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**CHARLES
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Institute

Northern Territory Safe Streets Audit

Prepared by the Northern Institute at Charles
Darwin University and the Australian Institute of
Criminology

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Special report

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Acronyms

AIC	Australian Institute of Criminology
ASIRFDVP	Alice Springs Integrated Response to Family and Domestic Violence Project
CAAPS	Council for Aboriginal Alcohol Program Services
CAPS	Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy
CBD	central business district
CCTV	closed circuit television
CPTED	crime prevention through environmental design
DVICM	domestic violence intervention court model
FSF	Family Safety Framework
NRPP	National Reassurance Policing Programme
NT Police	Northern Territory Police Force
NT DAGJ	NT Department of Attorney General and Justice
PROMIS	Police Real Time Online Management Information System



Executive summary

In recognition of the need to address community concerns regarding the level of crime and fear of crime in the Northern Territory, The Northern Institute at Charles Darwin University and the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) were commissioned by the Northern Territory Police Force (NT Police) to undertake the NT Safe Streets Audit. The purpose of the Safe Streets Audit was to examine crime and safety issues in the Northern Territory urban communities of Darwin, Katherine and Alice Springs and to help inform effective strategies to reduce the actual and perceived risk of victimisation.

The audit involved a literature review exploring issues impacting on the fear of crime in the Northern Territory, focus groups with a range of stakeholders in Darwin, Alice Springs and Katherine, the analysis of media articles on crime and policing, the analysis of incident data from NT Police on assault offences and public disorder incidents, and a rapid evidence assessment of the effectiveness of strategies targeting NT crime problems. Implications for future crime reduction approaches in the Northern Territory were then identified.

Current NT Police crime reduction strategies and operations

The three strategic aims of the NT Police through their 'Operational Excellence' strategic direction are: reducing crime; customer service; and professionalism. Crime reduction is addressed through a multi-pronged approach, including operations and strategies targeting property crime, public disorder, domestic violence and alcohol-fuelled violence. Supplementing ongoing police responses, targeted operations address crime 'hotspots' and issues in Alice Springs, Katherine and Darwin/ Palmerston, such as recidivist property crime or inappropriate access to alcohol. Some, such as Operation Electra in Darwin, involve partnerships with external partners such as Council officers, licensing inspectors and public housing safety officers.

Effective partnerships are central to successful domestic violence strategies, such as the Family Safety Framework, the Cross Border Domestic Violence Information Sharing project and Project Respect. Partnerships are also central to a recent initiative focusing on early intervention. The SupportLink pilot in Alice Springs has, to date, engaged 32 agencies to provide police with a wide range of referral options when encountering people

experiencing domestic disputes, family violence, neighbourhood conflict, parenting issues, substance abuse, victim support, family breakdown or aged care issues. In the coming months, NT Police will evaluate the program to assess its impact and options for roll out in other regions of the Territory.

Other ongoing initiatives include the development of community safety plans, involving substantial consultation with community members and local service providers to identify local priorities and appropriate responses.

Two potential legislative changes are currently being contemplated. Alcohol Protection Orders will allow a police officer in certain specific conditions to prohibit a person for three, six or 12 months from possessing or consuming alcohol, or attending licensed premises. A new proposed initiative is being developed for government's consideration, to streamline responses to summary offences by enabling police to apprehend a person and place them into custody for a defined period before releasing them with an infringement notice.

In an attempt to improve the accuracy of NT residents' perceptions of crime, NT Police together with the Department of the Attorney-General and Justice are developing a crime statistics website, updated monthly with mapping visuals and a community safety message from the local Commander. The website launch is scheduled for 22 November 2013.

Perceptions of safety in the Northern Territory

Implementing strategies to improve perceptions of safety is important because of the detrimental impact of fear of crime on quality of life and the social and economic wellbeing of communities. This portion of the audit involved focus groups and interviews, analysis of NT media and a review of published data and existing research to assess the degree to which fear of crime represents a problem in the urban communities of the Northern Territory, identify what factors or conditions contribute to heightened levels of fear and worry about crime, and indicate strategies that could be used to improve perceptions of safety.

The focus group discussions of safety perceptions focused on how crime impacted on participants' personal lives as residents of Katherine, Alice Springs or Darwin/Palmerston. There was a mix of responses, with some participants expressing that they lived in a constant state of fear and others saying that they felt quite safe, in some cases even after being victims of crime.

