

VIOLENCE

IN AUSTRALIA



Australian Institute of Criminology

Australian Institute of Criminology.
Canberra

© National Committee on Violence

This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Inquiries should be made to the publisher.

Cataloguing-in-Publication

Violence in Australia

Bibliography. ISBN 0 642 14051 0.

1. Violence-Australia. 2. Violent crimes-Australia. I. National Committee on Violence (Australia).

II. Australian Institute of Criminology.

303.6'2'0994

Designed by Stephen Cole

Typeset by Keyset Phototype Pty Ltd

Printed and bound in Australia by
Renwrck Pride Pty Ltd. Albury NSW

INTRODUCTION

On 16 October 1988 the Federal Minister for Justice, Senator Michael Tate, announced the formation of a National Committee on Violence. This booklet will draw to the attention of a wide audience the terms of reference of that Committee, raise some key issues and present some important facts about violence in contemporary Australian society.

Violence in our society extends much further than the violent crime which is sometimes sensationalised in the media. The extent and breadth of the problems of violence, in both its criminal and non-criminal aspects, are reflected in the Committee's terms of reference. They are terms of reference which recognise the need to provide an insightful and balanced understanding of the causes of violent crime and violent behaviour, and the necessity of proposing ways in which we can all enjoy the benefits of living in a less violent country.

The Committee, whose members possess a broad range of professional qualifications, and experience, must present its final report to the Minister for Justice by 31 December 1989. In the interim, the Committee will be sponsoring research into violent crime and violent behaviour, accepting submissions, publishing reports on particular aspects of violence, and consulting widely on matters within its terms of reference. The Committee will be assisted in its work by the staff of the Australian Institute of Criminology in Canberra.

The Committee welcomes submissions and requests for information about any aspect of its terms of reference. These should be directed to: Executive Assistant, National Committee on Violence, PO Box 28, WODEN ACT 2606, AUSTRALIA.

The Committee can also be contacted by telephone on (062) 833833 and by fax on (062) 833843.



Duncan Chappell
Chair
National Committee on Violence
October 1988

Australia-a violent past. Violence in Australia is not just a modern phenomenon. Aboriginal people were mistreated, poisoned and slaughtered by early settlers.



Illustration: by Col. Munday, entitled 'Mounted police and blacks: A reincounter. 1852'. Courtesy Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.



In this reconstruction an Aboriginal is attacked by a white settler. Courtesy Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

BACKGROUND AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

The establishment of a National Committee on Violence reflects growing concern in government and the community about the level of violence in Australian society.

The idea for such a committee grew out of a meeting between the Prime Minister, the Premiers and the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory on gun control which was held in December 1987. In turn this meeting had been prompted by the two mass firearms killings in Melbourne's Hoddle and Queen Streets in 1987 in which a total of sixteen people died (including one of the gunmen) and twenty-two were wounded.

The National Committee on Violence has been established by joint agreement between the Commonwealth, all states and the Northern Territory. Its purposes are to promote community understanding of the problem of violence, to undertake research, and to suggest ways in which to combat violent crime. In order to achieve these goals within a limited time-frame it will be necessary for the Committee to exclude some types of violent behaviour from the ambit of its research. These include self-inflicted violence, motor vehicle deaths, negligence generally and television violence (which is under investigation by the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal).

In fulfilling its specific terms of reference the Committee is required to have particular regard to:

- the contemporary state of violent crime in Australia;
- related social, economic, psychological and environmental aspects;
- gender issues in violence;
- the impact of the mass media, including motion pictures and video tape recordings, in the incidence of violent behaviour;
- the association of violence with the use of alcohol and other drugs;
- factors instilling attitudes to violence among children and adolescents;
- the vulnerability to violence of particular groups;
- the development of specific strategies to prevent violence, including strategies to propagate anti-violence values throughout Australia, reduce violence involving young people, and promote community education programs;

-
- the need for support and assistance to victims of violence; and
 - the need for special measures in the treatment of violent offenders.

The National Committee on Violence is one of a number of inquiries which are currently examining, or have recently reported on issues relating to violence in Australia. These inquiries include:

The Social Development Committee of the Victorian Parliament which is conducting an inquiry into community violence, including the development of strategies to deal with the problem;

The Australian Broadcasting Tribunal which is currently examining the issue of violence on television. The Tribunal's inquiry was prompted by community concern about the depiction of violence on TV and its possible effects;

The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody which is inquiring into over 100 deaths of Aboriginals held in prison or police lock-ups;

The Commonwealth/State Co-ordinating Task Force on Domestic Violence which was established in 1987 to advise on the development of a national domestic violence education campaign; and

The Joint Select Committee on Video Material which was composed of members of the House of Representatives and the Senate. This Committee was established in 1985 to inquire into the regulation of video material in Australia. Amongst other things it examined violent video material. The Committee reported in April 1988.

The National Committee on Violence is mindful of the work of these other Australian inquiries related to the topic of violence and in its own investigations will be seeking to avoid overlap and duplication of their work. The Committee has already been in touch with current Australian inquiries relating to violence and anticipates exchanging information and ideas about the causes and prevention of violence with them.

The subject of violence has also been a matter of international concern. In the 1960s a National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence was established in the United States. More recent overseas inquiries into violence have been undertaken in the United States (Attorney-General's Task Force on Violent Crime 1981). and in New Zealand (Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Violence 1987). Currently, inquiries are being held in West Germany by an

Independent Federal Commission for the Prevention and Combat of Violence (Violence Commission) which was established by the Federal Government in March 1987, and in the United States by the National Academy of Sciences.

It is evident from the wide-ranging nature of the Committee's terms of reference that violent behaviour has many facets, some of which are briefly examined in the next section.

DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS

The Macquarie Dictionary defines violence as "any unjust or unwarranted exertion of force or power as against rights, laws, etc". While the Committee does not wish, at this stage, to formulate any rigid definitions it believes that the concept of violence should allow for non-criminal activity and for the threatened as well as the use of outright physical force. It is also important to be aware that violence is not always overt; its application may be subtle but the effects can still be devastating. Psychological, emotional and financial abuse may be just as effective a means of subjugation, humiliation and manipulation as the use of outright physical force and are thus considered by some as forms of violence.

A further difficulty in identifying violent behaviour stems from the context in which such behaviour occurs. Considerable overlap exists between what is regarded as aggression, viewed by many as a desirable attribute, and violence. The community may, for example, be more inclined to view physical aggression on a sporting field involving punching or kicking as acceptable, whereas if these actions occurred in the street they would be condemned and their perpetrators liable to criminal prosecution (Tutt 1976).

VIOLENT BEHAVIOURS

V covers a diverse range of behaviours in many contexts and with many motivations. Thus, a reference to violence in common parlance may include all or any of the following:



Violent acts and violent responses. Angry crowds gather outside a NSW police station to confront those arrested for the murder of Anita Cobby in 1986. Courtesy John Fairfax & Sons Ltd, Sydney. Photographer: John Nobley.

Expressive violence where fear, anger or a related emotion may trigger a violent act and direct it towards an appropriate target, as in the case of many domestic assaults. Expressive violence may also be randomly directed, and may occur in sensationalised circumstances. The mass killings in Hoddle and Queen Streets, Melbourne in 1987 are examples;

Instrumental violence which has a utilitarian rather than an emotional basis, such as a contract killing, or acting in self-defence;

Collective violence which involves a group of people with a common aim. The goal may be long-term and political, such as the actions of terrorists in attempting to overthrow governments or reverse government policy, or it may be short-term. Brawls in hotels or at sporting events are examples of the latter, as are riots;

Structural violence. This violence may not be purposive but may have the effect of oppressing individuals or groups in society. The living conditions, mortality rates, health problems and educational disadvantage suffered by minority groups like Aboriginal people are often cited as an example of such violence.

Institutional violence. This type of violence may be condoned by public opinion or pursued by governments or other institutions. It may involve either the illegitimate or the legitimate use of force. State-directed genocides in Nazi Germany, Kampuchea and Uganda are examples. Other instances of institutional violence which may be deemed legitimate or illegitimate according to circumstances are the operations of the armed forces during wartime and the use of force by police or prison officers in the course of their duties (Campbell et al. 1986).

