to retrieve during my time in Tonga. As a result, the number of semi-structured interviews originally planned was cut down in an attempt to uphold the quality of the findings.

Consequently, the reduction of interviews and the conditions in which they were conducted may affect how the research will be interpreted by the reader or other researchers. Diefenbach

(2009) states that the reliance upon qualitative information presented by subjective analysis may lead to a situation where another researcher will land at different conclusions despite the exact same circumstances (p, 885). The limitation from this would be the question of how much weight should be given to each informant's interview given the researchers' circumstances and subjectivity at the time (Shilling, 1992, p. 70).

Technical limitations during my fieldwork such as poor internet connection resulted in delayed communications via phone and email with participants and my university supervisor as well as irregular access to online search engines to carry out research. While language was an expected limitation prior to conducting my research, all participants spoke fluent English which made the face-to-face interviews and interactions easy to conduct.

2.4 Ethical Considerations

Prior to fieldwork being conducted, the research project underwent an in-house ethics review process by Massey University and was deemed to be low risk. Due to my employment with NZ Police, there were a number of conflicting issues I had to consider in relation to biases I may have held. Personally, I felt that my employment had a minimal effect on my stance, which instead required me to self-reflect on my identity as a Pacific Islander in Police and how this would subsequently influence positive interactions and research outcomes. I also found that my in-depth understanding of Pacific Island morals, values and customs helped me form a strong rapport with participants and assisted me in obtaining contacts in Tonga as well as analyse data accordingly. While aware of the multiple subjectivities brought to this research, I felt it was our shared experience of working for a government agency as Pacific Island professionals that made the dialogue more open and authentic.

To resolve any transparency concerns I declared my employment to all participants involved and reinforced that my role as a researcher (McConnell-Henry et al., 2010, p. 3) was purely independent with no affiliation with NZ Police. This was important because of the possibility of being viewed as holding a position of power or a higher rank over local participants. To minimise potential harm to participants, names and titles were kept anonymous with only their respected organisation being named for the credibility of the research. Each participant received a draft copy of their involvement in the research which allowed them ample

opportunity to provide feedback, make changes or withdraw their consent prior to final submission.

The working relationship between NZ Police and Tonga Police also required acknowledgment due to pre-existing power relationships evident between the two agencies (Etherington, 2007, p. 602). Van den Brink & Steffen (2008) argue that power inequalities and relationships that have a dominant group can subsequently affect the thoughts and actions of other actors involved (p. 57 & 58). All fieldwork was therefore carried out independently without assistance from personal work contacts from NZ Police which clarified my role as a student researcher.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

Community Policing in Tonga and the Pacific

3 Introduction

Of all government functions, the policing function is arguably the most visible, the most immediate, the most intimately involved with the well-being of individuals and the health of the communities.

(Travis 1998, p. 2)

This chapter focuses on the analysis of community policing in Tonga and the Pacific in relation to Objective 1(b), *‘To examine the cultural appropriateness of New Zealand’s Tonga-specific policing strategies’* in contribution to answering Research Question 1, *‘How does NZ Police assist, support or strengthen drug-related strategies in Tonga?’*. The analysis will draw upon various case studies in the Pacific showcasing both effective and ineffective community policing strategies found in similar environments to Tonga such as Kiribati and the Solomon Islands. This chapter will begin by unpacking the traits of policing that make it a popular and effective policing method in the Pacific. This will be followed by an extensive literature review which will examine key components of policing that have contributed towards both the successful and unsuccessful implementation of policing strategies within Pacific communities. The literature review will also explore NZ Police’s deployment schemes in the Pacific region and touch upon the effect of foreign officers on local citizens.. Next, Tonga’s development plans and capacity building initiatives will be explored to assess Tonga’s ability to combat drug-crime and whether such initiatives are culturally and economically sustainable. Finally, the importance of grassroots initiatives and local participation in communal societies like Tonga will be explored in relation to Tonga’s right to self-determination. The focal points discussed in this chapter will aim to critically unpack how New Zealand contributes and can further contribute to assist, support and strengthen Tonga’s drug-related strategies.

3.1 What is Community Policing?

Community policing, also known as community-oriented policing (COP) has been an important vehicle for police transformation around the world and has become one of the most dominant models of policing dominant models of policing in developed societies today (Grabosky, 2009, p.1). Originally a westernised model, it has been instrumental in the development of new policing structures in transitional societies, Third World countries and developing and under-developed countries including the Pacific (Brogden & Nijhar, 2013, p. 2). Its strategies offer a more flexible alternative to hardened methods of law enforcement

because it encourages a loosened approach to restoring justice and peace in the community (Dinnen et al., 2010, p. 102) making it more appealing for small communal societies where crime and wrong-doing is traditionally dealt with by community leaders. In comparison, traditional methods of policing are largely concentrated on deterrence tactics such as hiring more police officers and imposing heavier sentences making it markedly more resource intensive than community policing (Brogden & Nijhar, 2013, p.13). It's strategies therefore provide a more sustainable method of policing for smaller economies found in Pacific Island states.

Community policing is a fundamental style of policing that reflects the needs of the community with strategies that are largely shaped by tactics and outcomes based on public consent (Brogden & Nijhar, 2013, p. 2). Some of these tactics include but are not limited to; regular interface, interaction and dialogue between police officers and local citizens, regular consultation with the public, staff approachability, responsiveness to priority events and a co-dependency to problem solve that requires strong mobilization and public cooperation to be wholly effective (Bayley, 2006 cited in Grabosky, 2009, p. 1). Such tactics are starkly dissimilar to traditional representations of police where officers adopt a more dominant and authoritative status to over civilians.

It is important to note that while a positive co-dependant relationship between police and the community is a key component of community policing, countries must hold the capacity to implement such strategies in order to effectively contribute to the reduction of crime (Brogden & Nijhar, 2013, p. 157). In the context of Tonga, relevant skills, training and resources (or lack thereof) pose both capability and capacity limitations for the islands fight against meth. Strategies focused on prevention measures such as school info days, Church workshops and community events are therefore cost-effective examples to deter crime, raise awareness and encourage police reporting's whilst simultaneously instilling a friendly police presence in the public domain and boosting trust and confidence in Police.

3.2 New Zealand Police Deployment Schemes in the Pacific

New Zealand's involvement with international policing in the Pacific has grown significantly over the past decade due to shared interests in environmental, economic, security and political

issues (ISG Department, NZ Police, 2022). During this period, NZ Police have executed a number of NZAID funded programmes overseas which has contributed towards the direction of policing within the Pacific region today. Their increased presence in Tonga was most notable in 2006 when a small number of NZ Police officers were deployed to help restore public trust in local police during a riot investigation (Greener, 2011, p. 223). Since then, NZ Police have established a number of funded programmes in Tonga including the Tonga Police Development Programme (TPDP) which have provided trainers and mentors for local police recruits (NZ Police, 2022; Peek et al., 2011, p. 2) and the Pacific Prevention of Domestic Violence Programme (PPDVP) which also provided mentoring and training to Tonga and other Pacific countries between 2006-2015 (Roguski & Kingi, 2011, p. v, Turnbull, 2011, p. i). The calibre of staff selected for such roles are usually very experienced and primarily consist of high-ranking selected police officers who take on the role of trainer, advisor or liaison officer in their Host-country (NZ Police, 2020) rather than frontline law enforcers. As a result, New Zealand funded programmes like the TDPD and PPDVP have contributed to a number of positive developments between New Zealand and the Pacific which have led to stronger police liaison networks, improved emergency response capability and increased presence and support for capacity-building projects in Tonga and abroad (NZ Police, 2020).

Despite progressive developments, there have also been—and continues to be—heated discussion around how best to implement the rule of law in smaller Pacific societies, with various criticisms found in Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands. During an interview with a ni-Vanuatu Police officer posted to the Solomon Islands, the officer described his frustrations with the Policing Professional Framework (PPF) rules that prevented him from accepting food gifts from local villagers (Putt et al., 2017, p. 1). Similar rules exist within NZ Police whose staff are obliged under policy to declare gifts or decline them if up to a certain value (NZ Police, 2020). In Tonga, reports of corruption and bribery amongst authorities has been a reoccurring theme in news headlines with several drug-related dismissals over the years including a Tongan Police officer and a customs officer involved in a meth-trafficking incident in 2019 (Dreaver, TVNZ, 2019). However, while policy measures are put in place to deter such incidents from happening, and to uphold transparency within the organisation, offerings of food and similar gestures alike are often acts of acceptance by local villagers.

Law Professor and UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) advisor Andreas Schloenhardt (2006) argues that transparency and accountability for government and official authorities are

key elements of effective policing and that appropriate drug training and education programmes for local staff and communities can minimise corruption and bribery within the workplace (p. 264). In the case of the Solomon Islands, the offering of food was an attempt by locals to show respect and build rapport with the foreign Police officer whose refusal was considered rude, thus contributing further to the negative portrayal of Police, and in particular foreign Police amongst the community (Putt et al., 2017, p. 1).

In another study described in Tonga, attitudes of superiority was apparent amongst deployed staff when one overseas trainer described NZ Police as “elite action men” who needed to consider the viewpoints of others at a slower pace in order to execute training effectively (McNicoll & Drake, 2013). Such attitudes are concerning for local police who trust that New Zealand funded programmes will provide an unbiased partnership with local agencies and that deployed staff have received proper, professional training to integrate smoothly into society (McNicoll & Drake, 2013). Conversely, according to Bull et al., (2019), Pacific peoples are actually more inclined to be obedient and cooperative with local authorities rather than foreign authorities (p. 163). This argument challenges the presumption of outsider superiority and the ‘new problems’ created by foreign assistance. In PNG, Police often contested the direction of knowledge brought in by Australian officers and questioned the suitability of their policing recommendations to local situations, acknowledging their presence as extra man-power for local strategies rather than advisors for new policy (McLeod, 2009, p. 153-154). In this case, development aid was considered to be a support tool rather than an enforcement entity for westernized ideals.

The relocation process for deployed staff is essential for foreign Police officers to navigate the transition from figures of authority in their home country to community constables in Tonga. It is imperative that deployed staff are given time and the utensils to understand, learn and adjust to cultural, societal and political indifferences they may be exposed to abroad in addition to current training courses. One cost-effective way to achieve this would be the implementation of a short introductory course on the Host-country’s culture, customs and traditions which would be designed locally in which deployed staff would need to pass. It is paramount to introduce culturally driven strategies like this because deployed officers are often perceived as strangers who hold more authority than local Police officers and more sovereignty than local citizens, making them more prone to breaking local customs (McLemore, 1970, p. 88) resulting in further distrust of Police.