There is evidence from other research sources that people living in the Northern Territory feel less safe than in other states and territories. There has been considerable research into the factors that influence perceptions of safety, including both individual and community level factors. Factors that may contribute to heightened levels of fear in the Northern Territory include increased risk of victimisation for both violent and property crime, perceptions that crime is more frequent and serious than it actually is, lower levels of confidence in police and the impact of sensationalist media coverage. Factors identified by focus group participants included location, gender and media coverage as well as personal experiences or hearing about the experiences of friends and neighbours. Conversely, reading crime statistics was often cited as having less impact.

Media coverage of crime and police responses to crime was also analysed. Analysis of articles in the *Centralian Advocate*, *NT News* and *Sunday Territorian* for the first week of May in 2010, 2011 and 2012 showed that between six and 10 percent of news coverage was devoted to crime. Crimes involving violence, especially sexual violence, were overrepresented compared with other crime types. Although victims' and offenders' Indigeneity were typically not identified, crimes featuring Indigenous offenders and non-Indigenous victims received greater coverage than other crimes in the weeks analysed.

Reducing fear of crime requires the application of evidence-informed strategies, which should be delivered alongside crime reduction strategies. As with crime reduction strategies more broadly, fear reduction strategies need to be appropriately targeted—they are most applicable to those situations in which the fear of crime is high but crime itself is low.

The evidence in support of the effectiveness of fear reduction strategies is not as strong as it is for strategies targeting actual crime and offending.

There is considerable evidence in support of strategies that increase police presence and police–public contact through methods such as targeted patrols, proactive policing and community policing. Proactive enforcement and community policing strategies (eg beats policing, community meetings and partnerships) have been found to be particularly effective and they appear to be most effective when delivered in combination with other interventions. There is also evidence that small-scale environmental design strategies, such as home security improvements, installation or improvement of street lighting and small-scale environmental improvements are effective in reducing fear of crime. Fear reduction strategies should be supported by a well-designed communication strategy that describes a clear and consistent approach to communicating with the general public and other key stakeholders.

Patterns of violence and public disorder in the Northern Territory

Focus group participants discussed how, in their experience, the incidence of crime and disorder in Alice, Katherine and Darwin/Palmerston differed by location, time of day, time of year, gender and Indigeneity.

Analysis of assault offences and public disorder incidents using NT Police data showed that:

- the total number of assault offences decreased between 2010 and 2011, before increasing in 2012;
- a relatively small number of locations account for a disproportionate number of offences;
- characteristics of assault offences vary by location, which means there is no one size fits all solution;
- different types of assault offences—specifically domestic violence-related assault and non-domestic violence alcohol-related assault—exhibit different characteristics and require different responses;
- while not necessarily accounting for the highest proportion of assault offences, there are some emerging hotspots;
- it may be possible to draw lessons from those locations that have experienced a decline in assault offences;
- certain characteristics and changing patterns of assault and public disorder have important implications for interventions designed to prevent violence and/or disorder;
- improved data collection would make it easier to identify and monitor crime and disorder hotspots; and
- there is a need to implement evidence-based crime reduction strategies targeting both acute and chronic hotspots, as well as strategies that can reduce alcohol consumption and related harms, reduce the overrepresentation of Indigenous people as victims and offenders of violent crime and respond to high rates of domestic violence.

The findings demonstrated the potential benefits of a more focused approach to the reduction of violence and public disorder in the Northern Territory.

Opportunities and priorities for Northern Territory crime reduction

An important focus of the Safe Streets Audit was to identify opportunities and priorities for Northern Territory crime reduction, with a particular emphasis on practical responses and how they might be implemented in the Northern Territory context. A number of key themes emerged during the focus groups that could help to guide effective responses, including:

- how the special context of Northern Territory urban communities impacted on patterns of crime and opportunities for crime reduction;
- the issues of Indigeneity in Northern Territory urban communities, and how those issues impact on crime reduction;
- the impact of alcohol on crime and opportunities to reduce alcohol-related crime;
- the dynamics of violence, particularly domestic/family violence, in the Northern Territory;

- opportunities for interventions to reduce crime at critical points, including early interventions targeting parents, young children and at-risk youth as well as interventions for offenders to reduce recidivism;
- opportunities for partnership in crime reduction, including interventions at community level; and
- the critical importance of evidence-based solutions to crime reduction in the Northern Territory.