THEORIES OF VIOLENCE

Not surprisingly, given the complexity of the subject matter, the literature on violence causation is immense. Some theories are associated with particular disciplines such as psychology, sociology or physiology. Others take a multi-disciplinary approach. Brief descriptions of some of the theories of violence appear below. It is not suggested that these theories are mutually exclusive. For example, frustration-

aggression theory is compatible with, and may be complementary to an approach based on economic deprivation. Most importantly, what emerges from any examination of the theories of violence causation is that violence is complex in origin and defies simple solutions. Some of the well-known theories of violence include (Tutt 1976):

Physiological dysfunction. In a small number of cases violent behaviour occurs as a result of physical trauma to, or disease of, the brain (Mark & Ervin 1976). Such injury or disease may interfere with an individual's ability to inhibit certain behaviour, and as a result his or her actions may become uncontrolled and find expression in violence;

Biological theories of violence. Such theories were commonplace in the nineteenth century, when it was widely believed that criminality was an inherited trait and that it was possible to distinguish a physiological criminal type. In the twentieth century a number of more sophisticated approaches emerged. More recent exponents of biological theories point to the presence of XYY chromosomes in individuals as an indicator of violent tendencies. Yet other researchers are investigating the links between sex hormones, gender, genetics or autonomic nervous system factors and aggressive behaviour (Mednick et al. 1987).

Violence/aggression as an inherent drive. Scholars such as Konrad Lorenz (1966) would argue that aggressive impulses accumulate until they are released in an expression of violent behaviour;

Frustration-aggression theory. In which violent behaviour is said to be precipitated when a particular goal is thwarted. Frustration-aggression theorists include Dollard (1939) and Feshbach (1964). They hold that when the attainment of a goal is frustrated, the resulting anger and aggression will be directed either at the source of the frustration or at some other object;

Displacement theory. According to this view individuals who themselves are abused react by behaving in a similar way. For example, Polsky (1962) examined the behaviour of inmates of a boys reformatory who had been harshly treated by staff. Unable to retaliate against these authority figures, they instead behaved violently towards other boys in the institution;

Modelling behaviour theory. This postulates that violent behaviour occurs as a result of learning. For example, a child whose parents behave violently or aggressively towards him/her may exhibit similar behaviour patterns as an adult. Thus, it

is argued that some abused children may themselves become child abusers in later life;

The subculture of violence. Social scientists such as Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) developed the subcultural explanation of violent behaviour. This approach to violence draws on other theories, particularly those emphasising learning and environment. It holds that violent subcultures are distinguishable from the mainstream of society because their members adopt different norms and values. Involvement in a subculture, such as membership of a juvenile gang, so it is argued, will result in participating individuals adopting the values of that group rather than those conventionally adopted by society;

Economic deprivation. This theory contends that societies which exhibit marked degrees of economic inequality will also exhibit substantial amounts of violent crime. Perceived economic deprivation as well as absolute economic inequality, it is said, may produce criminal violence. Some studies have attempted to demonstrate a nexus between high homicide rates and income disparity in particular societies (Hansmann & Quigley 1982).

Social scientists use these and other models to explain the causes of particular violent behaviours. For example, those theorists taking a sociological approach might regard domestic violence as deriving from social institutions which tolerate and foster violent behaviour in men; or consider that violence is a response to socioeconomic inequalities. Others, focusing on the individual, may view domestic violence as the result of psychological disorders, the manifestation of physiological problems such as brain trauma, or as associated with the influence of drugs or alcohol. Or, they might interpret domestic violence as learned behaviour passed down from parent to child.

LEGAL CATEGORISATION OF VIOLENCE

Not all violence is defined legally as criminal violence. However, certain categories of crime, usually described as offences against the person (as distinct from property offences), are regarded as violent crimes. These are homicide,

rape, assault and robbery. Before turning to look at these crimes in the situational contexts in which they occur it is necessary to define them:

Homicide. A general term which includes murder, attempted murder, and manslaughter. In some jurisdictions, it also encompasses unlawful deaths caused by negligent driving of a motor vehicle;

Murder is used in relation to unlawful deaths caused intentionally or with reckless indifference to human life;

Manslaughter refers to unlawful deaths caused either negligently, carelessly or recklessly but without any intent to kill or cause bodily harm. It also includes unlawful killings accompanied by mitigating circumstances such as self defence or provocation;

Rape refers to unlawful sexual intercourse without the consent of the victim or accompanied by the use or threat of force. Some Australian jurisdictions have abolished the offence of rape and replaced it with that of sexual assault. In these jurisdictions sexual assault covers an expanded range of unlawful sexual intercourse and contact, and may be committed against persons of either sex;

Assault incorporates a number of offences where bodily injury, ranging from very minor to very serious injury, is inflicted unlawfully or intentionally. Threats and attempts to inflict physical injury are also regarded as assaults;

Robbery is stealing accompanied by the threat or use of violence.

These descriptions give an indication of the legal categorisations of violent crime. Society tends to conceptualise violence primarily in terms of legal definitions and so neglects situational aspects. This publication attempts to place violence in contexts that will be meaningful to the general public in order to illustrate its multi-faceted nature and to demonstrate where violence is most likely to occur. In particular, attention will be given to violence in the streets, in homes, in the workplace, in association with alcohol and drugs, sport and entertainment; and its occurrence in the criminal justice system. Finally, consideration will be given to the victims of violence and to violent offenders.

Before examining the situational aspects of violence, an overview of crime rates and trends is needed.

PATTERNS OF VIOLENT CRIME

There is little doubt that public anxiety exists over the level of violent crime in Australian society. In 1986 a Gallup Poll asked over 2000 Australians to nominate the issues that were of major concern to them (Australian Public Opinion Polls 1986). For the first time since 1977, fear of violent crime was the most frequently cited issue. Another Gallup Poll conducted in 1987 found that over 90 per cent of those questioned believed violent crime to be on the increase (Australian Public Opinion Polls 1987).

Prior to turning to some of the statistics which provide a picture of violent crime, a cautionary note is required. Crime statistics are collected and analysed by a number of bodies including the police and specialist research organisations such as the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC), the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, and the South Australian Office of Crime Statistics. However, official statistics do not provide a complete picture of the level of crime in society. Some offences, both minor and serious, are not reported to the police. This is what is known as the "dark figure" of crime. While homicide and armed robbery statistics are usually regarded as fairly reliable indicators, offences such as assault (including domestic assault), rape and sexual assault are undoubtedly under-reported. Another caveat is that comparisons between jurisdictions can be hazardous because of the absence of uniform definitions of violent crime and different bases for statistical collection. Finally, changes in definitions of an offence may result in an apparent increase in the rate of that offence. For example, in the case of rape in some jurisdictions legislative changes have occurred expanding the categories of offence and reforming the evidentiary process. Changes in social attitudes may have also encouraged more victims to report this offence.

Keeping these cautionary observations in mind, official crime statistics can now be examined. The following figures from the Australian Institute of Criminology illustrate trends and rates of crimes against the person in Australia for the period 1973 to 1987:

- the rate of murder remained fairly constant. In 1973-1974 the rate was 1.88 per 100,000 population and in 1986-1987 it was 1.76 per 100,000 population (Figure 1);

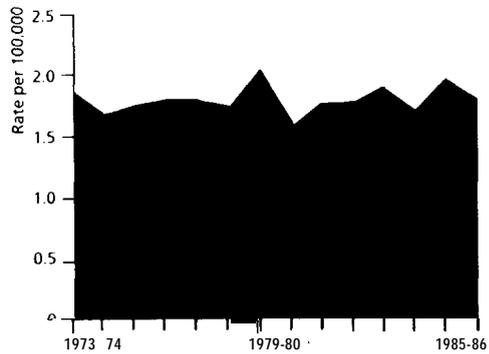


Figure 1
Murder in Australia 1973-1987. Rate per 100,000 population

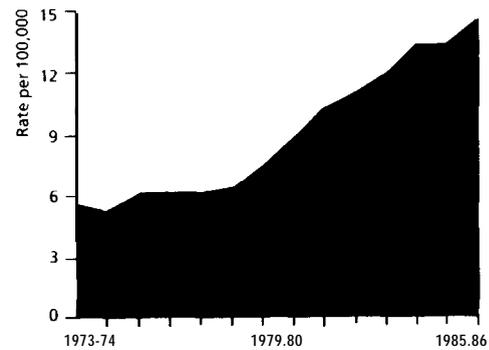


Figure 2
Rape in Australia 1973-1987. Rate per 100,000 population.