Power imbalances highlight a problematic dynamic seen time and time again between donors and recipients. White (2007) argues that the use of external institutions at any level can actually hinder police development and exacerbate negative portrayals of foreign assistance, labelling it uncertain and irrelevant (p. 6; Bull et al., 2019, p. 161). Such negative depictions of Police have the power to vastly effect crime reporting levels and cooperation from the public, both of which are critical elements of community policing. While the pinnacle of effective community policing lies in local autonomy and the Host-country's right to self-determination, Dinnen et al. (2010) argues that the best way to achieve balance from all parties is by promoting lasting peace (p. 102).

In the case of Tonga, “lasting peace” can be attained by promoting positive police interactions in more informal settings, particularly successful in societies that have a more ‘laid back’ lifestyle as found in most Pacific Island countries. For example, in the Solomon Islands, ‘lasting peace’ was simply achieved through Church attendance by uniformed Police officers who received so much positive feedback from the public that the initiative became PPF approved for further implementation (Putt et al., 2017, p. 1). In another study conducted in the Pacific, Police officers organised sports matches which sparked fun interactions with the public and provided a positive, safe environment for foreign officers to engage with local civilians (Greener, 2011, p. 234). Simple strategies like this are not only cost-effective but they have the ability to boost morale within the communities they serve and encourage public cooperation, both of which are very helpful for smaller Police forces in isolated areas that already lack resources and man power.

3.3 Grassroots Initiatives & Local Participation

Grassroots initiatives are an integral part of community policing because they encourage interaction and participation from local citizens. Citizens take a hands on approach and “mobilize energy and resources to collectively define and carry out projects aimed at providing public... services for their community” (Igalla et al., 2019, p. 1176). The Paris Declaration (2005) states that the concept of participation through partnership is a core principle for delivering aid more effectively (MFAT, 2016; Wood, 2010). Participation helps to strengthen relations between authorities and local citizens leading to higher levels of crime reporting

while improving Police's ability to obtain higher levels of satisfaction (Meares, 2017, p. 1362). These aspects make community policing incredibly attractive for small Police forces like Tonga Police who by in large depend on international partnerships and funding from donors to achieve their goals. However certain strategies like 'citizen policing' are difficult to execute in smaller populations found in Tonga as they require a high level of trust in Police due to the likelihood of already knowing or being linked to an offender and fears of being exposed.

Foreign assistance must therefore adapt to local conditions and the design of policing strategies must acknowledge local needs (McLeod, 2009, p. 149-150). In Vanuatu, community policing methods included five key processes that saw effective results. They were; consultation, negotiation, public education, informal visits to homes and villages (particularly in rural areas) and self-determination in how best to address the law (Dinnen et al., 2010, p. 102-103). Incorporating these five methods into Tonga's own policing strategies may thus provide a starting point for Tonga Police to increase the sense of ownership amongst its community, encourage local government to take control of the issue of illicit drugs and addiction and achieve empowerment amongst local citizens and agencies.

3.4 Capacity-Building Initiatives and The Cultural Suitability of Community Policing Strategies in Tonga

Community policing initiatives funded by aid donors and international organizations including the UN are often shaped to fit the organizations' global goals as opposed to regional and domestic priorities (Brogden & Nijhar, 2013, p. 8). New Zealand's geographical proximity as well as their shared maritime environment with the Pacific (Thakur, 1993, p. 76) makes Tonga a great target area for transnational crime. In 2004, the PIF and Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) found that "the Pacific Islands region is developing into a significant transit and potential consumption area for... methamphetamine ... [and that there is a growing]... concern that the region will follow the global trend towards [amphetamine-type stimulants] ATS manufacture" (PIF & DEA, Intelligence Division, 2004). Since this release, Tonga has become increasingly utilized by countries like China and Myanmar as a transit route for drug smuggling into developed markets (Reid & Crofts, 2013, p. 647) with Australia and New Zealand as the final destination targets for such deliveries (Lyons, The Guardian, 2019).

As a result, a strong focus from New Zealand has taken priority towards transnational crime and border control in the Pacific. This leads to local response programmes such as drug rehabilitation and victim support being largely overlooked.

In terms of capability and logistics, SIDS are seen to have a larger number of Police officers per population size compared to their metropolitan counterparts, Australia and New Zealand (Newton, 1998, p.5). However, the tendency for small populations to exist over relatively large geographical areas makes policing an incredibly difficult task, particularly as many SIDS such as Tonga comprise of numerous outer islands or small atolls. Tonga Police's limited access to resources and manpower would mean that monitoring live activities, dispatching Police within and among its outer islands and ensuring that correct protocols are being followed from their headquarters based in Nuku'alofa would require strenuous effort. These limitations have been a focus area for NZ Police whose deployment strategies aim to improve communications on the island. One initiative is the introduction of the Tonga Police Programme (TPP) which supports leadership development and community policing initiatives to ensure that Tonga Police have the right infrastructure to deliver on its mandate of 'Safer Tonga Communities' (The Beehive, 2019b).

On the surface, community policing initiatives appear highly effective in developing countries. Its emphasis on the community makes it an ideal module for pacific populations where there is a strong sense of communalism over individualism and the importance of "knowing ones place" in society is found within the family, Church and wider village (Hassall, 2019, p. 85). Policing in these environments requires peaceful confrontation through mutual respect and a level of equality between Police officer and citizen. Strategies such as mediation provide a much less combative and cost-friendly alternative to traditional forms of policing. It is an informal disputes resolution process which uses a neutral third party or mediator to "right" a situation by helping both sides reach an agreement while providing more flexibility and efficiency than traditional, authoritative policing (Bakker, 1993, p. 1480). In Kiribati, Police rely on mediation tactics from respectable religious and cultural leaders to advocate in place of state law whenever possible (Bull et al., 2019, p. 166). Incorporating culturally appropriate strategies that encourage regular consultation with chiefs, community leaders and NGOs is a proactive grassroots initiative (Dinnen et al., 2010, p. 24) that can assist in how best to respond to drug-trafficking and meth-abuse in Tonga. These methods are not only more culturally suitable, but are more financially feasible for SIDS to execute.

Although restorative justice processes are generally fiscally friendlier than other methods of law enforcement, community policing can also be quite resource intensive when a high level of time and manpower is required (Grabosky, 2009, p. 2). For a small economy like Tonga, grassroots initiatives must be tailor-made in order to achieve maximum results at minimal cost. Liaising directly with community leaders and local government rather than seeking advice from outside influence is an easy way to alleviate this issue. It is also important to note that while selected staff may appear suitable for deployment, their effectiveness may find different results overseas. Take for example a Tongan NZ Police officer who speaks the language, understands the culture and has ample expertise in the area of drug-crime. While he may be a suitable candidate to his employer, his presence may not achieve the expected results amongst the Tongan population in Tonga. This was the unfortunate case for one Tongan NZ Police officer who was beaten to death by two Tongan Police officers during his visit to the island (NZ Herald, 2013). Both donor and recipient governments thus have a public responsibility to develop, promote and fund strong public policies that are backed up by reliable, consistent and suitable data strategies (Power et al., 2015, article #48). Policy-makers and decision makers on both ends of the spectrum must strive to acknowledge geographic diversities and incorporate culturally suitable policing strategies particularly in spaces where western influence has a tendency to dominate.

3.5 Chapter Conclusion

The aim of this chapter is to analyse community policing strategies in the Pacific in contribution to understanding Tonga's capacity to tackle its meth problem. In relation to Objective 1(b) of the research, *'To examine the cultural appropriateness of NZ's Tonga-specific policing strategies'*, it found that community policing methods are suitable for communal societies like Tonga because of their incorporation and focus on the community, its need for a positive co-dependant relationship with the public and its encouragement of local participation and grassroots initiatives. However, deployment strategies must be used with caution. In relation to Research Question 1, *'How does NZ Police assist, support or strengthen drug-related strategies in Tonga?'* it is evident in the various initiatives funded and implemented by NZ Police including (but not limited to) the TPP, the TPDP and the PPDVP. Although various case studies in the Pacific showed a generally positive relationship between local citizens and foreign officers, there were some reports of concern around attitudes of superiority from

deployed staff as well as frustrations around the PPF framework and gifting policies. As such, attempts to train foreign staff on cultural traditions as well as tweaking local policing strategies to suit cultural attitudes is imperative to the effective execution of community policing. It is critical that while policing strategies may be tailored to reflect local needs, donors and recipients must ensure that local government has the capacity to carry them out. Community policing strategies must, at all times, be inclusive, relevant and sustainable for the country in which they are being implemented.

Chapter Four: Literature Review

New Zealand ODA, Development Aid and Assistance to Tonga and the Pacific

4 Introduction

There is little evidence of the motives... of the nature of the commodity, of the conditions of delivery, of the processes of installation in the 'host' society, of the reactions of the recipients and of their agents, and of the consequences of installation.

(Brodden & Nijhar, 2013, p. 3).

New Zealand's political presence in the Pacific is easily found in their aid contributions, development programmes and overseas initiatives to small island states. Over the years, these actions have helped to build strong, positive relations between New Zealand and their regional counterparts, despite receiving mixed feedback from recipient countries at times. This chapter focuses on the analysis of New Zealand's involvement in the Pacific in relation to Objective 2(a), 'To analyse New Zealand's aid development allocation in the Pacific and how this affects Tonga's drug strategies' in contribution to answering Research Question 2, 'How can Tonga utilise development aid to assist, support or strengthen current grassroots community policing initiatives in relation to methamphetamine?'. To commence, this chapter will briefly touch upon Official Development Assistance (ODA) and provide some background context on the Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Through a post-development lens, this chapter will then examine the suitability of international development aid, touching upon tied aid and the conditions which introduce new limitations to recipient states. An overview of NZ Police's development aims will provide insight on how New Zealand distributes policing aid in the Pacific and finally, how they can better assist Tonga with their current war on drugs against methamphetamine. Like chapter three, chapter four argues that Tonga's right to self-determination through participation is fundamental to achieving effective results.

4.1 Background on Official Development Assistance (ODA) and the Development Assistance Committee (DAC)

The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) is a platform used to discuss, coordinate and review development data from bilateral aid donors which is collected and analysed for the purpose of improving aid effectiveness, capacity, resources and assistance to developing countries (DAC, 2018). It aims to encourage harmony and agreement within development assistance policies and amongst member states (DAC, 2018). It is important to note that capacity-building operations are usually required to meet a certain criteria under the

government's international development budget (otherwise known as DAC) in order to be eligible to receive funding (Greener, 2011, p. 230). ODA on the other hand is the golden standard of foreign aid that specifically targets and promotes the welfare and economic development of developing countries (DAC, 2019). Its primary responsibility is to disburse development aid as the main source of financing.