Evidence-based strategies to address Northern Territory crime problems

A rapid evidence assessment examined the evidence in support of the effectiveness of strategies to address the crime problems identified by the Safe Streets Audit:

- Previous reviews of the effectiveness of different policing strategies have found problem-oriented policing, neighbourhood watch, hotspot policing, focused deterrence strategies and some forms of community policing to be effective in preventing crime. There is evidence that police strategies are most effective when they involve a diverse range of approaches, involve multiple partners, are focused on particular people or places, engage with the local community and emphasise the importance of police legitimacy. There is also some evidence that these strategies are suitable for implementation in the Northern Territory, including in Indigenous communities.
- There is considerable evidence in support of a range of supply reduction and demand reduction strategies to reduce alcohol consumption and related harms, including violence and public disorder. Effective strategies include legislative restrictions on the availability of alcohol, treatment programs and (in entertainment precincts) community-based strategies targeting licensed premises supported by strong enforcement of liquor licensing legislation.
- There is limited evidence as to the effectiveness of strategies to reduce violence in Indigenous communities (with the exception of strategies targeting alcohol consumption), although there is a range of promising community-based responses

that have been implemented in different communities with some positive results. There is a large body of research that identifies characteristics of effective projects and requirements for successful implementation.

- Criminal justice responses to family and domestic violence include second responder programs, domestic violence courts and perpetrator programs. The evidence in support of these strategies is mixed, with limited evidence in terms of the impact of these strategies on actual rates of violence. There is increasing recognition of the benefits of an integrated response to family and domestic violence that involves a range of sectors, including criminal justice, child protection, corrections, housing, advocacy and health.
- A range of strategies can be implemented by agencies other than police and are supported by evidence of effectiveness. They include urban planning and design (ie CPTED), situational crime prevention, developmental crime prevention, community development and criminal justice responses. Evidence is strongest for situational crime prevention, developmental crime prevention and early intervention and some programs targeting offenders.

Considerations for the successful implementation of Northern Territory crime reduction strategies

Prior experience, together with feedback from the focus group participants, highlighted a number of important considerations for implementing crime reduction strategies in the Northern Territory. These included:

- the importance of focusing on implementation and putting in place strategies to avoid the potential problems associated with implementation failure;
- adopting a problem-solving approach, with the systematic analysis of local crime problems based on multiple sources of data (not just recorded crime data) and the consideration of a number of different factors in deciding what responses to implement to address identified problems;

- support for innovation, particularly where there is a lack of prior research to show whether a particular approach is effective or not, based on empirically tested theories as to the causes of crime in the Northern Territory and monitored carefully for impact when implemented;
- a commitment to long-term funding for programs that appear to be effective and that are reliant on external funding to ensure their long-term sustainability;
- an emphasis on partnership working and on drawing together a range of agencies (including but not limited to criminal justice agencies) to address the complex and wide ranging causes of crime in the Northern Territory, addressing barriers to effective partnerships and drawing on past experience to develop effective partnership arrangements;
- meaningful attempts to engage the community in crime reduction strategies, particularly communities most at risk of being a victim or offender and marginalised groups, and consideration of community readiness and support for crime reduction efforts; and
- genuine commitment to evaluating Northern Territory crime reduction strategies and then transferring that accumulated evidence into practice.

Implications for future crime reduction in the Northern Territory

Building on the findings from this audit, a number of high-level areas for future crime reduction endeavour have been identified:

- taking a place-based approach to crime and safety problems that focuses attention on micro-locations experiencing the greatest frequency and rates of crime;
- developing alcohol supply and demand strategies that are supported by the available evidence;
- investing in community-based responses to violence that address the causes of offending;
- developing and promulgating integrated responses to family and domestic violence;
- developing dedicated strategies to improve perceptions of safety;
- generating a commitment to building and using a strong evidence base to inform local crime reduction approaches; and
- fostering a partnership approach to crime reduction in the Northern Territory that builds on the strengths of different agencies.

In some cases, these are extensions of ongoing practice by NT Police, but others represent potential new directions.

Introduction



In recognition of the need to address community concerns regarding the level of crime and fear of crime in the Northern Territory, The Northern Institute at Charles Darwin University and the AIC were commissioned by the NT Police to undertake the NT Safe Streets Audit. The purpose of the Safe Streets Audit was to examine crime and safety issues in the Northern Territory urban communities of Darwin, Katherine and Alice Springs and to help inform effective strategies to reduce the actual and perceived risk of victimisation.