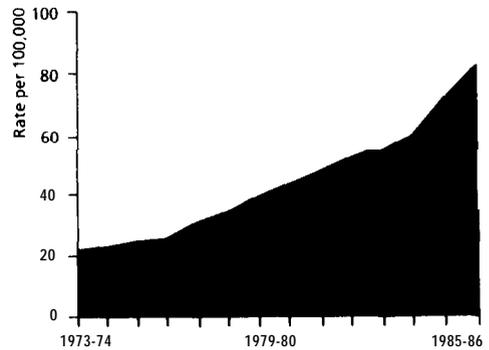


Figure 3
Serious assault in Australia. Rate per 100,000 population.

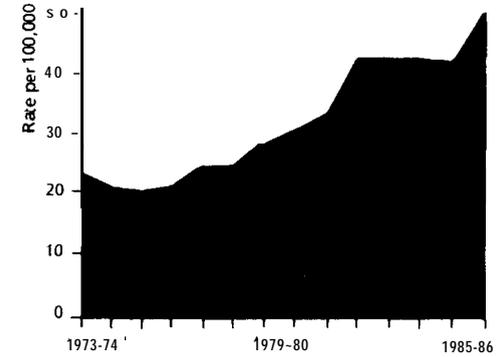


Figure 4
Robbery in Australia 1973-1987. Rate per 100,000 population.

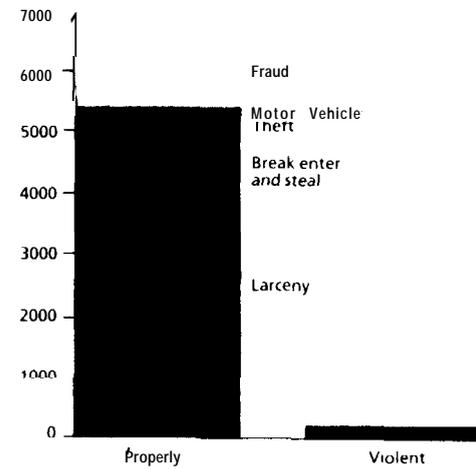


Figure 5
Property crimes outnumber violent crimes 40: 1 in Australia

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology.



Firearms in Australia. Some of the weapons surrendered during a firearms amnesty in Sydney, 1988. It is estimated that one in every four Australians owns a firearm. *Courtesy John Fairfax & Sons Ltd, Sydney. Photographer: Vic Sumner.*

- the reported incidence of rape in Australia increased from almost 6 per 100,000 population to almost 15 per 100,000 population (Figure 2);
- the incidence of serious assault increased from about 20 per 100,000 population to over 80 per 100,000 population (Figure 3); and
- the incidence of robbery increased from just under 25 per 100,000 population to almost 50 per 100,000 population (Figure 4) (Mukherjee forthcoming).

Statistics also provide information about the relative risks of victimisation (addressed in more detail later). Suffice it to say here that the risks of becoming a victim of violent crime are much lower than for property crime. (Figure 5 shows violent and property crime as a proportion of total crime in Australia.) And despite public concern about the level of violent crime in the community, the risk of victimisation is not evenly spread throughout society. For example, more than half the victims of homicide and the overwhelming majority of the victims of serious assault are male, and Aboriginals are over-represented as homicide victims.

One reason for government and community concerns about violence is its cost and it is to costs that this report now turns.

THE COSTS OF VIOLENCE

The costs of violence in Australian society are enormous in their impact on the individual, the community and on government finances.

Most immediately, there may be physical and psychological injury to the victim, followed by emotional repercussions for the victim's family and friends. There may also be direct financial costs both to the individual and the community in terms of the counselling, pharmaceutical, medical and hospital services and, sometimes, emergency housing. Indirect and incalculable costs to society may result from the lost weeks or years of contribution of skills and earnings that the victim could have made to the community. In addition, there may be other long-term costs. For example, the suggestion that the victims of child abuse may themselves become offenders, not

only as child abusers but as the perpetrators of other crime (Oates & Tong 1987). There are also costs that are impossible to quantify and which have to do with the effect of anxiety and fear about violent crime. It seems likely, for example, that such fears will affect the quality of life and behaviour patterns of many people — restricting their freedom by making them less willing to frequent inner cities and public places alone or at night (Saulwick Poll 1988).

The other side of the equation relates to offenders. Once again there are considerable financial costs to society in the provision of criminal justice system services to apprehend, convict and punish the perpetrators of violent crime, and to protect citizens against violence in a range of situations including streets and other public places.

Some of these costs, especially those relating to human suffering, are hard to quantify. Others can be determined fairly precisely. The cost of incarcerating a prisoner is a case in point, the average cost being \$50,000 per annum per offender. In a statement made to the Victorian Legislative Council in April 1986 the Victorian Attorney-General estimated that the cost of building a maximum security complex was between \$150,000 and \$200,000 per bed (Kennan 1986).

VIOLENCE IN THE STREETS

The streets, for the purposes of this report, include not only public thoroughfares but hotels, clubs, public transport, other public places, and facilities in urban and rural settings.

There appears to be little doubt that Australians are concerned about the level of violent crime in the streets. Considerable contemporary media attention is also directed to this aspect of violence, with special emphasis being given to mass killers and to violent murders, particularly those which also involve sexual violence against women and children. Other recent subjects of media attention include youth gangs, muggings and assaults, sexual assault, attacks on or by taxi drivers and the need for increased protection of passengers on public transport.



Death in Queen Street, Melbourne, 1987. The gunman lies dead after killing eight people and wounding five. Courtesy *The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd, Melbourne.*



Growing up violent? A selection of weapons confiscated from Australian school children. Courtesy *The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd, Melbourne.*

The following headlines are illustrative:

'DRUNK LOUYS BLAMED FOR CRIME SPREE. SHOCK JUMP IN BASHINGS.' (Daily *Mirror* 19 July 1988)

'A SOCIETY HELD AT KNIFEPOINT.'
(*Melbourne Sun* 25 August 1988)

'FAMILIES' TERROR IN CITY RIOT MADNESS.'
(Daily *Mirror* 5 April 1988)

'RAPE AND DRUGS — MADNESS STALKS THE MANICURED STREETS OF THE CAPITAL' (*Sunday Herald* 10 April 1988)

'CITY REVELLERS ACT LIKE ANIMALS.'
(*Newcastle Herald* 30 August 1988).

What is known about violent crime in the streets? There have been no national studies undertaken in Australia of homicide, robbery and assault and it may not be possible to generalise from studies in particular jurisdictions. With these caveats in mind, New South Wales research suggests that:

- stranger killings usually occur in the street, licensed premises or in association with robbery (Wallace 1986);
- the street is the next most common location for a homicide after the home. For example, over 40 per cent of homicide victims are killed in the streets, open areas such as parkland, or near clubs, hotels or bars (Wallace 1986);
- over 80 per cent of personal robberies take place outside the home. Of these, more than three-quarters occur in the streets or parks. A further 7 per cent are committed in association with public transport, such as on trains or in railway stations (NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1987);
- almost half of all reported sexual assaults and rapes occur on the streets, parks, vacant land or in cars (Bonney 1985).

Finally, South Australian data indicates that about 40 per cent of reported assaults occur either on the streets or in hotels (South Australia. Office of Crime Statistics 1981).

Despite statistics like these, and almost certainly contrary to popular belief, a considerable amount of violence takes place not in the street but in the home. It is to these violent encounters that this publication now turns.

VIOLENCE IN THE HOME

Two mythologies converge in society's perceptions of home life. The first is that the greatest danger to life and property is posed by strangers. The second is that the family, one of society's most important institutions, is a haven of loving and harmonious relationships (WA Task Force).

What is known about violence in the home? Data collected from New South Wales and South Australia suggests that:

- almost 15 per cent of personal robberies take place in the home (New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1987);
- some 25 per cent of sexual assaults occur in the victim's home (Bonney 1985);
- about one-third of serious assaults are committed in the home (South Australia. Office of Crime Statistics 1981).

This section of the report will focus only on certain violent home activities, namely, homicide, domestic violence and child abuse. An examination is made of some of the characteristics of these violent behaviours, and some underlying societal attitudes to them.

Homicide is the least frequently occurring crime of violence in Australia. However, it is regarded as the most heinous and studies of it reveal some interesting facts. One of the most dramatic findings of these published studies is that Australians are less likely to be murdered by complete strangers than by members of their own families. Once again, drawing on New South Wales research (Wallace 1986) it appears that:

- more than 40 per cent of homicides occur within the family circle;
- about 25 per cent of all homicides are marital killings;
- almost all child homicide victims are killed by fellow family members;
- almost 60 per cent of all homicides occur in the home;
- almost 40 per cent of family killings involve firearms;
- more than two-thirds of all spousal homicides involve men killing women;
- a prior history of domestic assault occurs in almost one half of all marital homicides;
- a similar percentage of men and women kill their own

children, although women are more likely to murder very young children.