4.2 New Zealand's Development Aid to Tonga and the Pacific

New Zealand's long term development strategy for the Pacific is to achieve a stable and prosperous Pacific region guided by the principles of understanding, friendship, mutual benefit, collective impact and sustainability together with development partners and regional organisations (MFAT, 2019). Their commitment to this strategy is clear when looking at their heavy involvement in development initiatives across the Pacific. Between 2018-2021 alone, New Zealand allocated almost 60% of its overall ODA to the Pacific Islands primarily through domestic and regional programmes, which equated to approximately \$1.276 billion of its overall budget while a remaining \$55 million was distributed amongst other multilateral commitments (MFAT, 2019). Small economies found in the Pacific rely heavily on these types of external grants.

Tonga and New Zealand share many similar interests due to their geographic proximity to one another. As a result, New Zealand has pledged to provide long term support for Tonga with a strategy to assist their government institution, trade market, economic growth, health sector, education system and police force (MFAT, 2019). Since 2011, NZ Police's three main international aims have been: 1) To support foreign policy in the Pacific and beyond; 2) To further New Zealand's law enforcement interests internationally and; 3) To contribute to disaster and emergency response, provide security liaisons and assist in other urgent tasks when required (Greener, 2011, p. 222-223). These have resulted in a number of developments between Tonga and New Zealand which have contributed to stronger Police liaison networks, improved emergency response capability and increased presence in capacity building projects. The same year, Tonga signed the Joint Commitment for Development which highlighted the expansion of New Zealand's wide-ranging development programmes on the island (MFAT, 2016, p. 8).

International operations implemented by NZ Police are reviewed on a case-by-case basis and are largely funded by MFAT (Police Ten One, 2005). As a lead funder of New Zealand's Pacific Island operations, MFAT stands as the financial backbone for many of New Zealand's overseas operations, enabling organisations such as NZ Police to execute a number of imperative development projects abroad, including on occasion, instances where their Police budget falls short. One of these operations includes NZ Police's response to assist with Tonga's current war on drugs and concerns surrounding the population's growing addiction to meth. The initiative was publicly endorsed in 2019 by MFAT Minister Winston Peters who stated that New Zealand would provide an additional two years of support to Tonga Police to help strengthen their capacity to combat transnational crime (The Beehive, 2019b). However there are reports suggesting that the pledge was motivated by New Zealand's own meth addiction, with a hidden agenda to assist Tonga as a prevention tactic to intercept and deter the further transportation of drugs onto New Zealand shores (The Beehive, 2019a).

New Zealand's development budget for Tonga between 2018-2021 was NZD\$64.77 million with much of its development cooperation focused on supporting Tonga's public sector to deliver high-quality services for the betterment of its community (MFAT, 2019). The budget makes a significant chunk of Tonga's GDP with 60% of deriving from in-kind contributions alone and only 40% from cash income (Tonga Ministry of Finance, 2015). This has been the general ratio in Tonga for a number of years. Due to poor reporting processes and transparency issues across multiple sectors, it is difficult to report further on Tonga's GDP and expenditure for this period. Tonga's Government Budget Statement (2015) reports that Tonga's predictability and expenditure in relation to development assistance is low due to weaknesses within their government systems and donor processes (p. 79). For example, between 2014-2015 Tonga's development assistance budget estimated that only \$138.71 million of the \$248.38 million budget was expended (Tonga Ministry of Finance and National Planning, 2015). During the same period, the Ministry of Education and Training expended only \$8.62 million of the \$14.8 million received and the Ministry of Prisons, Fire and Police recorded only \$2.08 million of their allocated \$10.49 million received (MFAT, 2016, p. 7).

Although Tonga's poor reporting processes makes it difficult to find disaggregated data on the total number of development programmes and aid activities existing in Tonga today, their 2015-2016 Budget Statement provides somewhat useful information on the number and scale of some of the larger projects and activities on the island. According to Tonga's Budget

Statement (2015-2016), 47 projects were listed to the value of \$1 million or above which totalled to \$193 million and accounted for approximately 86% of Tonga's ODA at the time (p. 90-91). New Zealand's bilateral programme claims to have funded \$66.45 million worth of development initiatives in Tonga around this period including the funding of two phases of the TPDP and other COP programmes across nine sectors (MFAT, 2016, p. 9). These COP schemes included dog-training, advisory support, information evenings and increased interaction with the community. By piecing together different bits of information from various sources, we can slowly make sense of Tonga's development situation.

4.3 Development Aid Effectiveness

It is a well-known fact that law enforcement is a profitable business and a highly sought after export around the world. Private multinational corporations and individual capitalists yield significant profits from market shares of government sector commodities including Police who remain high in demand (Brogden & Nijhar, 2013, p. 5). When assessing the effectiveness of development aid, it is important to first determine whether the aid is tied or untied aid. Historically, tied aid is the most common form of foreign assistance and is aid which is offered on the procurement of goods and services from the provider of aid, however over time it has become increasingly unpopular in the international community (Lawson & Morgenstern, 2019, p. 23-24). Evidence shows that untied aid is the more cost-effective alternative which grants the recipient country the freedom to procure goods and services at their own discretion, while the use of tied aid can evidently increase the cost of a development project by approximately 15 to 30 percent (OECD, 2022).

One issue with both tied aid and bilateral aid, that is aid which is directly offered from one government to another, is the disbursement of funds, particularly in cases where conditions or expectations are placed upon areas that specifically benefit the donor. The act of aid in this sense plays a fundamental role in diminishing the recipients' right to self-determination. This was evident in 2009 when the Australian Federal Police (AFP) offered aid to establish a number of tactical crime units (TCU's) in the Pacific which were heavily focused on Australia's priority to tackle transnational crime while only offering small-scale capacity development support to local needs of other assistance (McLeod, 2009, p. 149). The implementation of TCUs highlight Australia's vested interest in utilising development aid to deter the further transportation of

illicit drugs from reaching Australian borders. Despite such conflixtions, Officer in Charge of the Fiji Police Force TCU's, Detective Inspector Henry Brown, argued that any security measures put in place by donors are equally beneficial to the recipient because TCUs play an important role in ensuring that narcotics do not gain a stronghold in the Pacific (Greener, 2011, p. 227). However it can be argued that the deterrence of drug exportation is solely benefited by the donor because targeted shipments are often detected while already in Pacific Island territory.

Grabosky (2009) states that donor countries almost always act in their own national interests and international law enforcement assistance reflects that element of self-interest (p. 7-8). Even so, countries with limited resources are "highly unlikely to refuse any offer... [and] there is a real danger with such an approach that the agenda for assistance is set more by what is available rather than by what is needed" (Beck, 2002, p. 237). This is the case for smaller and weaker economies found in SIDs who continue to accept aid in what is essentially regarded as 'free money' without realising the simultaneous relinquishing of local autonomy. Grabosky's statement is also evident in New Zealand with NZ Police's second international aim focused on furthering New Zealand's law enforcement interests internationally (Greener, p. 222-223). Such international aims are evident in Tonga where development aid is accepted by Tonga Police to carry out initiatives reflective of New Zealand's interests.

The efforts made by New Zealand and Australia to strengthen border control in the Pacific is a typical example of how capacity development initiatives uphold explicit support for donor country's goals within smaller recipient countries (McLeod, 2009, p. 149). The International Service Group (ISG) who manage NZ Police's development activities in the Asia-Pacific region reinforce and support this view with similar objectives to "work with international agencies to support the New Zealand Government's foreign policies and other New Zealand interests" (NZ Police, 2020). This rule of thumb is not exclusive to law enforcement but applies to various realms of development. For example, in 2012 Tokelau's transition to 100% solar powered energy involved the extensive hireage of New Zealand based contractors with Powermart Solar at the forefront of the project (NZ Herald, 2012) which resulted in donor money being pumped back into New Zealand's economy whilst simultaneously fulfilling donor goals. Thus, assistance allocated to areas not reflective of donor interests can be regarded as ineffective to achieving their international goals, particularly where bilateral aid and tied aid is concerned.

Brogden & Nijhar (2013) state that foreign policy packages often implement development initiatives using COP strategies that are formulated, trained and implemented by western academics and western advisors (p. 4 & 9). This is evident in Tonga where development initiatives supported by the ISG provide advisory, specialist and training support to Tonga Police. This type of involvement can often lead to overarching decision-making power and authority of donors who end up shaping the direction of development in the recipient country which further obstructs their right to self-determination. Call and Barnett (1999) argue that the risks of trying to duplicate a western model without acknowledging and incorporating local traditions and circumstances would be grossly ineffective because every country has a different history and culture (p. 63). Thus, traditional top down approaches to policing in developing countries like Tonga who have their own set of customs, culture and values requires an alternative model that is better aligned with local values like community policing. There is no guarantee that the successful implementation of community policing in one country will find the same results in another without considering key cultural differences and tailoring these differences to new and appropriate policing strategies.

Various academics maintain that autonomy and self-determination are critical elements to achieving effective law enforcement, and that the absence of such will result in conflicting, unsustainable and ineffective results. The claim is supported in the Paris Declaration (2005) which states that “Development will be successful... and aid fully effective only when the recipient country takes the lead in determining its own development goals and priorities and sets the agenda for how they are to be achieved” (Ralph, 2010). It is therefore imperative that a review of culturally appropriate policing strategies continues to be examined and that local participation is not only maximised, but leadership within development discussions is handled by local government. The Evaluation of the Paris Declaration (2008) reinforces this notion in that “donor imposition of conditions on aid recipients... [do] not work... therefore there [needs] to be country ownership by [recipient] countries of their own priorities and plans” (OECD, 2019, p. vi).

For Tonga, this process would involve a “careful approach to building the capacity of the informal sector in a way that is consistent with the rule of law and respect for human rights” (Dinnen, 2010, p. 22), particularly in a culture where family discipline, community retribution and the royal monarch has historically substituted the law. Increased autonomy and local decision-making powers over the allocation of funds and the design of policing strategies to

align with local needs and values would be an ideal start for Tonga. One example being a policy aimed at strengthening the island's capacity and capability to deal with minor conflicts at the grassroots level through the use of local institutions, mediation facilities and rehabilitation centres.