Safety audits and crime reduction

Safety audits are an important first step in the development of effective crime reduction policies and programs. They are widely recommended as a fundamental component of a knowledge-based approach to addressing crime and safety problems (Bodson et al. 2008). The UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime (ECOSOC 2002: 299) recommend that, as part of the planning process, governments should undertake a 'systematic analysis of crime problems, their causes, risk factors and consequences, in particular at the local level'.

Safety audits are undertaken to:

gain an understanding of the crime and victimisation-related problems in a city; to identify assets and resources for preventive activity; to enable priorities to be identified; and to help shape a strategy that will enable those priorities to be tackled (Husain 2007: 10).

They require collecting information on:

- the demographic, economic and other characteristics likely to have an impact on crime;
- crime and violence and related problems, such as public disorder, including the scale, trend, distribution and impact of the problem;
- profiles of crime victims and offenders, including the sex, age and ethnicity of these groups;
- patterns of risk factors that are likely to contribute to crime and violence;
- the effectiveness of programs and services in areas relevant to prevention, including criminal justice, health, housing, welfare and education;
- the political and institutional environment to identify opportunities for prevention; and
- the strengths and opportunities that exist in an area, such as social capital, community capacity and existing programs and service, that will provide the foundation for a future strategy (Husain 2007).

Conducting a safety audit offers a range of benefits. It helps build a comprehensive understanding of the problem being addressed by bringing together the collective knowledge of different organisations and communities. It can also help organisations with different perspectives to agree on priorities, provide the foundation for effective problem solving and tailoring solutions to local needs, promote partnership working and community involvement and help to determine what might have worked in the past and provide a baseline for measuring change (Husain 2007).

NT Safe Streets Audit methodology

The NT Safe Streets Audit aimed to address the following research questions:

- What is the location and characteristics of crime hotspots associated with public order offending, including recidivist public order offending and public nuisance offences?
- What is the extent, likely causes and impact of any disparity between actual victim-based crime and community perceptions of crime, and how can community perceptions of crime be influenced to better align with actual crime risks?
- What are the characteristics (including type of incident, characteristics of the incident and reporting behaviour) of offences reported by crime victims compared with crime detected through proactive policing?
- How appropriate are environmental design strategies, including street and public space lighting and closed circuit television (CCTV) capability, in addressing both the actual and perceived risk of crime?
- How effective are community education and awareness campaigns in crime prevention, including the community's need for access to, and understanding of, current crime statistics?
- How effective are approaches to community engagement in crime prevention and safety planning through neighbourhood watch and youth forums?
- How effective are current approaches to working across all levels of government, non-government

sectors and the business sector to jointly address crime prevention goals?

- To what extent does the current allocation of crime prevention resources support the NT Government to achieve the greatest impact in terms of addressing crime levels and perceptions of safety?
- What early intervention options are available to reduce recidivism and increase support for victims and offenders where required?

The project was overseen by a Steering Committee comprising representatives from NT Police (including the NT Police Commissioner), NT Department of Attorney General and Justice (NT DAGJ), Charles Darwin University and the AIC. This Committee assisted in developing the methodology for this project and met regularly to provide feedback on research outputs as they were produced.

The project involved a number of different components, some of which were led by The Northern Institute and others by the AIC, including:

- an initial literature review exploring factors that influence perceptions of safety, the causes of any disparity between perceived and actual crime risks, a brief overview of the ways in which crime data can be presented to the public and evidence of the effectiveness of different strategies to improve perceptions of safety;
- a review of NT Police documents to identify the range of strategies and operations currently targeting crime and safety;
- focus groups with a range of stakeholders in Darwin, Alice Springs and Katherine to better understand factors influencing crime and perceptions of safety and to help inform the development of effective multi-agency responses;
- the analysis of media articles on crime and policing to better understand how information is presented to the public and what impact this may have on perceptions of safety;
- the analysis of incident data from the NT Police Real Time Online Management Information System (PROMIS) to identify locations that had a high number of offences and the characteristics of these offences;
- a rapid evidence assessment examining strategies that have been effective in addressing the

problems that emerged from the PROMIS data analysis; and

- a final analysis, conducted collaboratively with Steering Committee members, of implications from all of the above evidence for future crime reduction approaches in Northern Territory.

The Steering Committee comprised members from NT Police, the NT DAGJ and Charles Darwin University.