This situational profile of homicide in NSW is confirmed in many respects by a study published by the South Australian Office of Crime Statistics in 1981. That study found that over 50 per cent of murders involved marital, de facto or family relationships and that over 60 per cent of murders occurred at home.

Murder within the family is not the most prevalent form of family violence, although it is perhaps the most newsworthy and certainly the most sensationalised. Much more common is domestic assault.

Domestic assault is the most common form of violence in the home. Despite public awareness campaigns and an expansion of services to its victims, domestic violence continues to be under-reported.

Traditionally, Australians have tended to view violence in the home as a private, not a criminal matter. Anecdotal evidence collected by the Western Australian Task Force on Domestic Violence (1986) suggests that some victims of domestic assault never reveal their situation, many because of a perception that it is their problem alone. Commonly, too, the victim has been regarded as bearing some responsibility for domestic assault as a precipitator of the offence.

Among the myths that shroud domestic assault is that it is just the occasional push or slap. In reality domestic violence is often repeated, often frequent and can involve serious physical injury to the victim. Domestic assault is also not an isolated, spur-of-the-moment incident. For instance, a Domestic Violence Committee in NSW identified numerous cases in which victims were assaulted repeatedly over periods of up to ten years (NSW Domestic Violence Committee 1985).

What is known about domestic assault? No Australian national study of domestic assault has been undertaken so it is impossible to gauge its incidence and prevalence accurately. However, domestic assault has been the subject of recent government reports in a number of Australian jurisdictions. Some idea of the size and nature of the domestic violence problem can be gained from these studies, as the following data illustrates:

- in 1985 the NSW Police estimated that it received about

140,000 domestic violence calls per annum; (South Australia. Domestic Violence Council 1987);

- in a survey conducted for the Federal Government's Office of the Status of Women (in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet) nearly half of those sampled knew someone who had suffered or committed acts of domestic assault (Public Policy Research Centre 1988);
- in some domestic assault cases children are also physically abused by the violent partner in the relationship;
- some victims of domestic violence are attacked weekly, and even daily.

Child abuse is an "umbrella" term which encompasses physical, sexual and emotional abuse and neglect. Like domestic violence, it seems to know no socioeconomic boundaries, although risk factors may be greater in some socioeconomic groups.

Societal recognition of the battered child came in the 1960s but it was not until the 1980s that due attention was given to the existence and serious nature of child sexual abuse. Government recognition of the magnitude of child sexual abuse in Australia is shown by the fact that a number of states including Western Australia, NSW and South Australia have commissioned recent task forces to report on this issue. It should be made clear that child sexual abuse need not involve intercourse.

What is known about child abuse in Australia? Despite widespread acknowledgment of the existence of child abuse, little research has been done in Australia on its nature and incidence. Research, especially on a nation-wide basis, has been hampered by a number of factors. First, a significant amount of child abuse in all its forms remains undisclosed. Second, variations in definition and notification requirements in different jurisdictions make it difficult to compare state-by-state figures (Western Australian Child Sexual Abuse Task Force 1987). Data that has been collected shows a rise in the number of reported cases of child abuse, but it cannot be concluded that the incidence of child abuse is increasing. The apparent increase may be due to mandatory reporting and some attitudinal changes to and recognition of child abuse by professionals, parents and even neighbours.

Bearing in mind these cautions about the interpretation of statistics in this area available data suggests that:

- the rate of child abuse in Australia may be approximately

3 cases per 1000 children (Adler 1986), although some would regard this as an underestimation;

- in NSW notifications of child abuse, including physical, sexual and emotional abuse, rose from 900 cases in 1978 to approximately 22,938 cases in 1987 (Sydney Morning *Herald* 16 April 1988). Reporting had been made mandatory in 1977. It is estimated that some 60 per cent of notifications are substantiated (Sydney Morning *Herald* 16 April 1988);
- it has been “estimated that 25 per cent of all fractures seen in the first two years of life may be due to the ‘battered child syndrome’, and that at least 10 per cent of children presenting to casualty departments with ‘accidents’ may be suffering from child abuse.” (Oates 1982);
- results of a questionnaire distributed in a NSW women’s refuge showed that almost one-quarter of children in the refuge had suffered physical abuse and 7 per cent had been sexually abused (Noesjirwan 1985);
- perpetrators of child sexual abuse are mostly male and a percentage of them, perhaps 20 per cent, (Grunseit 1987) were themselves abused as children;
- the majority of the perpetrators of child sexual abuse are family members or family friends. Notifications of child sexual abuse in Western Australia indicate that in over 80 per cent of cases the offender was from within the family or from the family’s circle of friends and acquaintances. (Western Australian Child Sexual Abuse Task Force 1987)

Australian attitudes to violence in the home The information presented so far suggests that violence in the home is not a rarity. Moreover, attitudinal studies show that such violence is widely tolerated in the Australian community.

A recent survey on domestic violence conducted for the Office of the Status of Women (Public Policy Research Centre 1988) involving over 1500 Australian men and women found that:

- just over 20 per cent of men and just under 20 per cent of women who were interviewed believed that there were circumstances which warranted a husband using physical violence against his wife;
- Australians appear willing to justify the use of physical force against children, including kicking or beating;
- a third of those surveyed considered that welfare or law enforcement authorities should not become involved in

domestic violence incidents and that such incidents should be resolved within the privacy of the home;

- the survey concluded that “pro-violence attitudes occur across all groups in the community”.

VIOLENCE IN THE WORKPLACE

Little is known about the level and type of physical violence that occurs in the workplace, nor have systematic studies been carried out of the occupations most at risk. Violence in this category most often involves attacks by customers, clients and patients on workers, but assaults by workers on fellow employees and on clients also occur.

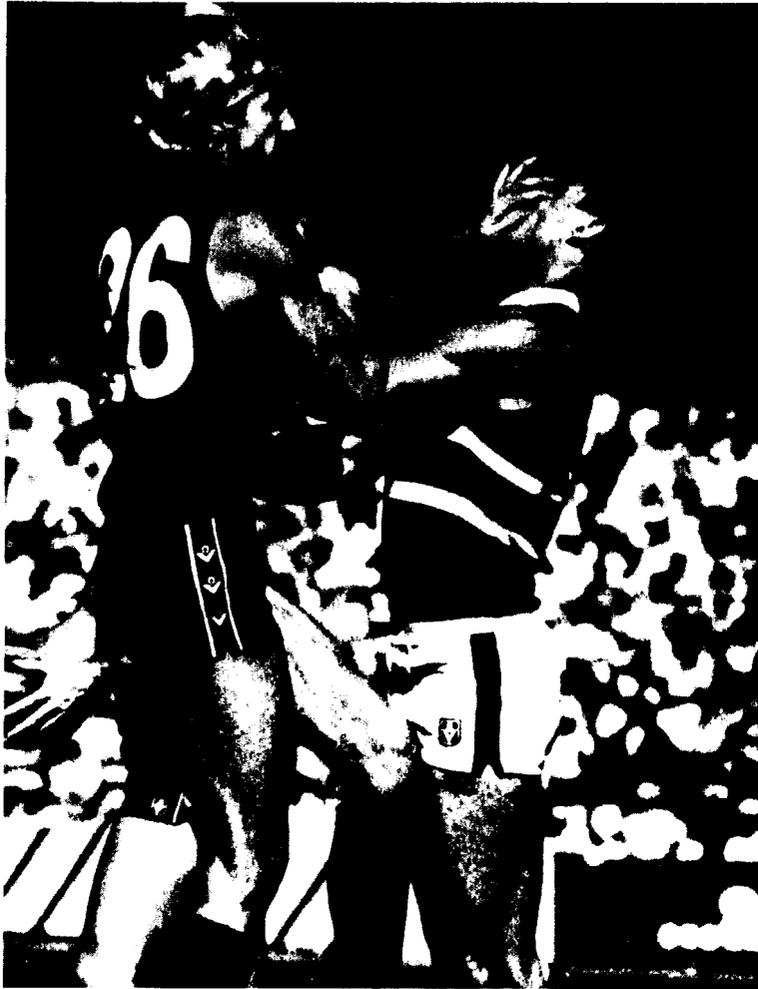
Anecdotal evidence suggests that the following categories of employment may carry higher than average risks of assault, robbery and, occasionally, even murder: police and prison officers; bank and security staff; hospital and nursing home employees; taxi drivers; bartenders; some government employees such as taxation officials and social security staff, parking inspectors, teachers, diplomats; waterside workers; flight attendants; and prostitutes.