4.4 Capacity-Building Initiatives in the Pacific

Capacity development is “the ability of individuals, organisations and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives in a sustainable manner” (UNDP, 2007, p. XX). This means that policing strategies targeting Tonga's meth issue must be applicable to Tonga and its culture while considering its capacity to carry them out. In a significant case study based in the Solomon Islands, the concept of policing is a “problem-solving, community-based activity... [which values]... resolutions reached at the local level without resource to the courts” (Greener, 2011, p. 223). The preference for SIDS to manage minor disputes on their own without straining Police resources would consequently free up more resources for Police to focus on other pressing issues. For example, while local media headlines in Tonga portray a proactive Police force in the crackdown of drugs, the majority of these drug-busts are in fact very small-scale (Matangi Tonga Online, 2020b).

Furthermore, New Zealand's commitment to international goals in the crackdown of Tonga's meth problem showcases how donor assistance can actually hinder the effectiveness of local Police who become more consumed by the need to appear proactive. White (2007) states that the use of external institutions by SIDS obstructs their capacity to police because locals view outsider systems of authority as distant, uncertain or irrelevant (p. 161). If this is the case, development aid transitions the effectiveness of policing from progressive to performative, resulting in poor outcomes, strained resources and further abandonment of local issues. Introducing horizontal decision making processes can strengthen local capacities and improve communication between government institutions and communities which can result in the development of programmes that answer to real needs and demands in the area (WWF-Mexico Program and Conservation International 2004 cited in Walker, 2007, p. 436). Collaborative efforts “in partnership with individuals, communities, businesses and other public sector agencies” is what NZ Police (2020) describes as the best way to achieve the safety of all. It is a means of using limited resources to achieve maximum results.

In Papua New Guinea (PNG), a case study found several issues around capacity development initiatives implemented by donors. The study established that despite acknowledged participation of local voices and local conditions, donor values often trumped local values which ultimately led to the alienation and dismissal of locally relevant development policy (McLeod, 2009, p. 148). The unspoken belief that donor values prevail over local preferences creates doubt and distrust among recipient countries which can exacerbate public mistrust in their government. The study also found that PNG did not lack resourcing in the basic areas of policing such as road policing, but rather in specialist departments such as drug-trafficking, gang violence and white collar crime where there was an absence of exposure and training (McLeod, 2009, p. 153).

Similar findings in Tonga highlight the lack of response to drug rehabilitation programs available on the island (RNZ, 2019) leaving meth-users and drug addicts to rely on underfunded NGOs, the Church or unequipped and inexperienced family members who often lack awareness around addiction. The absence of such services supports Devaney's (2006) research which found reoccurring patterns between drug abuse and increased domestic violence, sexual assaults and deteriorating family and communal relationships (p. 389). Thus, by acknowledging and responding to real local needs such as establishing proper rehabilitation and mental health services, Tonga's capacity to police will significantly improve in other areas of crime due to the reduction of crime caused by drug-related offences. It will also improve their capacity to focus on achieving international donor goals.

4.5 The Tonga Police Development Programme (TPDP)

The introduction of the TPDP has been a significant milestone for the development of policing in Tonga and has evolved from previous COP initiatives from donor countries who had offered funding to Tonga Police. Established in 2008 as a trilateral arrangement between Australia, New Zealand and Tonga, it was formulated to enhance development in the area of leadership within the organisation and improve the efficacy and efficiency of Tonga's policing service to build the trust and confidence of its people (Australian High Commission, 2021). All three partners involved in the TPDP support the secondment and deployment of New Zealand and Australian Police officers who provide a range of services including specialist training, advisory support, driver training, first aid, technical assistance, prosecution support, ethics and

integrity training and leadership programmes to local police (The Beehive, 2019; Tonga Embassy Australia, 2021). The programme still exists in Tonga today and is currently overseen by NZ Police and the AFP.

As of late, the construction of three new dwellings have been completed including two community stations based in Mua and Nukunuku in Nuku'alofa and one in the outer island of Vava'u (Tonga Embassy Australia, 2021). According to Tonga's ex-NZ Police Commissioner Stephen Caldwell, the latter facility was erected in support of his number one priority—the fight against drugs (Matangi Tonga Online, 2020a). NZ Police also seconded two full-time, long-term advisors and several short-term advisors to the programme in addition to this (NZ Police, 2022) however despite such promising and positive changes, MFAT's TPDP Evaluation Recommendation Report (2016) highlights the urgent need for local representation and input from the Tonga Police Executive in the selection of all long-term TPDP advisors. Greener (2011) argues that policing models advocated by external regional influence are both inappropriate and unsustainable (p. 221), reinforcing the importance of community participation and local police contributions (Brogden & Nijhar, 2013, p. 8). As stated in chapter three, self-determination and implementation strategies are best left at the hands of local police.

4.6 Chapter Conclusion

New Zealand's heavy influence on Tonga is evident in their ongoing aid contributions, development initiatives and economic assistance to Tonga and the Pacific over the years. ODA, donor funds and remittances make up the majority of Tonga's GDP with New Zealand being a main contributor, however weak government systems, donor processes and poor expenditure reporting has resulted in a lack of trust and transparency. At present, the TPDP is one of the main policing initiatives established by New Zealand which aims to build the trust and confidence of the public through various capacity-building projects. Despite the initiatives progressive developments, the TPDP's 2016 review suggests that more local contributions from Tonga Police and the community are essential in the formulation and execution of policing strategies. Conflicting discussions around overseas deployment and foreign aid show that the successful integration of foreign staff and westernised policing strategies requires heavy direction, acknowledgment and implementation from local bodies, reflected in various case studies in PNG, Fiji and the Solomon Islands who all reported similar findings despite

some mixed reviews on foreign authority. Interestingly, while tied aid has conditions attached on the expenditure of funds, there is a general attitude by recipients that any aid received is beneficial. Despite such positive attitudes, various academics have voiced underlying concerns, arguing that aid that holds external influence diminishes the recipients right to self-determination and hinders their progression.

Chapter 5: Research Findings from the Field

5. Introduction

The data collected during fieldwork was obtained via two primary methods; document analysis and semi-structured interviews. This chapter presents the key findings of both. To commence this chapter, each participant will be introduced by their organisation followed by a brief explanation outlining why their organisation was selected to participate in the study. This will be followed by a document analysis on official documents and statistics obtained and provided by Tonga Police, the MOJ and Salvation Army including Tonga Police's Corporate Plan and Budget (2019-2022) and Outputs to Combating Illicit Drugs (2019). A brief section outlining participants' recommendations moving forward will conclude this chapter.

5.1 The Participants

Six participants were originally selected for the purpose of this research: four Tonga-based participants and two New Zealand-based participants. However due to unfolding Covid-19 restrictions throughout the fieldwork process, both New Zealand participants were stood down from the research. Their exclusion had minimal effect on the outcomes as most of the information required for the research was publicly accessible. In saying this, the success of the research depended largely on the participation of each Tongan-based participant due to the vast knowledge gaps evident on the research topic, and in particular, the lack of credible, up to date local data.

Participants were selected based on two factors; the relevance of their organisation to the research aims and objectives and their rank/position within their organisation. Each participant satisfied these two criteria and displayed valuable knowledge, insight and experience on the meth issue in Tonga. All participants held a high rank/position within their respected organisation and had obtained permission to speak on their organisations behalf. The participants are as follows:

1. Participant 1: Tonga Police
2. Participant 2: Ministry of Justice (MOJ)
3. Participant 3: Salvation Army - Drug and Alcohol Awareness Centre (ADAC)
4. Participant 4: NGO Tonga Youth

It is important to acknowledge the tragic death of one participant who passed away two months after their interview was conducted. Media reports suggest that the circumstances surrounding their death points to an ill-fated attack linked to drug and alcohol abuse and the serious implications of Tonga's meth problem.

5.2 Qualitative Data: Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interview was designed to contribute to answering the research aim. Open-ended questions allowed the participant to draw on personal observations and opinions through first-hand experience and provide insight on their organisation's stance on the issue. The key findings of each interview will be categorized under two sections; Community Policing and Development Aid, ODA & Funding.

(a) Key Findings: Community Policing

The general consensus for this section found that while community policing is considered an effective strategy for policing Tonga's meth problem, there is extensive room for improvement. Much of this improvement came down to a lack of resources, particularly in the areas of education and rehabilitation however staff attitudes and public perceptions towards Police were considered contributing factors as to why community policing is not achieving the results it is capable of. Dialogue amongst all stakeholders is required for a holistic, grassroots approach in line with community values and needs. The findings relevant to community policing are as follows:

- **Resourcing**

The general consensus amongst all participants is that more manpower is required to achieve effective community policing strategies, however there were differing perspectives on where it should be injected. The need for stricter border control measures was echoed by all participants to ensure enough Police could patrol Tonga's borders.

“Business owners [say] just how easy their container shipments come through and how they're not being checked. They could literally bring in anything. You would think Tonga would pick up their game at the borders and they're not.” (Tonga Youth)

Tonga Police stressed the need for resource improvements in all policing areas including (but not limited to) the Tactical Response Group (TRG), Forensics (SOCO), the DET, staff training and safety equipment as well as an intelligence department to analyse, dissect and organise valuable information that would assist in identifying and tracking ongoing patterns of drug movement within and around the island. This would contribute to upholding a consistent national standard of policing across all outer islands where quality service can be maintained.

“[To obtain] public trust in Tonga Police so that [the public] can share information... in a timely manner... and the community [will be] confident... to tell the world that there are no drugs in Tonga.” (Tonga Police)

From the perspective of external agency ADAC, resources are urgently required in the areas of rehabilitation, mental health and education services. The need to supervise and rehabilitate drug addicts, spread awareness and train counsellors was emphasised numerous times throughout the interview. A request for a residential treatment facility was made with ADAC stating that even a small dwelling with ten mattresses would make a huge difference to the community.

- **Community Policing Strategies**

One successful example of community-led policing in New Zealand is the utilisation of community patrol or ‘neighbourhood watch’ officers that requires the volunteer services of civilians. Public participation is encouraged via television shows such as Police 10/7 and the use of online self-reporting services for minor or historic crimes. These may be useful tools for Tonga to look into given staffing issues within Police whilst encouraging local civilians to take responsibility of crime-control.

“[Community policing] is improving [the meth problem in Tonga] but at a pace that... is absolutely absurd given our small population.” (Tonga Youth)

The MOJ believes that a key factor to achieving effective community policing is through the empowerment of the Police force. Their conclusion comes from the fact that maximum penalties served out by the judiciary do not deter criminals from committing drug-related crimes despite the risk of receiving 30 years in prison for the possession of Class A drugs. According to Tonga Youth, young people are not deterred by drug penalties as Police are not

taken seriously. The attitude was reiterated by ADAC who also viewed Police as having poor control of the public.