Focus group participants were chosen to represent a broad range of views and included police but also government and non-government agencies relevant to crime reduction. Participants included one or more members from the following: NT Police, NT DAGJ (including Correctional Services and Community Corrections), NT Emergency Services, NT Department of Health (including Alcohol Policy and the Women's Information Service), NT Office of Children and Families, NT Office of Women's Advancement, NT Department of Education

(Attendance & Truancy), NT Housing, NT Office of the Children's Commissioner, City of Darwin, City of Palmerston, NT Early Intervention Pilot Program, Centralian Senior Secondary College, Cross Border Domestic Violence Program, Central Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service, Central Australian Aboriginal Family Legal Unit, North Australian Aboriginal Justice Association, Relationships Australia (Youth Diversion Program), Central Australian Strong Women's Alliance, NT Neighbourhood Watch, Katherine Women's Crisis Centre, Dawn House, NPY Women's Council, YWCA and Bushmob.



Current NT Police crime reduction strategies and operations

An important step in conducting a safety audit is to identify and review the current responses to any crime and safety problems identified through the audit process (Husain 2007). The NT Police play the lead role in reducing crime and disorder in the Northern Territory. The strategic direction, goals and priorities of NT Police are outlined in a number of annual reports and plans, including:

- *NT Police, Fire and Emergency Services (NTPFES) 2012–13 Annual Report* (NTPFES 2013a)
- *NT Police, Fire and Emergency Services (NTPFES) Strategic Plan 2013–15* (NTPFES 2013b);
- *NT Police Force (NTPF) Business Plan 2013–14* (NTPF 2013d); and
- *Operational Excellence Strategy* (NTPF 2012b).

NT Police as of 30 June 2012 listed 1,417 personnel. The strategic aims of police announced on 30 January 2012 and badged as 'Operational Excellence' are reducing crime, customer service and professionalism.

The Operational Excellence priority for crime reduction is to 'target and address the causal factors and minimise the opportunities for crime' (NTPF 2012: 4). Clearly, addressing the causal factors of crime requires the involvement of many partners as well as police. It would include community members taking on greater responsibility

by locking houses and cars, but also require agencies involved in areas such as family support, mediation and education to recognise their critical roles in addressing the causal factors often associated with crime. These issues are discussed in later sections of this audit; this section concentrates on police-led activities, although some involve external partners.

Supplementing ongoing police responses, targeted operations address crime 'hotspots' and issues in Alice Springs, Katherine or Darwin/Palmerston, such as recidivist property crime or inappropriate access to alcohol. The Safety Audit focuses on reduction of violent crime and public disorder, with some attention to operations and strategies that impact on public safety perceptions. 'Strike Force Trident' targeted recidivist property offenders to reduce property crime in the Darwin and Palmerston areas; 'Strike Force Vega' in Alice Springs focused on early detection (including prioritising fingerprint identification to allow for early arrests) as well as responsive deployment. It is not unlikely that the 2,624 charges laid against 690 persons through the Strike Force Trident between 17 September 2012 until 30 June 2013, or the 183 arrests made through Strike Force Vega from 18 February to 26 June 2013 and the ensuing reductions in unlawful entry and property crime had an impact on public safety perceptions of Darwin/Palmerston residents.

Violence appears to be targeted through two types of strategies. Reduction of public violence (often alcohol-fuelled) is typically addressed through operations targeting public disorder. Domestic and family violence, also a serious problem in the Territory, is addressed through a range of ongoing partnerships and early intervention options.

Operations focusing on public order, including alcohol-fuelled violence, have been implemented in Tennant Creek and Katherine, as well as in Alice Springs and Darwin/Palmerston.

In Tennant Creek, Operation Jawa between 2 August and 31 December 2012 targeted identified hotspots and locations with a zero tolerance approach to antisocial behaviour and alcohol-fuelled crime. Forty-two arrests were made, 11 Notices to Appear issued, 17 warrants executed, 178 persons taken into protective custody, 36 infringements issued and 1,622 litres of alcohol tipped out.

In Katherine, Operation Fauchard was a short-term operation that ran from 16 to 30 May 2013 and focused on alcohol and substance related antisocial behaviour. Throughout that period, 469 litres of alcohol were destroyed, 113 persons taken into protective custody, 28 Liquor Infringement Notices issued and eight persons arrested.