Some work is now being undertaken to identify workplace violence and formulate preventive strategies (Swanton 1987). This area of violence in Australia is clearly one which deserves far greater attention and analysis.

VIOLENCE IN SPORT

Violent behaviour also occurs in association with the sporting activities of Australians. However, this form of violence is often overlooked or condoned, in part because it is difficult to distinguish accidental from intentional injury, and also because society has tended to emphasise the glamorous and competitive qualities of body contact sports.

Body contact, sometimes brutal, is an essential ingredient of certain sports like boxing, wrestling, and various types of



Sporting prowess or sporting violence? Scenes from Australian football. Outbreaks of violence also occur in other sports, and among spectators. Courtesy *The Herald and Weekly Times Ltd, Melbourne.*

football. Legally, a player is said to consent to physical injury caused accidentally during the course of play. In motivating players for a game, and this is especially so in professional sport, aggression and the importance of winning is often encouraged and enforced. Violence in sport encompasses not only the punching, kicking, tripping, biting, high tackles, elbowing and gouging that can occur on the field, it is also viewed by some as including the active encouragement given to aggressive play by spectators, parents and coaches alike and the threats of violence and the brawls that occur off the field.

How much violence is there in sport? Violence on the sporting field has occurred throughout history, and can be traced back at least as far as gladiatorial combat in ancient Rome. However, it is only in relatively recent times has it become a cause for concern or litigation.

Few studies of sporting violence have been carried out in Australia. However, a recent Victorian analysis of tribunal reports for a number of sports, including Australian Rules Football and rugby union, concluded that overall in the thirteen sports surveyed for the period 1981-1986 the number of reports of violence to sporting tribunals had almost trebled (Guinness 1987).

The dearth of research into sporting violence in Australia prevents any firm conclusions being drawn about whether such violence is becoming a more frequent and serious problem in this country. What does appear to have occurred is that community awareness of violence in sport has increased, partly through enhanced media coverage of sporting violence both in Australia and overseas, and partly as a result of disciplinary action by sporting tribunals. Nevertheless, violent incidents do occur and as such are regarded as unacceptable by many.

Spectator violence There is disagreement among the experts about the effects of "on-field" violence on spectators — for example, whether it is cathartic or whether it has a negligible influence on behaviour. However, there is some evidence from overseas studies that violence on the field has a flow-over effect to spectators who, seeing violence on the playing fields or at sporting events, show an increased tendency to behave aggressively themselves (Campbell et al. 1986). Thus, a study of heavyweight championship fights in the United States found that homicides increased after those prize fights took place (Phillips 1983). Additionally, some researchers have expressed



Riot police surrounded by broken bottles and missiles at the Bathurst Bike Races, 1983. The Races have been the scene of pitched battles between police and bikers resulting in hundreds of arrests and injuries. Courtesy/John Fairfax & Sons Sydney. Photographer Gary McLean.

concern that sporting violence provides an undesirable model for children, who are often enthusiastic followers of sport.

Australia on the whole is not plagued by the level and frequency of spectator violence which occurs overseas. British football hooligans, for example, have caused considerable problems both in the United Kingdom and in Europe in recent years. However outbreaks of violence do occur from time to time in Australian sports and at all levels of competition:

*Australia's most serious outbreak of cricket violence is said to have occurred in 1879 when "2000 people invaded the SCG, held up play for some 20 minutes, and a spectator assaulted the English Captain, Lord Harris" (Cashman 1986);

- during the 1982-1983 cricket season some 250 people were arrested or detained by the police at the Sydney Cricket Ground, and one youth died. The arrests and detentions took place over four days (Cashman 1986);
- in 1985, 300 soccer fans of an Australian soccer team poured on to the field and attacked a referee;
- at the Bathurst Motor Cycle Race in 1985 more than 100 people were injured in riots lasting several hours;
- in 1986 police removed 82 people and arrested fourteen others during a World Series Cricket match at Adelaide Oval (The News 22 May 1987); and
- in April 1988 two policemen were bashed by football fans during a Victorian Football League (VFL) game, and in August four umpires were attacked by spectators during an under-19s football match in Victoria (The Melbourne Age 22 August 1988).

VIOLENCE AND ENTERTAINMENT

Sporting violence is not the only type of leisure-time activity which has provoked community and government concern. The role of the media continues to be a focus of attention. Anxiety has been expressed by the public, and some experts, that viewing violent television and video material can stimulate violent behaviour. Some of the reasons for this concern stem from the level of video and TV ownership in Australia and the time spent watching the electronic media:

- almost every Australian household owns a television set;
- by 1986 almost one-half of all Australian households owned or rented a video recorder;
- a recent report by the National Health and Medical Research Council (1988) estimated that Australian children watch between three and five hours of television daily.

Depictions of violence are commonplace in home entertainment not only in movies and other fictional programmes but in documentaries and television news. The level of public concern about media violence has been mentioned previously in the context of inquiries by the Joint Select Committee on Video Material (1988) and the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal.

What is known about the violence content of video and television material in Australia? Some video and television content analysis has been undertaken in Australia. A recent study (McCann & Sheehan 1985) analysed the violence content of eighty Brisbane television programs over a three-month period. The authors found that more than 50 per cent of programmes contained depictions of violence. This level is low compared to some other nations. However, it was found that more than five violent episodes were broadcast per hour, a higher rate than for Canada or the United Kingdom. The authors also expressed some concern about the violence content of cartoons, a popular viewing choice of children.

Perhaps even more anxiety has been voiced in Australia about the violence content of videos. There are a number of reasons for this opinion. Videos contain violent material that would not be shown on television or which would be programmed outside prime time viewing hours. Moreover, they provide scope for unlimited and selective viewing of the material they contain, including violent and aggressive scenes (Joint Select Committee on Video Material 1988).

Community concern about videos has concentrated particularly on X-rated videos and on sexually explicit material rather than on PG- and M-rated material. As a result of this concern the Standing Committee of Attorneys-General has agreed that X-rated videos should be banned, and has proposed a new labelling system for videos rating them for their sex and violence content. In this regard, a study undertaken by the Australian Institute of Criminology and the Federal Attorney-General's Department (1987) is of interest. In the

study researchers analysed the violence content of a number of "high-demand" videos. They found and expressed concern that over 50 per cent of scenes depicting aggression were contained in PG- and M-rated videos which are legally available to minors.

What is known about the effects of violence in the media? It is difficult to assess the amount and intensity of violent and aggressive scenes depicted in the electronic media; even more problematic is the question of its effects on behaviour. Despite case studies and experimental research involving adults and children, scholars remain divided about this issue. Amongst the matters still in contention are: whether violent video material produces behaviour changes, or whether aggressively or violently inclined individuals are more likely to watch such material; whether any behavioural effects of watching violent material are short-term or long-term; whether the likely effects of watching filmed violence are likely to be less in Australia than in some overseas countries because of the difference that exists between fictionalised violence and the real level of violence in Australian society, or whether a "cultivation effect" may occur as a result of watching foreign violence, with viewers coming to believe that it represents an accurate depiction of the level of violence in their own society; whether viewing violent material has a desensitising effect on some people; and whether violent media material is only one part of a larger personal and social environment which fosters aggressive behaviour.

ALCOHOL AND VIOLENCE

Alcohol is the most commonly consumed drug in Australia. It is part of the nation's cultural mythology and has widespread social acceptance despite its undeniable association with road deaths, domestic and other violence.

What are the facts about alcohol consumption in Australia? According to the federal Department of Community Services and Health (1987):

- Australians consumed 115.5 litres of beer, 21.3 litres of

wine and 1.3 litres of alcohol as spirits per head in 1985-1986. Absolute consumption of alcohol in this country in 1985-86 put it thirteenth in a list of thirty-one countries;

- of persons aged 14 years and over in 1985, more than 60 per cent of males and 40 per cent of females drank alcohol at least once a week;
- almost 40 per cent of drivers and motorcyclists killed in road accidents in 1985 had been drinking.

What is known about alcohol and crime? The effects of alcohol have been well-documented. It depresses the body's central nervous system and has a disinhibiting effect on behaviour. Disinhibition theory asserts that as property offences are utilitarian and crimes of violence stem from a loss of self-control, alcohol will play a greater role in violent than in property crime (Welte 1987). There appears to be more evidence of an association between alcohol drinking and crime, including violent crime, than between drugs and crime.