“There is an attitude of ‘We don’t really care’... because their cousin is probably in [the Police force] and they won’t get jailed. The relationship [between Tonga Police and youth] is not a good one or a bad one... it’s kind of a stupid one.” (Tonga Youth)

“Community Police have so much power but facing a group of young people that are drunk or high is a different story.” (ADAC)

There was a shared belief that not enough action is being carried out by Tonga Police and that the casual approach towards meth and drugs by Police has been mirrored by the public, consequently leading to both groups turning a blind eye to crime.

“We all know who’s dealing. We all know who’s making meth. [The island] is so small. Why are [Police] not acting on that? We live as a community... [not] as individuals [but] all of a sudden when it comes to... identifying who’s the problem, we don’t know anyone... but we all know.” (Tonga Youth)

At the time of this research, ADAC was running the “Teu Ke Ama” programme in partnership with community police. Its name translates to ‘getting ready to go night fishing’. The programme executed a number of proactive community activities including school visits, youth diversion schemes and joint initiatives with the Church. To alleviate on cost, ADAC designed free and innovative rehabilitation activities for clients by utilising nature as a tool for rehabilitation. Activities such as net-fishing, coconut-climbing and plantation work saw positive results. The purpose of this programme was to encourage the integration of clients back into society through culture, religion and tradition. While the programme made very effective short-term progress, it’s long-term success was hindered due to not having a residential treatment facility to allow for ongoing supervision. Unfortunately for most clients, it was not unusual to see them fall back into old habits upon return to their homes.

“We believe it is a waste of time... because all we have is our psychoeducation sessions. What’s the point in identifying the need for residential treatment when all we can say is ‘Sorry mate, we don’t have that.’” (ADAC)

Table 1 and **Table 2** below show statistics provided by ADAC reflecting increased drug-related referrals and psychoeducation sessions between 2018-2020.

Table 1

ADAC STATISTIC from 2018 to March, 2020					
YEAR	TOTAL MALE	TOTAL FEMALE	AVERAGE OF AGE	REFERRAL SITE	TOTAL CLIENTS
2018	49	3	MALE: 16yrs (youngest) 50yrs (oldest) FEMALE: 25yrs (youngest) 48yrs (oldest)	MOJ 65% Clients - 34 MOH 29% Clients - 15 APTC 4% Clients - 2 WCCC 2% Clients - 1	52
2019	87	4	MALE: 16yrs (youngest) 58yrs (oldest) FEMALE: 24yrs (youngest) 37yrs (oldest)	MOJ 79% Clients - 61 MOH 17% Clients - 16 SELF 4% Clients - 3	92
2020	47	2	MALE: 13yrs (youngest) 61yrs (oldest) FEMALE: 22yrs (youngest) 50yrs (oldest)	MOJ 73% Clients - 36 MOH 19% Clients - 9 MOE 4% Clients - 2 SELF 4% Clients - 2	49

NB: Please note 2020 Statistics are only from Jan to March 2020.

Key:

MOJ: Ministry of Justice
MOH: Ministry of Education
APTC: Australia Pacific Training Coalition from Apia Samoa
WCCC: Women and Children Crisis Centre
SELF: Walk-ins

(Salvation Army, ADAC Division, 2020)

Table 2

Psychoeducational Programmes	
2018	Psychoeducational programmes ran for three hours twice a week up to March 2019
2019	Psychoeducational programmes ran for six hours twice a week up until now (March, 2020)
2020	Psychoeducational programmes ran for six hours on Saturdays commencing in February 2020 up until now (March, 2020)

(Salvation Army, ADAC Division, 2020)

Similar calls for community action was echoed by Tonga Youth and the MOJ who expressed the need for grassroots prevention, with particular focus on the family unit, suggesting initiatives to educate parents and families on identifying the warning signs of alcohol-induced and drug-induced behaviours.

- **Empowerment**

According to Tonga Police, unattractive salary packages may be a contributing factor to Police officers' casual attitude to the role. A suggestion was made to offer higher wages to increase empowerment among staff and improve efficacy within the organisation. However the MOJ disagreed with this suggestion, believing that Police empowerment can be achievable through internal resource investments such as the purchasing of torches, improved technology and professional clothing.

- **Partnerships**

Networking and communication between relevant stakeholders was voiced by all participants who also shared the common opinion that a holistic approach across all sectors is required to successfully tackle the war on drugs.

(b) Key Findings: Development Aid, ODA and Funding

- **Development Aid & Participation**

Under the Paris Declaration (2005), *ownership* is an aid effectiveness principle which argues that the effectiveness of development strategies depends on whether the developing country leads such strategies at the grassroots level (MFAT, 2016, p. 13). All three external agencies emphasised that the inclusion of their respected organisation in decision-making processes is critical to the success of Tonga Police' community policing strategies.

"These donors need to allocate their money to our countries because they need to say that they help us. So we need to be more strategic with how we accept the money and be more forceful on how we then spend it." (Tonga Youth)

"Tonga never had community policing. [It] came with the help of New Zealand. It is a very helpful thing for the community... [but] should be community focused." (MOJ)

When asked about how funding and aid distribution should be expended, there was a strong push for local direction.

“I don’t believe in donors just coming in and implementing their own thing because [they] don’t understand the problem like we do in our context.” (Tonga Youth)

Policing strategies and donor funding must genuinely reflect the best interests of the public by ensuring transparency and accountability among authorities and within government agencies is upheld. Stronger leadership, direction and authority from Tonga Police and the Government was voiced by all four participants.

“Tonga’s national leaders don’t care to push for the money to be properly spent to combat the problem. Just as long as they can say... ‘There are efforts being led by our government’ when really it’s not impactful... It’s very tokenistic work and there is no real progress.” (Tonga Youth)

Furthermore, the lack of—and in some instances a complete absence of—sufficient response services has resulted in dormant and stagnant institutions being the beneficiaries of development aid.

“A lot of people are re-funded even after misspending funds because they’re the only institution to combat that one problem.” (Tonga Youth)

- **Resourcing**

At present, the majority of Tonga Police’s resources come from Australia and New Zealand who have reportedly contributed towards the improvement of Tonga’s intelligence capabilities. According to Tonga Police, the purchase of Microsoft Office 365 is an important tool in the collection and collation of Police information. The gratitude expressed towards the implementation of Microsoft Office 365—a common software used across many developed countries—highlights the level of basic necessities needed within the organisation. It also raises urgent questions in regards to the management of how funds are being spent.

- **Capacity-Building**

The introduction of the TDPD was considered a major step towards combating drugs and organised crime in partnership with Australia, New Zealand and Fiji Police forces. When asked about its effectiveness, Tonga Police advised it was too early to measure its strategies as it was only introduced in 2018. Regarding deployment, Tonga Police generally held a positive attitude towards NZ Police staff, although some criticisms around the role of the ‘advisor’ and confusion on their power and authority was mentioned.

“Tonga Police members are not aware of the policy directions with regards to the advisors. Are they here to be advisors or can they help? Can they provide solutions? Can they actually action those?” (Tonga Police)

“We have had advisors where you just don’t know why they were even bought here. People who cannot change their mindsets and people who could have been more sensitive to what we value as an island – but I think that more than 80% of [deployed staff] have displayed a positive working relationship and have contributed to the success of Tonga Police.” (Tonga Police)

Two participants voiced a shared concern around the significant amount of resources used on the prosecution process.

“The number of arrests for possessing and using drugs has increased dramatically [although]... I don’t think... 10% of arrests [have] gone through the court because we’re waiting for all the testing and availability of the judges.” (Tonga Police)

The MOJ gave similar feedback regarding Tonga’s low prosecution rates. According to both participants, the main reason for unsuccessful court trials/hearings and prosecutions is the delay in receiving drug test results. The lengthy and costly process was detailed out by the MOJ who explained that when illicit drugs are seized, they are sent to New Zealand’s Institute of Environmental Science and Research (ESR) office for testing. The cost of conducting these tests takes a chunk of the Police’s annual budget.

Tonga Police also advised that they are often unsure of “what kind” of drugs they are seizing. It is interesting to note however that many of the media articles reporting successful drug busts in Tonga (of which the majority are for small and even miniscule amounts) often state the type of drugs seized. In the year of 2020, the media reported four arrests in April after the seizure

of 2.14 grams of meth, one arrest in June for the possession of 0.18 grams and two arrests in July for the possession of 0.38 grams and 0.11 consecutively (Matangi Tonga Online, 2020b). With recent revelations from the MOJ and Tonga Police, the credibility of such reportings remains questionable. Furthermore, the financial consequences initiated by small-scale arrests as described above raises two concerns; whether small-scale busts are worth the cost of pursuing and how effective they are in the overall fight against drugs.

“The amount of [meth] that is usually apprehended is small. It is rare when it is up to a kilo. That is why the penalties in cases are low. It seems that the people coming through are users rather than dealers.” (MOJ)

The cost of overseas lab testing for small-scale busts is therefore not only costly for small economies such as Tonga, but can account for the significant increase in court cases reflected in **Table 3**.

Table 3

Cases Involving Class. A Drugs	
Year	Number of Cases
2017	78
2018	100
2019	301

Ministry of Justice, Tonga 2020

Interestingly, the statistics provided by the MOJ in **Table 1** were given from when Tonga’s ‘war on drugs’ officially began, depicting a steady increase in cases from 2017. It is unknown as to how many of these cases resulted in successful prosecutions.

5.3 Document Analysis

This section will outline the key findings found in Tonga Police’s Corporate Plan (2019-2022), Tonga Police’s Budget (2019-2022) and Tonga’s “Outputs to Combating Illicit Drugs (2019) policing strategy.

(a) Key Findings: Tonga Police's Corporate Plan (2019/20 - 2021/22)

Tonga's Corporate Plan document align with the majority of the key findings highlighted the qualitative data, reiterating the importance of improving Tonga Police's capacity building programmes, intelligence capabilities and staff proactiveness. The stakeholders listed in this document includes the community and general public, government, development partners, businesses, NGO's and victims of crime.

To support the Government's priority agenda on the impacts of illicit drugs, Tonga Police's priorities for 2019/20 included:

- Development of the National Illicit Drug Strategy (NIDS)
- Expanding Tonga Police staffing numbers by 100 members
- Establishment of a Criminal Deportees programme
- Completion of an organisation structure review
- Continued programme of reform in the corporate services area
- Roll out of an advanced ICT network

NIDS was initiated by Tonga Police across all government, non-government and community institutions and is a pivotal turning point for their response to meth. Its annual budget is estimated to be \$850,000 per year. In 2019, the Tongan Government approved additional budgetary support to Police for the hireage of more staff and to improve policing equipment. The funding came from Tonga's aid partners, NZ Police and AFP as a response to the Tongan Commissioner's priority areas; Leadership and Organizational Development, National Security and Community Assurance. This resulted in a shift towards prevention as part of Tonga's community policing approach highlighting the need for participation and cooperation from key stakeholders.

Under NIDS came the formation of the TPDT in 2018 which led the war against drugs and included the expansion of 100 new staff as well as an Officer Safety Training (OST) programme which provided training for Police officers. However the Corporate Plan reveals that these initiatives were primarily funded by Tonga Police due to "specific resources" that the TPDP as a foreign aid donor was not able to provide. Further clarity on this is unavailable in the document.

A major portion of the Corporate Plan focuses on improving the infrastructure of Tonga Police. It includes buildings, a detector dog unit, a Police garage, outer island District Commanding Officers, property fencing, Police vehicles, vessels and Police band equipment. The latter of the list was reportedly part of a community policing consideration of the Tongan culture.

“The Police Band plays an important role in our community assurance engagements supporting youth, domestic violence and alcohol and drugs community awareness programs in particular.”
(Tonga Police, 2019, p, 14)

(b) Key Findings: Tonga Police’s Budget Outline (2019/20-2020/22)

This section provides the key finding from Tonga Police’s Budget relating to community policing and illicit drugs. Between 2019-2020 Tonga Police’s approved budget was \$10,633,100. Of this total, development aid made up \$3,750,000. **Table 4** below shows the expenditure spent on community policing initiatives, capacity-building projects and drug strategies.

Table 4

Tonga Police Expenditure 2019-2020	
Hireage of 50 new staff	\$850,000
Community safety crime prevention strategies such as educational and awareness campaigns in schools	\$227,500
Improvements on illicit drugs detection such as the Detector Dog Unit	\$54,000
improvements to the response of illicit drug activity. Performance indicators include the resolution rate of drug related incidents and the successful prosecution rate for drug related offences.	\$732,700
Internal training and development for staff.	\$1,139,200
Development and distribution of policing and standard operating procedures (SOPS). Performance indicators include the number of policies/SOPS developed or reviewed manually and the number of	\$53,100

internal communications or training sessions delivered on policies/SOPS.	
Total	\$3,056,500

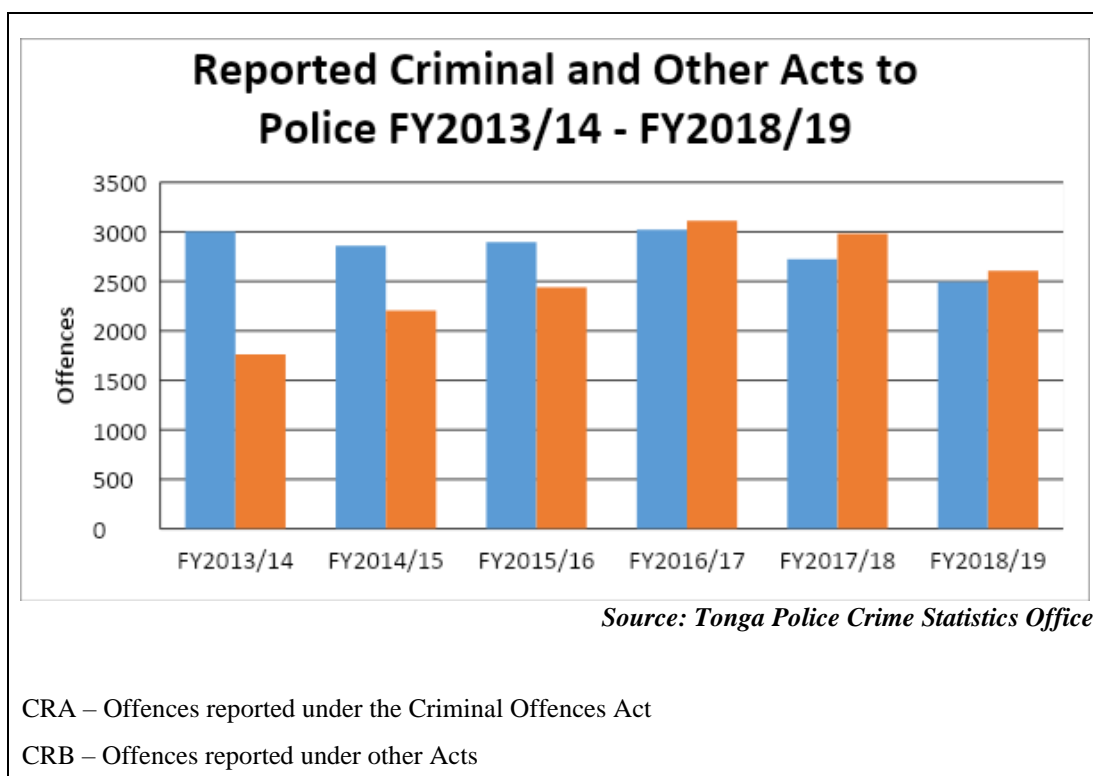
(Tonga Police, 2020)

(c) Key Findings: Tonga Police Outputs to Combating Illicit Drugs (22/11/2019)

This document states that government support across all sectors (legal, financial and policy) must recognize the overwhelming circumstances existing to combating illicit drugs which at times, requires an approach from “a lesser bureaucratic model and mindset” (Tonga Police, 2020). Relevant recommendations to the outputs maintain that the war on drugs is a long-term assignment requiring strategic long-term funding and planning.

It is important to note that the war on drugs gained political traction in 2017 after the announcement of His Majesty, King Tupou IV on Tonga’ war on drugs. His plea coincided with the spike in criminal offences reported between 2016-2017 seen in **Table 5** below:

Table 5



The total amount of meth seized in the 2018-2019 financial year was 42.56kgs with a monetary value of TOP\$34,048,000. In comparison to other illicit drugs, the amount of cocaine seized was 2.4kg equating to TOP\$2,988,000 followed by cannabis at 3.48kg equating to TOP\$69,600. During this period, 14 staff were allocated to the DET and 9 staff to the TRG to assist in the fight against drugs. These numbers are well below the presumed manpower required to efficiently tackle Tonga's drug problem, however according to the report, both departments have achieved significant results given their circumstances. The outputs in the report are as follows:

- A substantial increase in illicit drug-related arrests (355 arrests)
- 203 Drug Operations conducted by the DET. 154 received armed support from the TRG
- The average working hours per DET and TRG officer per week is 90 hours
- Substantial seizures of illicit drugs removed from circulation
- A prevention Taskforce established with over 70% of school visits in the main island including awareness campaigns.
- 5 Police Officers on suspension and awaiting trial and 6 civil servants arrested in relation to illicit drugs.

5.4 Chapter Conclusion

The data collected in this research provides invaluable insight and understanding from a local perspective. Repeated concerns around internal corruption and authority was a recurring theme in the qualitative data, however views on how to eradicate these issues appeared universal. Tonga Police highlighted the need to restructure current programmes and increase empowerment of Police staff. Access to improved resources to better equip staff and encourage empowerment within the organisation will result in a positive shift from both Police and the public who often lack respect for authorities. All participants highlighted the dangers of addiction and the need for rehabilitation services and awareness initiatives within the community. An emphasis on grassroots initiatives, prevention programmes and rehabilitation services through the collaboration of families, the community, the Church and schools was a common theme in correspondence to the effectiveness of community policing strategies. The same findings were reflected in Tonga Police's Corporate Plan and Budget which outlined the majority of funding allocated to improving infrastructure and Police capacity with minimal focus on community policing strategies. Tonga Police's Outputs stressed the need for long-term funding and strategic planning in the fight against illicit drugs. Whilst all participants

agreed that more resources and funding is required, there was a mixed response regarding how and where it should be spent and allocated.

Chapter Six: Research Analysis, Discussion and Conclusion

6 Introduction

A reorientation of the thinking of development professionals is... necessary in which they should adopt the motto of planning with and not for the people.

(Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000, p. 54).

The aim of this research is ‘*To analyse the effectiveness of community policing strategies on the methamphetamine trade in Tonga*’. To answer this aim, the research consisted of two research questions with two objectives under each question. This chapter aims to answer each question and objective accordingly by analysing the qualitative data found throughout the fieldwork process, drawing upon key findings in the literature and official policy documents provided by participants. The information will be split into two parts and presented under the headings of each research question. Knowledge gaps and key findings in each section will help to formulate a holistic understanding of how effective Tonga’s community policing strategies are in relation to the meth trade. This chapter will critically analyse Tonga’s grassroots initiatives and the cultural suitability of current policing strategies, take a critical look into New Zealand’s role as a donor in providing development aid and support and the ways in which Tonga can improve the utilisation of such assistance.

Three primary conclusions were found in the research, two extracted from the qualitative findings and one from the literature. The first conclusion found a huge lack of response strategies by Tonga Police in their capacity to provide appropriate drug referrals to the community, by in large due to poor or absent rehabilitation services, mental health services and awareness programmes available on the island. The second conclusion found that there is not enough consultation with the community and local authorities in decision-making processes, particularly in discussions involving the disbursement of development aid, funding and the allocation of resources. The third conclusion derived from the literature reiterates the findings previously mentioned, highlighting the vast knowledge gaps and ambiguities in the existing quantitative data that is largely outdated, inconsistent and incomplete making the design and effectiveness of many existing strategies unverifiable. Each of these conclusions will be discussed in depth and will contribute towards answering the overall research aim.

6.1 Analysis to Research Question 1

How does NZ Police assist, support or strengthen drug-related strategies in Tonga?

(a) Discussion to Objective 1: *To explore Tonga's drug strategies and grassroots community policing initiatives in relation to methamphetamine.*

Community policing is the cooperation between Police and the community working collectively to resolve people-issues. It requires strong collaborative efforts towards crime control and prevention involving local participation and the service of Police officers. The establishment of community policing allows Police officers to consult with communities, understand their priorities and encourage citizens to take greater responsibility for public safety through community-led policing (Bullock, 2013, p. 126). It's policing style is one that reflects the needs of the community, with tactics and outcomes largely shaped around public consent and strategies that offer a more flexible alternative to traditional methods of law enforcement (Brogden & Nijhar, 2013, p. 2). Thus, community policing's loosened approach to reducing crime makes it markedly more appealing for Pacific Island countries like Tonga. This section examines grassroots initiatives and community policing strategies in relation to meth in Tonga in contribution to answering Research Question 1.