Alcohol and violence To say that there is a link between alcohol and violence does not mean that the link is a causative one. However, some offences have been found to be associated with alcohol consumption including murder, manslaughter, rape and assault. The following facts, drawn from Australian research, are illustrative:

- one study of violent assaults showed that over 70 per cent of offenders had consumed alcohol prior to the offence (Ots 1977);
- it has been suggested by victims of domestic violence that they are more likely to be the subject of a violent attack when his/her spouse or partner is drunk. Anecdotal evidence collected by the Western Australian Task Force on Domestic Violence (1986) revealed that over 40 per cent of interviewees experienced domestic violence when their spouse or partner had been drinking. Similar findings were made by a 1984 phone-in on domestic assault conducted in the ACT (*West Australian* 26 October 1986);
- among Aboriginals the overwhelming majority of homicides and serious assaults are associated with alcohol consumption (Wilson 1982).

Further, NSW research indicates that:

- in the case of homicide, almost 40 per cent of offenders

and over 30 per cent of victims had been drinking (Wallace 1986);

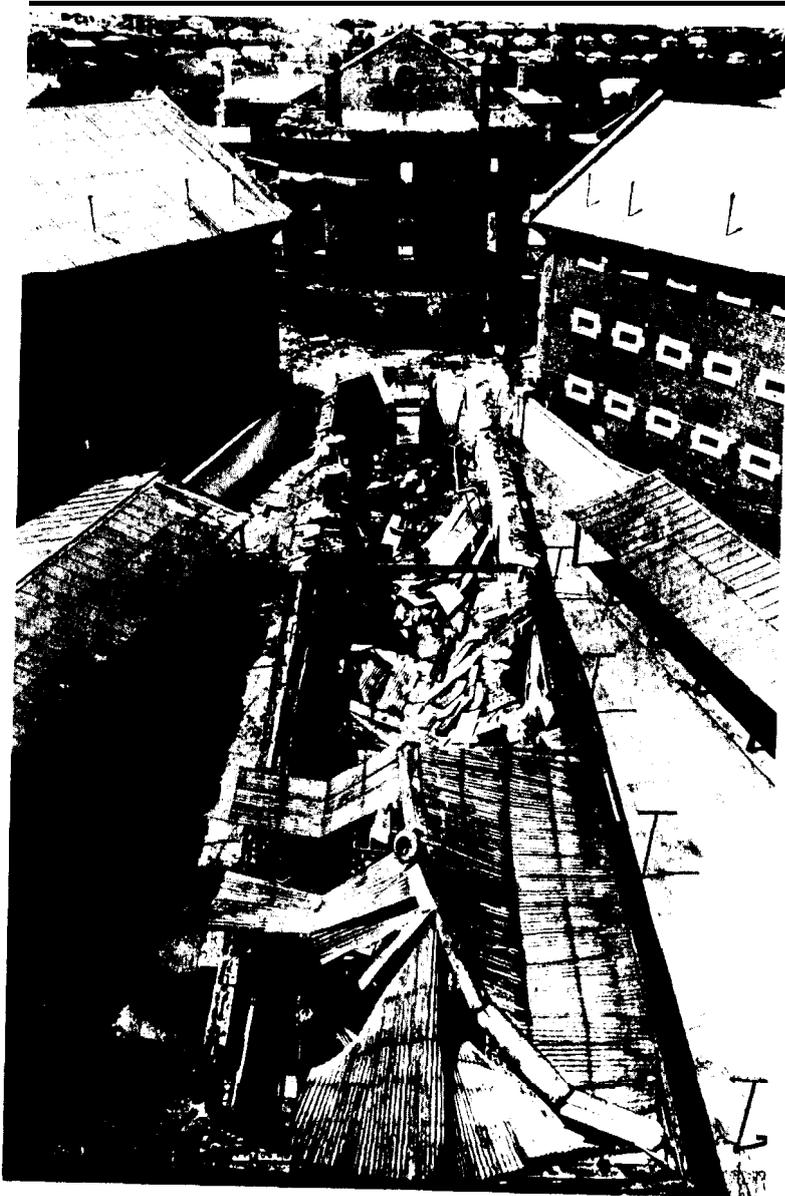
- in almost 50 per cent of spouse killings either or both the offender and the victim had been drinking (Wallace 1986);
- many assaults co-occur with hotel and club closing times. One study found that almost 20 per cent of assaults occurred in licensed premises and nearly 30 per cent occurred in the streets, often in the vicinity of licensed premises (Robb 1988).

DRUGS AND VIOLENCE

Australia's deep concern about illegal drug use has been witnessed by the establishment of a number of Royal Commissions on the subject, by the institution of the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse by the Federal, state and Territory governments in 1985, and by the anxiety which many citizens express about the size of the nation's drug problem.

Australian drug indicators do not allow firm conclusions to be drawn about the magnitude of the drug problem. But some idea of the possible extent of drug use can be obtained from a recent study which revealed that almost 30 per cent of men and over 10 per cent of women in the twenty to twenty-four year age group had used an illicit drug during the previous twelve months (Plant 1988). For some, figures like these have a particular significance because of theories which link illegal drug use and violence.

What is known about drugs and violence? The link between drugs and violence has generated an intense debate. Some writers suggest that illegal drug use facilitates violent behaviour and causes crime. In this regard there does appear to be some evidence that the pharmacological actions of amphetamines can trigger violent behaviour, although such incidents are relatively rare. However, the substances about which there is the greatest amount of official concern are cannabis, heroin and cocaine. Despite this concern, it appears to be unlikely that a similar relationship exists between these



Graphic scenes of the aftermath of riots at Bathurst Gaol, NSW, in 1974. Fifty prisoners were injured and three-quarters of the prison was destroyed. Courtesy John Fairfax & Sons Ltd, Sydney. Photographer Keith Byron.

drugs and violence. On the contrary, some scholars argue that opiates, such as heroin, have a tranquillising effect on human behaviour.

Non-pharmacological arguments about the role of drugs in crime, including violent crime, are that drug use leads indirectly to criminal offending. It is postulated that drug users become exposed to the criminal subculture and are also compelled to commit crime, including violent offences, to maintain their drug habit (Wardlaw 1986).

While there does appear to be a high incidence of crime, especially property crime, among drug users, the role played by illicit drugs themselves is, as yet, unclear (Wardlaw 1986).

VIOLENCE AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Violence in the criminal justice system has been a matter of continuing concern for politicians, criminologists and members of the general public. In this section consideration will be given to some aspects of that violence, particularly as it relates to prisons and the police.

Prisons The brutality endemic in the penal colony established two centuries ago in New South Wales (Hughes 1987) continues to plague the Australian prison system. Australian prisons remain over-crowded, dehumanising and in many cases archaic institutions. They also continue to be violent and dangerous places where assault, rape, riot, self-inflicted injury and homicide occur.

Prison riots and the alleged mistreatment of prisoners in NSW led to the establishment of a Royal Commission headed by Mr Justice Nagle in 1976. Its immediate impetus was an outbreak of rioting in Bathurst Gaol in 1974 which left fifty prisoners injured and resulted in the destruction of some 75 per cent of the prison. The Royal Commissioner reported that prisoners were routinely assaulted and expressed the view that such violence was not peculiar to NSW. He likened aspects of the NSW prison system to colonial prisons of the early nineteenth century (Nagle 1978). The institutionalisation of

violence in NSW prisons at that time was typified by the "reception biff", a routine practice at Grafton Gaol which involved systematic bashings of new prisoners by prison officers (Nagle 1978).

A national study of deaths in Australian prisons was published by the Australian Institute of Criminology in 1986 (Hatty & Walker). It concluded that a disproportionate number of deaths in prison were the result of homicide and suicide. The likelihood of a person being murdered is three times greater in prison than it is in the general community.

Assault as well as homicide is of significant concern in Australia's prisons. Several recent and widely publicised examples should suffice to give an indication of the nature of the violence that occurs in the nation's prisons. Jamie Partlic was a parking fine defaulter who was bashed so brutally at Sydney's Long Bay Gaol by another prisoner that he sustained brain damage and remained in a coma for almost six months. In Victoria, in August 1988 a convicted murderer, Alex Tsakmakis died after being bashed and stabbed in Pentridge Prison. Four years earlier, Tsakmakis himself had murdered another inmate

Assaults by prison staff on prison inmates receive less publicity but also occur, as the Nagle Royal Commission revealed.