The expenditure spent on community policing initiatives, capacity-building initiatives and drug strategies as outlined in the Corporate Plan suggests a slow shift towards the incorporation of grassroots initiatives (Tonga Police, 2019). As supported in the literature, grassroots initiatives such as Church programmes and school visits focused on educating local communities and youth are a cost-effective way to spread awareness (Hassall, 2019, p. 85) on the harmful effects of meth. Between 2019-2020, Tonga Police spent \$227,500 on community safety crime prevention strategies such as educational and awareness campaigns in schools (Tonga Police, 2019). Positive interactions with the public increases trust and confidence in Police and can improve public attitudes on their capacity to police. This consequently leads to increased empowerment within the organisation with Police officers feeling more reliable and respected. The theme of empowerment was vocalised by two participants in the research who both believed that empowerment would encourage efficiency and job satisfaction amongst Police officers, although both organisations held differing perspectives on how to achieve this. Tonga

Police argued for higher salary packages and promotions while the MOJ simply believed in providing officers with better equipment.

Tonga Police's Corporate Plan also states that approximately \$1.13million was spent on internal staff training and development in 2019. The significance of this investment relates to the increased level of corruption reported amongst government officials and authorities by both the media and Police. According to Tonga Police's Outputs document, 5 officers were on suspension and awaiting trial and 6 civil servants were arrested in relation to illicit drugs in 2019. More recent media headlines mention similar dismissals (Dreaver, TVNZ, 2019). By ridding of corrupt Police officers within the organisation, community policing strategies will be more effective due to Tonga's small population.

Both the literature and the qualitative data found that the casual attitude of the public towards Police, particularly youth, is often due to the likelihood of knowing a Police officer or a Police officer knowing an offender. According to Tonga Police's Outputs, policing strategies require "a lesser bureaucratic model and mindset" to tackling illicit drugs, stating that government support must recognize the overwhelming circumstances existing to combating illicit drugs across all sectors (2019). The absence of collaborative efforts between government and non-government sectors is evident in all policy documents provided by Tonga Police. There is virtually no acknowledgement of cross-sector consultation, dialogue or partnership within the policy. Furthermore is the complete absence and acknowledgment of rehabilitation, mental health or referral services in Tonga Police' priorities.

The lack of dialogue, inclusion and collaboration between local sectors is of grave concern, particularly for small capacity Police forces like Tonga Police. The absence in partnerships was echoed by all external agencies in the qualitative data who emphasised the lack of consultation and access to services, especially in the areas of mental health and rehabilitation. The shortage of collaborative efforts by Tonga Police with external agencies highlights where their efficacy falls short within current community policing strategies. There are virtually no outputs dedicated to response initiatives, with the majority of Tonga Police's budget being allocated to improving internal efficiency and policing capacity over community well-being.

(b) Discussion to Objective 2: *To examine the cultural suitability of New Zealand's Tonga-specific policing strategies.*

In order to examine the cultural suitability of New Zealand's Tonga-specific policing strategies, it is important to first acknowledge that community policing is historically a western model introduced by westerners in an attempt to decentralize authority and encourage public participation (Davis, Henderson & Merrick, 2003, p. 299). Foreign policy packages often use community policing strategies to implement development initiatives that are formulated, trained and implemented by western academics and western advisors (Brogden & Nijhar, 2013, p. 4 & 9). Top down approaches to policing makes traditional strategies incompatible with developing countries who have their own set of culture, morals and history, thus requiring an alternative policing model that better aligns with local values (Call and Barnett, 1999, p. 63). Community policing is deemed an appropriate method of policing for village and communal living environments found in Tonga because of its emphasis on participation and the opportunity it provides for local voices. This section examines the cultural suitability of New Zealand's Tonga-specific policing strategies and argues for Tonga's increased right to self-determination in the design process of community policing strategies tackling meth.

NZ Police's international aims for the Pacific since 2011 includes the international expansion of New Zealand's law enforcement interests (Greener, 2011, p. 222-223). . New Zealand's heavy involvement in the Pacific over the years has resulted in a number of developments including Tonga which has improved the quality of Police liaison networks, emergency response capabilities and capacity building projects (NZ Police, 2020). However despite such proactiveness, there exists a level of concern around the authenticity of development assistance and aid, with apprehensions that ulterior motives may be in play in New Zealand's attempt to protect their shores (The Beehive, 2019). The efforts made by donor countries such as New Zealand and Australia to strengthen border control in the Pacific is a prime example of how international policing strategies often work in the interests of donor country's goals while simultaneously appearing sympathetic towards the priorities of their smaller counterparts.

New Zealand's commitment to international goals showcases how the use of external institutions can actually hinder the effectiveness of local Police who often become consumed by the need to appear effective in order to maintain donor funding (White, 2007, p. 6; Bull et al., 2019, p. 161). This is evident in the increase of small-scale drug busts in Tonga conducted

by their donor-funded drug taskforce. Execution, without acknowledging resource gaps within the community results in poor Police productivity. The pressures introduced by New Zealand and Australia to carry out their international goals affects Tonga's motivation to combat meth and can influence the transition of local strategies from progressive to performative, evident in increased drug-related arrests and lengthy, and often unsuccessful prosecutions as described in the qualitative data (Tonga Police, 2020; MOJ, 2020). Thus, the abandonment of local issues exacerbates the use of already strained resources leading to poorer results.

The signing of the Joint Commitment for Development by Tonga in 2011 marked the expansion of New Zealand's wide-ranging development programmes on the island (MFAT, 2016, p. 8). Since then, New Zealand's bilateral programme has funded \$66.45 million worth of development initiatives in Tonga including initiatives carried out by the TPDP (MFAT, 2016, p. 9). NZ Police's response to assist Tonga with the current war on drugs and growing meth addiction is one of their current operations under the TPDP which is dedicated to strengthening Tonga's capacity to combat transnational crime. It also supports the secondment and deployment of NZ Police officers who provide a range of services including training and advisory support to Tonga Police. In 2019, NZ Police seconded two full-time, long-term advisors and several short-term advisors with significant expertise and experience (NZ Police, 2020). However, according to the TPDP Evaluation Recommendation Report (2016), urgency was placed upon the need for local representation from the Tonga Police Executive in the selection of deployed long-term TPDP advisors (MFAT, 2016).

The same concerns were echoed in the qualitative data with Tonga Police expressing their confusion around the role of deployed "advisors", their level of power and how much capacity they have to actually change anything. As stated by White (2007), donors in fact obstruct the recipients capacity to police because locals often view outsider systems of authority as distant, uncertain or irrelevant (p. 161). The power ambiguity expressed by Tonga Police highlights the lack of consultation and discussion between New Zealand and Tonga on their deployment strategy and the suitability of their titles. It also suggests that there is a critical need for New Zealand to re-evaluate its policing assistance with more effort put into understanding cultural needs and indifferences to ensure that all stakeholders have a shared understanding and direction moving forward.

Responsible for providing advisory, specialist and training support to Tonga Police, the influence of the ISG, who manage NZ Police's development activities in the Pacific region, remains strong (NZ Police, 2020). This type of involvement can often lead to overarching decision-making powers of donors who ultimately shape the direction of development. Ownership is a critical aid effectiveness principle which argues that the effectiveness of development strategies depends on whether the developing country leads such strategies at the grassroots level (Paris Declaration, 2005 cited by MFAT, 2016, p. 13). New Zealand must therefore encourage Tonga in the areas of leadership, collaboration and partnership and acknowledge their needs by implementing community policing strategies focused on Tonga's wellbeing. This primarily consists of the integration of response programmes and cross-sector collaboration, a need that was reinforced and reiterated by all participants in the research.

(c) Concluding Remarks to Research Question 1

The UN (2014) states that collaboration, partnership and joint vision and evaluation is required between the donor country and host-State when any plan, action or implementation is to be enforced (p. 10, 11 & 17). The qualitative feedback showed that all participants vocalised the need for more local inclusion in decision-making processes, particularly when it came to distributing funds. The objectives answered in the two sections above not only describes how NZ Police assists, supports and strengthens Tonga's drug-related strategies, but also the ways in which their assistance has hindered Tonga's progression and success with their battle against drugs. Despite essential funding, advice, deployment and training provided to Tonga Police to improve their capacity, New Zealand's vested interest in targeting transnational crime through increased border control has ultimately decreased the effectiveness of Tonga Police's drug strategies. This is largely due to the unspoken power imbalance existing between the two countries which has critically influenced Tonga's shift away from policing strategies focused on community well-being. Instead, Tonga Police have allocated their limited resources to achieve what appears to be New Zealand's international aims, evident in their 2019 Outputs and Budget Plan.

A significant example of donor's serving in their own interests is New Zealand's strategy to prevent the further shipment of drugs onto their shores (The Beehive, 2019a) which has subsequently resulted in a large proportion of Tonga Police's budget being dedicated towards

increasing manpower, improving infrastructure and providing support for specialist teams such as the DET, ICT and intelligence capabilities around the outer islands (Tonga Embassy Australia, 2021). While some efforts have been made to incorporate proactive community policing strategies on drugs such as school visits and education awareness campaigns, there is a complete absence of community focused grassroots initiatives that meet the needs of the community, namely rehabilitation and mental health services. The research found a significant gap in cross-sector dialogue between relevant government and non-government agencies who hold the capabilities to alleviate pressures off Tonga Police, but are simply not being utilised. The collaboration of Tonga Police alongside external agencies such as Salvation Army and Tonga Youth would consequently free up already strained Police resources.

According to the Paris Declaration (2005), *alignment* is “the notion that aid is more effective if donors line their aid up behind the priorities of developing countries, use partner country systems, and provide predictable aid flows” (MFAT, 2016, p. 13). While consultation and policy dialogue does exist between New Zealand and Tonga, qualitative feedback suggests that such attempts are tokenistic, evident in Tonga’s illicit drug priorities that seem to ignore the country’s need for more response programmes. An assessment carried out by MFAT (2016) found that although Pacific Islands embody strong strategic and policy ownership, they lack the capacity to operate, coordinate and manage development policy on the ground (MFAT, p. 13) highlighting the need for training in leadership and management to improve their ability to shape the direction of their own strategies. A review of New Zealand’s country programme in Tonga thus requires an examination of its effective coherence and whether efforts are being made to maximise interaction and inclusion within their programme (MFAT, 2016, p. 13). The findings in this research conclude that while New Zealand’s development strategies have improved capacity-building capabilities on the island, critical areas in which local responders have identified as either absent or lacking remains largely overlooked.

6.2 Analysis to Research Question 2

How can Tonga utilise development aid to assist, support or strengthen current grassroots community policing initiatives in relation to methamphetamine?

(a) Discussion to Objective 1: *To analyse New Zealand's development aid allocation for the Pacific and how this affects Tonga's drug strategies.*

New Zealand's commitment to the Pacific is evident in the extensive development aid and funding they have provided to the region over the last few decades. Between 2018-2021, New Zealand allocated almost 60% of its \$1.331 billion ODA budget to the Pacific Islands alone (MFAT NZ, 2019). Small economies like Tonga rely heavily on these types of external grants. During this same period, Tonga received \$64.77 million from New Zealand's development budget with much of its development cooperation aimed at improving the public sector's capacity to deliver higher quality services (MFAT, 2019). This section will outline New Zealand's development aid allocation for the Pacific and how it affects Tonga's drug strategies.

Development funding makes up a significant portion of Tonga's GDP whose general annual ratio is 60% foreign aid and 40% cash income (Ministry of Finance Tonga, 2015). Between 2019-2020 Tonga Police's approved annual budget was \$10,633,100 with \$3,750,000 deriving from development aid (Tonga Police, 2019). Between 2015-2016 alone, New Zealand's bilateral programme claimed to have funded \$66.45 million worth of development initiatives in Tonga including the funding of two phases of the TPDP and other COP programmes (MFAT, 2016, p. 9). Interestingly, Tonga's war on drugs gained political traction shortly after when His Majesty, King Tupou IV announced the country's priority to crackdown on drugs. His plea coincided with the spike in criminal offences being reported since 2017, evident in the statistic provided by Tonga Police and the MOJ.

Tonga's Government Budget Statement (2015) reports that Tonga's predictability and expenditure in relation to development assistance is poor due to weaknesses within their government systems and donor processes (p. 79) making it difficult to find financial information on specific community policing programmes and strategies involving illicit drugs. Regardless of transparency issues, it is evident that New Zealand has made some considerable developments in assisting Tonga in their war against drugs. The formation of the TDPD in

2018 marked a milestone for Tonga with a ‘specialised’ team dedicated to combating illicit drugs on the island. However comments made by Tonga Police during their interview indicate that there is an absence of specialised training within the organisation.

The literature in the research found that development aid provided to Tonga by New Zealand via contributions, donations, resources and deployment is a blurred combination of effectiveness, convenience and vested interests. According to Tonga Police’s Corporate Plan & Budget, additional budgetary support was approved to Police for the hireage of more staff and policing equipment. The funding came from Tonga’s aid partners including NZ Police who claimed it was in support of the Tongan Police Commissioner’s priorities which included ‘National Security’ and ‘Community Assurance’. However upon assessment of Tonga Police’s Budget Plan, recent expenditure shows that most of their budget was allocated towards ‘National Security’ such as infrastructure improvements and capacity-building projects, with very little expended on strategies providing ‘Community Assurance’. One exception was the expenditure on Police band equipment. According to Tonga Police, the Police band plays an important role in their priority to provide ‘community assurance’ by supporting youth, domestic violence and alcohol and drugs community awareness programmes.

(c) Discussion to Objective 2: *To understand how Tonga utilises development aid to respond to its “meth problem.”*

While Tonga Police’s Outputs to Combating Illicit Drugs (2019) recognized the need for government support across all sectors, the need for a “lesser bureaucratic model and mindset” was suggested by Tonga Police to cater to the local community. The findings in this research suggest the need for Tonga to have more autonomy over how and where development aid is allocated in order to increase their efficacy to police. This section will analyse how Tonga utilises development aid to respond to its meth problem.

Tonga Police’s priority to support the Government’s agenda on illicit drugs led them to rely on more traditional methods of policing including the development of NIDS, the TDPT and the Criminal Deportees programme. Many of their projects are focused on improving ICT network, hiring more staff and implementing training initiatives such as the OST programme. Although progressive, the funding of these developments brings attention the absence of

community policing methods within the organisation, evident in Tonga Police's 2019 Corporate Plan. New Zealand's establishment of the DET is one example of Police appearing highly effective with various reports of successful drug seizures. However, upon closer inspection, the vast majority of these seizures are miniscule (Matangi Tonga Online, 2020b), contributing to Tonga's cycle of ongoing wasted resources and ineffective policing strategies. Evidently, Police appear to be spending more energy on results-focused strategies rather than prevention and community-focused initiatives.

External agencies such as ADAC have made some proactive attempts at providing rehabilitation services for the public despite receiving no government funding. Their 'Teu Ke Ama' programme is just one example of the organisation maximising free resources, essentially taking rehabilitation back to the land. The programme included activities involving what ADAC described as "Tongan therapy", using fishing and plantation work as a means to reintegrate alcohol and drug users back into the community through culture and tradition. The success found within these initiatives, although short-lived due to a limited capacity and lack of resourcing, showcases how Tonga can incorporate and facilitate cost-effective, efficient and culturally suitable grassroots initiatives alike in order to improve the overall wellbeing of its community.

Reflected in the Budget document shows that the largest portion of Tonga Police's \$3.7 million dollar development budget was allocated towards staff development and training followed by community safety crime prevention strategies. In order, the remaining budget was allocated towards hiring more staff, improving prosecution rates, improving illicit drugs detection services and improving internal SOPS. Tonga Police's Outputs show the establishment of a prevention taskforce which carried out a number of school visits and awareness campaigns around the island. Although slow in progress, this shows that Tonga Police have made some positive steps towards the inclusion of community policing strategies. Nonetheless, there appears to be no allocation towards grassroots response initiatives, primarily in the area of rehabilitation. It is also important to note certain inconsistencies within the budget reinforcing the transparency issues mentioned in the literature. The budget states that the Police budget for the year was \$3.7 million however only \$3,056,500 is accounted for in expenditure.

A major expense reiterated by the MOJ and Tonga Police was the significant funds spent on court proceedings and laboratory drug testing. Lengthy and expensive processes requiring

seized drugs to be sent to New Zealand for testing has resulted in long court delays, poor prosecution rates and wasted resources, particularly by cases that involve small amounts (Tonga Police 2020; MOJ, 2020). As stated previously, the issue of testing small amounts is highly problematic given Tonga's policing capacity because while the DET looks effective to the public, their efforts only make a small dent on Tonga's bigger transnational drug issue. The question must therefore be asked on whether small scale drugs are worth pursuing with the judiciary or whether alternative community policing strategies that are "less bureaucratic", such as the use of mediation and utilisation of community leaders, may be more suitable for Tonga. The statistics provided in this document also raises concern around the validity of Tonga's existing policing strategies, which appear to be based on sweeping assumptions, incomplete statistics and incomparable data.

(d) Concluding Remarks to Research Question 2

The literature and qualitative data presented in the research found that the majority of New Zealand's development aid, funding and assistance to Tonga was primarily based on capability-strengthening and capacity-building strategies, largely due to private interests in strengthening Pacific border control. The objectives answered in the two sections above describe New Zealand's involvement in the Pacific and how it affects Tonga's drug strategies as well as the ways in which Tonga utilises development aid to respond to its meth problem. The general consensus from all participants highlighted vast gaps in cross-sector dialogue and partnership and a significant absence in rehabilitation, mental health and awareness campaigns for victims, families and communities. While some efforts have been made by Tonga Police to incorporate community policing strategies, the effectiveness of some of these strategies such as the financing of Police band equipment remains questionable, particularly for a Police force with considerably strained resources.

To improve their response to meth, Tonga can utilise development aid to support and strengthen their grassroots community policing initiatives by maximising their voice within policy dialogue. Policy dialogue and discussion between NZ Police and Tonga Police is critical because it is "the expression of a set of values or principles that the leadership of an organisation holds to be important in delivering its mandate or in bringing about change" (MFAT, 2016, p. 14). The Tongan Commissioners priority to eliminate illicit drugs requires

strong collaborative efforts between New Zealand and Tonga is in addition to partnership and discussion between local stakeholders. Canella, Park and Lee (2008) state that increasing local ownership will not only reduce power tensions between donor and recipient, but will increase effectiveness through a shared common vision that allows each party to recognise the differences and constraints that each one experiences (p. 770).

A revitalization of Tonga Police's image is also required to shift negative public perceptions into positive outcomes. Boosting empowerment within Police is one way to achieve this to increase the efficacy and efficiency of staff. Tonga Police believes this will be made possible through promotion and higher salaries while the MOJ suggested more investment towards improving and providing professional equipment boost morale. Empowerment is important in order for Police to obtain respect from the community, particularly youth who both hold casual attitudes towards Police due to Tonga's small population and the likelihood that a police officer is personally known. Such attitudes between Police and the public also increases the chances of corruption, evident in the terminations of several government officials and Police officers over the years. Thus in order to bring about effective change, policing strategies focused on shifting attitudes within the organisation and the community, amplifying local voices and responding to community needs is essential. Community policing strategies must be led under the direction of strong local leadership while striving for transparency and inclusion.

6.3 Research Conclusion

Three main conclusions were derived from the findings of this research. The first is that there is a complete absence within Tonga's community policing strategies that include response initiatives to meth and substance abuse, particularly in the area of rehabilitation and referral agencies. Secondly, while consultation with local authorities exists in decision-making processes when deciding where resources and aid is allocated, such participation appears tokenistic which is reflected in Tonga Police's Outputs, Annual Budget and Corporate Plan. Finally, it is apparent that the vast knowledge gaps in the literature as well as incomplete, unreliable quantitative data requires further investigation, especially when considering how much of Tonga Police's budget is allocated towards these issues. All three conclusions result in a unanimous solution by all participants in which key findings in the literature also support:

that local participation and local voices are essential in the successful execution of effective community policing strategies to combat the meth issue in Tonga. Dialogue that amplifies the voices of local agencies is required at all levels of discussion from grassroots initiatives to policy design and aid allocation. A re-evaluation on the suitability of existing strategies including NZ Police staff deployment, the role of the DET and small-scale drug busts that exhaust Tonga Police's already stretched resources is urgently required due to concerns around the validity of Tonga's existing policing strategies, which appear to be based on sweeping assumptions, incomplete statistics and incomparable data. Policing strategies focused on shifting attitudes within the organisation and the community, amplifying local voices and responding to community needs is essential and must be led under the direction of strong local leadership while striving for transparency and inclusion. The research recommends that Tonga Police utilises the use of external agencies to maximise their effectiveness and alleviate the strain on current resources. Organisations such as ADAC and Tonga Youth have the capability to community policing strategies such as rehabilitation and awareness programmes, requiring a reshuffling and redelegation of responsibility across all local sectors. Such attempts can only be achieved through a shared vision between New Zealand and Tonga that benefits both partners in their goals as well as collaboration, partnership and discussion among all stakeholders involved.

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