Riots have always been part of the Australian prison scene. They cause injury and sometimes death to prisoners and prison officers and massive destruction to property:

- in 1889 Bathurst Prison inmates rioted for more than a week;
- in the 1970s, rioting attracted widespread publicity and concern with outbreaks of violence in Bathurst, Brisbane, Pentridge and Risdon Prisons;
- in December 1986, 100 prisoners rioted at Brisbane's Boggo Road Gaol. Many of those involved needed medical treatment, and damage to the prison was estimated at \$200,000-\$400,000 (The Melbourne Age 6 January 1988);
- in October 1987 in Pentridge Prison five prisoners died in their cells after setting a barricade alight (The West Australian 5 January 1988);
- in December 1987 tear gas was used to quell a disturbance involving 100 prisoners at Long Bay Gaol (The Melbourne Age 6 January 1988);
- in January 1988 an outbreak of violence occurred at

Fremantle Prison during which five warders were taken hostage by inmates and a cell block burnt. An estimated \$1.2 million in damage was done to the prison, thirty-five inmates are facing charges and legal expenses have been estimated at \$3 million (Perth Daily News 20 May 1988).

The police In the course of their law enforcement duties the police themselves sometimes become the victims of murder and assault. In one incident on 12 October 1988, two members of the Victoria Police were shot and killed in the line of duty. In Australia between 1976 and 1985, ten on-duty policemen were murdered, and sixty-five were wounded by firearms or bomb blasts (Swanton 1987). One of the most notorious bombings occurred in March 1986 at Melbourne's Russell Street Police Complex, resulting in the death of one police officer. While there is no evidence that the incidence of such events is increasing, the police are at a greater risk of murder and assault than the general community (Swanton 1987).

On the other side of the equation the use of force, and especially deadly force by the police, has also been a matter of public concern. National figures are not available but between January and April 1988 four people were shot by police in Victoria, two fatally (McCulloch 1988).

VICTIMS

This report turns now to the victims of violent crime in Australia, who are frequently overlooked in society's quest for the apprehension and punishment of offenders.

What is known about the victims of violent crime? The short answer is that knowledge is inadequate. In Australia information comes mainly from police statistics and two crime surveys undertaken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), one in 1975 and the other in 1983.

ABS surveys support the existence of a substantial "dark figure" of crime. Some 60 per cent of the incidents recorded in the 1975 survey were not reported to the police. Although in some cases the incident was regarded as too trivial to report, serious crime also goes unreported. For example, it was found

that less than one-third of rapes came to the attention of police and that women were less likely than men to report being assaulted (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1975).

If more were known about the victims of crime in Australian society then victims and their families could be better assisted, crime prevention and community services could be more efficiently planned and police forces more effectively deployed.

Who are the victims of homicide? Australian research does provide an interesting social picture of the victims of homicide in terms of gender, class and race. One study (Wallace 1986) found that:

- nearly two-thirds of victims were blue collar workers. This research supports an earlier study (Najman 1988) where an examination was made of the death certificates of homicide victims for the years 1965-1967. The study concluded that the risk of homicide victimisation increased as socioeconomic status decreased;
- some 60 per cent of homicide victims were male;
- domestic killings were an exception to this general rule with women more likely to be victimised than men;
- victims came from all age groups but the twenty to twenty-nine year-old age group was slightly over-represented.

It is also known that Aboriginals are over-represented as homicide victims. One study revealed that Aboriginals living on Queensland reserves had a homicide rate "10 times the national and State average" (Wilson 1982). A South Australian study published in 1981 found Aboriginals to be over-represented by a factor of at least ten (South Australia. Office of Crime Statistics). This study also found that about 60 per cent of homicide victims were male. It is worth noting, however, that the picture of the "typical" homicide victim as being a white male may not be applicable throughout Australia. Anecdotal evidence suggests that in the Northern Territory a disproportionate number of homicide victims are Aboriginal women.

What is known of the victims of other violent crime? Other Australian research, notably that published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1983), about the characteristics of victims of violent crime has found that, in the case of robbery with violence, and assault:

- men are more likely to be victims than women. This is especially the case with serious assault where one study found that approximately 80 per cent of victims are male (South Australia. Office of Crime Statistics 1981);
- the young have a greater likelihood of being victimised than the old;
- the unemployed are twice as likely as those who have jobs to be assaulted;

For the offences of rape, assault and robbery with violence, individuals who have never been married have higher victimisation rates than the general population.

Additional characteristics of the victims of violent crime are:

- that they are more likely to be repeatedly victimised than victims of property crime. The 1983 ABS survey found that approximately 40 per cent of assault, robbery and sexual assault victims had been attacked at least twice in the preceding year;
- over half of the victims of robbery and assault, and over 40 per cent of victims of sexual assault knew or were acquainted with their attacker (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1983).

One caveat does need to be made here, however. We know that often women do not report crime to the police, but it may be that they do not report victimisation even in victim surveys.

Who fears being a victim of crime? Public opinion polls and crime surveys appear to show that Australians are concerned about violent crime but generally do not fear that they themselves will become a victim.

A Gallup Poll, conducted in July 1987, asked how likely respondents thought it was that they would be victimised by a violent offender. About 10 per cent thought it very likely, while 33 per cent thought it somewhat likely, over 40 per cent not very likely and about 10 per cent believed it was very unlikely (Australian National Opinion Polls 1987). Similarly, the 1975 ABS survey found that on the whole Australians did not perceive themselves to be at great risk of crime but some groups in the community were exceptions to this general rule. Among those expressing a fear of crime of all kinds were:

- the aged;
- women;
- the widowed, separated and divorced;

-
- the poor;
 - those living in large cities. (Braithwaite et al. 1979)

Detailed and more recent national information about citizen fears regarding crime victimisation, and especially violent crime, is not available.

VIOLENT OFFENDERS

Faced with the occurrence of an horrific crime, a common reaction is to call for harsher penalties and prison conditions, and, in some cases for the re-introduction of capital punishment. The Committee considers that one of its most important tasks is to assess how best to deal with violent offenders, and to evaluate the efficacy of different sentencing and treatment models, including some of the alternative approaches which have been adopted overseas (Wilson 1985).

It is remarkable, given the amount of media attention and public debate about violent crimes that very little appears to be known about violent offenders and how best to treat them. Our knowledge of violent offenders, their personalities, circumstances and motivations is scanty unless they commit particularly horrendous crimes. Recent media coverage of the coroner's inquest into the Queen Street killings is a case where detailed information has been published in the media about the mental state and background of the offender. Further, preliminary research indicates that the criminal justice system does little aimed specifically at rehabilitating violent offenders, unless they are also in need of psychiatric care.

This is a matter of concern to the Committee. Without adequate programs, many violent offenders will face long periods in prison, only to offend again on release — at enormous costs to society. Violent juvenile offenders, who have the possibility of long criminal careers before them are of particular concern in this regard. One of the Committee's terms of reference is to examine treatment options for violent offenders — it is an important task.

CONCLUSION

This booklet has been designed to raise some of the issues relating to violence in Australia and to present some facts. It is not intended to be definitive or exhaustive, but to create awareness and stimulate debate. It points, among other things, to the enormous gaps that exist about violence in Australian society — its causes, its settings and distribution, its prevalence and incidence, its victims and its perpetrators.

Although the Committee is operating under constraints of time, it plans to conduct and sponsor research into a wide range of topics including the causes of violence, violence in the home, on the sporting field, in the workplace, services for victims, effective treatment options for offenders, and prevention programs. In addition, it anticipates hosting a National Conference on Violence in 1989 and will invite speakers of both national and international standing to participate.

The Committee hopes that as a result of its endeavours there will be a better understanding of the nature and extent of violence in our community, and of the methods needed to overcome it.

NOTES

- Adler, R. 1986, "Physical Maltreatment of Children", *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 20, pp.404-12.
- Attorney-General's Task Force on Violent Crime (US) 1981, *Final Report*, August 17, 1981, Washington, US Department of Justice.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 1975, *Crime Victims Survey*, Canberra, ABS.
- 1983, *Victims of Crime Australia*, Canberra, ABS.
- Australian Institute of Criminology and the Attorney-General's Department 1987. *Sex, Violence and "Family Entertainment": an Analysis of Popular Videos*, Canberra, AIC.
- Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method) 1986, Poll No. 05/03/86 and 1987, Poll No. 02/07/87.
- Bonney, R. 1985, *Crimes (Sexual Assault) Amendment Act 1981. Monitoring and Evaluation. Interim Report No. 1 — Characteristics of the Complainant, the Defendant and the Offence*, Sydney, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.
- Braithwaite, J., Biles, D. & Whitrod, R. 1979, "Fear of Crime in Australia", in *The Victim in International Perspective* edited by H.J. Schneider, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter.
- Cashman, R. 1986, "Some Reflections on Crowd Behaviour", *Recreation Australia*, 6(2), pp.1-4.
- Department of Community Services and Health 1987, *Alcohol The Facts*, Canberra, AGPS.
- Dollard, J. & Miller, N.E. 1939, *Frustration and Aggression*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Feshbach, S. 1964, "The Function of Aggression and the Regulation of Aggressive Drive", *Psychological Review*, 71, pp.257-72.
- Grabosky, P.N. 1983, "How Violent is Australia?", *Australian Society*, 2(6), pp.38-41.
- Grunseit, F. 1987, "Child Abuse", *Current Affairs Bulletin*, 63(10), pp.12-18.
- Guiness, S. 1987, A Study of the Number of Tribunal Reports Taken from a Random Sample Within Victoria, 1981 to 1986.
- Hansmann, H. & Quigley, J. 1982, "Population Heterogeneity and the Sociogenesis of Homicide", *Social Forces*, 61(1), pp.206-24.
- Hatty, S.E. & Walker, J.R. 1986, *A National Study of Deaths in Australian Prisons*, Canberra, Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Hughes, R. 1987. *The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia 1787- 1868*, London, Collins Harvill.
- Joint Select Committee on Video Material 1988, *Report April 1988*, Canberra, AGPS.
- Kennan, J.H. 1986, Ministerial Statement, *Hansard: Victorian Legislative Council*, 29 April 1986.
- Lorenz, K. 1966, *On Aggression*, New York, Harcourt.
- Mark, V.H. & Ervin, F.R. 1976, *Violence and the Brain*, New York, Harper & Row.
- McCann, T.E. & Sheehan P.W. 1985, "Violence Content in Australian Television", *Australian Psychologist*, 20(1), pp.33-41.
- McCulloch, J. 1988, "Police Killings. Deadly Force", *Legal Service Bulletin*, 13(2), pp.56-57.
- Mednick, S.A., Moffitt, T.E. & Stack, S.A. eds 1987. *The Causes of Crime: New Biological Approaches*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Violence (New Zealand) 1987, *Report of the Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Violence*.
- Mukherjee, S.K. forthcoming, "The Size of the Crime Problem in Australia" 2nd ed, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
- Nagle, J.F. 1987, *Report of the Royal Commission into New South Wales Prisons*, 2 vols, Sydney, Government Printer.
- Najman, J.M. 1980, "Victims of Homicide: An Epidemiological Approach to Social Policy", *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 13(4), pp.274-80.
- National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (US) 1969, *To Establish Justice to Insure Domestic Tranquility; The Final Report*, Washington, The Commission.
- National Health and Medical Research Council 1988, *Television and the Family*.
- New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1987, *Robbery: An Analysis of Robbery in New South Wales*, Sydney, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.
- Noesjirwan, J. 1985, *Ten Years On: Women's Refuges in New South Wales 1975-1985*, Sydney, NSW Women's Refuges Evaluation Steering Committee.
- Oates, K. 1982, *Battered Children and their Families*, Sydney University Institute of Criminology. Proceedings No. 54, pp.11-19.
- Oates, K. & Tong, L. 1987, "Sexual Abuse of Children: an Area with Room for Professional Reform", *Medical Journal of Australia*, 7-21 December, 147, pp544-48.
- Ots, E.Y. 1977, "The Relationship Between Alcohol and Violent Crime" quoted in Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare, *Drug Problems in Australia — an Intoxicated Society!* Canberra, AGPS.
- Phillips, D.P. 1983, "The Impact of Mass Media Violence on U.S. Homicides", *American Sociological Review*, 48, pp.560-68.
- Plant, A. 1988, *Report of the Evaluation of the Anti-Heroin Campaign Conducted by the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse*, Sydney, Department of Public Health, University of Sydney.
- Polsky, H.W. 1962, *Cottage Six: The Social System of Delinquent Boys in Residential Treatment*, New York, Wiley.
- Public Policy Research Centre 1988, *Community Attitudes Towards Domestic Violence in Australia*.
- Robb, T. 1988, *Police Reports of Serious Assault in New South Wales*. Sydney, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.
- Saulwick Poll 1988, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 October.
- South Australia. Office of Crime Statistics 1981, *Homicide and Serious Assault in South Australia*.
- South Australian Domestic Violence Task Force 1987, *Final Report*.
- Swanton, B. 1987, *Research Brief: Police Work and Its Health Impacts*, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice No. 7, Canberra, Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Tutt, N.(ed) 1976, *Violence*, London, HMSO.
- Wallace, A. 1986, *Homicide: The Social Reality*, Sydney, New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.
- Wardlaw, G. 1986, 'Drug Control Policy and the Drugs-Crime Connection', in *Exploring the Alcohol and Drug-*

Crime Link: Society's Response edited by R.A. Bush, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Welte, J.W., 1987, "Alcohol use by violent and property offenders", *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 19, pp. 313-24.

Western Australian Child Sexual Abuse Task Force 1987, *Report to the Government of Western Australia*.

Western Australian Task Force on Domestic Violence 1986, *Break the Silence. Report of the Task Force on*

Domestic Violence to the Western Australian Government.

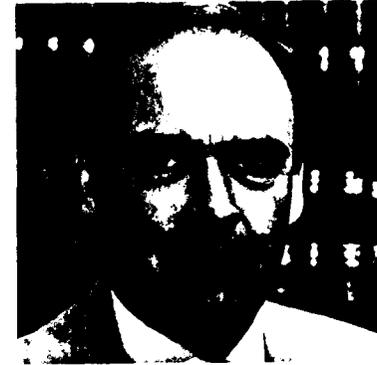
Wilson, P.R. 1982, *Black Death, White Hands*, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin.

- 1985, *Murder of the Innocents. Child Killers and their Victims*, Adelaide, Rigby.

Wolfgang, M.E. & Ferracuti, F. 1967, *The Subculture of Violence: Towards an Integrated Theory of Criminology*, London, Tavistock.

COMMITTEEMEMBERS

Professor Duncan Chappell, Chair, is a lawyer and criminologist who is currently Director of the Australian Institute of Criminology. Before taking up this position he was Professor of Criminology at Simon Fraser University in Canada. He has held academic posts in Australian and overseas universities, been a member of the Australian Law Reform Commission, and has served as an adviser to government, private and public agencies on criminal violence.



Ms Kim Dwyer is a psychologist and Co-ordinator of the Health and Welfare Child Protection Policy and Planning Unit in South Australia. She has an interest in violence in the home, particularly the abuse of children, and in Aboriginal and women's issues.



Mr Julian Green is a barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of Tasmania. At present he is Special Counsel to the Tasmanian Government. He is a former head of the Tasmanian Department of the Premier and Cabinet and the Attorney- General's Department.



Dr William Lucas is Director of Forensic Psychiatry at the South Australian Health Commission and is also a consultant psychiatrist. He formerly taught forensic psychiatry at the University of Sydney Law School. He has special interests in the assessment and treatment of offenders, including dangerous offenders and in the evaluation of victims of accidents and crime.



Mr Ray Martin hosts a national television talks and variety program. He is a former current affairs journalist with extensive experience in television and radio, both in Australia and overseas.



Ms Liza Newby is a lawyer currently working as a consultant on government policy development from Western Australia. She has been involved in women's issues, particularly domestic violence and sexual assault. She has acted as an adviser on women's affairs to the Premier of Western Australia and on women's health to the federal Minister for Community Services and Health. She has also held academic and consultancy positions in Australia, Canada and the United States.



Mrs Anne O'Byrne is Convenor of the National Women's Consultative Council and has also held positions on the Launceston General Hospital Board and the Council of the Tasmanian Institute of Technology. Originally a nurse, her interests include women's health and community welfare. She has been active in community affairs for a number of years.



Mr Robert Page is Secretary of the Police Federation of Australia and New Zealand. He is a former officer of the New South Wales Police Force, has worked as an administrator with the New South Wales Police Association and has carried out research into policing both in Australia and overseas.



Mr Peter Quinn is Non-Executive Director of the New South Wales Department of Family and Community Services where his responsibilities include legislative programs and policy advice. He has held a number of senior posts in the New South Wales public service in the areas of juvenile justice and legislation, and Aboriginal affairs.