Alice Springs has received special attention. Operation Jedi, a three month operation based in Alice Springs from 1 August 2012 to 31 October 2012, resulted in the arrest of more than 100 people for numerous offences, including 47 people arrested for breach of bail conditions. Operation Kawana ran from 1 November 2012 until 28 February 2013, focusing on alcohol and substance-related antisocial behaviour—9,210 litres of alcohol were destroyed. Operation Skyfall employed an increased and highly visible police presence in hotspot areas including takeaway liquor outlets and town camps, focusing on liquor offences and antisocial behaviour. From 14 February to 15 April 2013, 2,792 litres of alcohol were tipped out and 34 arrests made.

Operations Muscat, Perceptor, Augusta, Ganton, Oitavas, Csila and Electra focused on reducing alcohol and substance-related crime antisocial behaviour and other offending within the central business district (CBD) and suburbs of Darwin and Palmerston.

In some cases, police have conducted operations with external partners. For instance, in Operation Electra, police personnel were supported by public housing safety officers, licensing inspectors and City of Darwin Council officers. Operation Electra aimed to reduce levels of alcohol-related public order issues by taking an intelligence-led approach to deploy police officers to identified public order hotspots around Darwin, Casuarina, Nightcliff and Palmerston. As well as external partners, the Operation involved many groups within police, with resources from Darwin Metropolitan Command supported by the Metropolitan Patrol Group, Police Mounted Unit, Darwin Traffic Operations and the Territory Intelligence Division to conduct foot, bicycle, mounted and vehicular patrols. Operation Electra resulted in 39 arrests, 390 protective custodies, 212 liquor and 41 drug infringement notices issued and 816 litres of alcohol tipped out.

Partnerships have been particularly important in responding to domestic violence. The Family Safety Framework, a coordinated effort between key agencies in Alice Springs, is led by the NT Police through its Alice Springs Domestic Violence Unit and provides an action-based, integrated service response to individuals and families experiencing family or domestic violence that are at high risk of injury or death. Seventy-one cases to date have been referred into the Framework and as at 30 June 2013, there were seven active cases being considered.

Project Respect, highlighted in the *Domestic and Family Violence Strategy 2012–14* (NTPF 2012a), aims to reduce domestic and family violence in the long term for the NT community through the enforcement of a zero tolerance and pro-arrest approach to these offences. NT Police developed the Cross Border Domestic Violence Information Sharing project in conjunction with WA and SA Police. In January 2013, an Alice Springs based civilian analyst was employed to liaise with all police and other non-government stakeholders in the tri-jurisdiction cross-border region to increase the visibility of law enforcement on the activities of domestic violence offenders in this region.

Partnerships are also vital to early intervention responses to crime reduction. NT Police are currently progressing a six month trial of the SupportLink referral management service in Alice

Springs. This provides police with referral options when engaging people experiencing domestic disputes, family violence, neighbourhood conflict, parenting issues, substance abuse, victim support, family breakdown or aged care issues. Thirty-two agencies to date have joined the referral network and feedback to date has been extremely positive from NT Police members, members of the community and also service providers, despite receiving significantly more referrals. In coming months, NT Police will be evaluating the program, assessing its impact and the viability of its extension and roll out in other areas of the Northern Territory.

Partnerships are also the basis of community safety plan development. NT Police are leading development of these plans in remote communities; they involve substantial consultation with elders, as well as a range of community members and local service providers in order to identify local priorities and appropriate responses. In urban areas such as Alice Springs, police do not lead the planning but participate with many other agencies in plan development.

Two legislative tools are currently being considered as additional measures to reduce crime. On 10 May 2013, the NT Government publicly announced its intention to introduce Alcohol Protection Orders,

which allow a police officer to prohibit a person from possessing or consuming alcohol, or attending licensed premises (except for employment or if it is the person's place of residence) if the person has been arrested, summonsed or served with a notice to appear in court in respect of an alleged qualifying offence and if the officer believes the person was affected by alcohol at the time. Contingent on whether a person is apprehended for a first, second or subsequent qualifying offence, the Alcohol Protection Order may be issued for three, six or 12 months.

Also, a new proposed initiative to streamline responses to summary offences is currently being developed, which aims to enable police to apprehend a person and place them into custody for a defined period before releasing them with an infringement notice. Draft legislative amendments are expected to be submitted by the end of 2013.

Finally, in an attempt to improve the accuracy of NT residents' perceptions of crime, NT Police together with NT DAGJ, are developing a crime statistics website which will be updated monthly with mapping visuals and a community safety message from the local Commander. The website launch is scheduled for 22 November 2013.



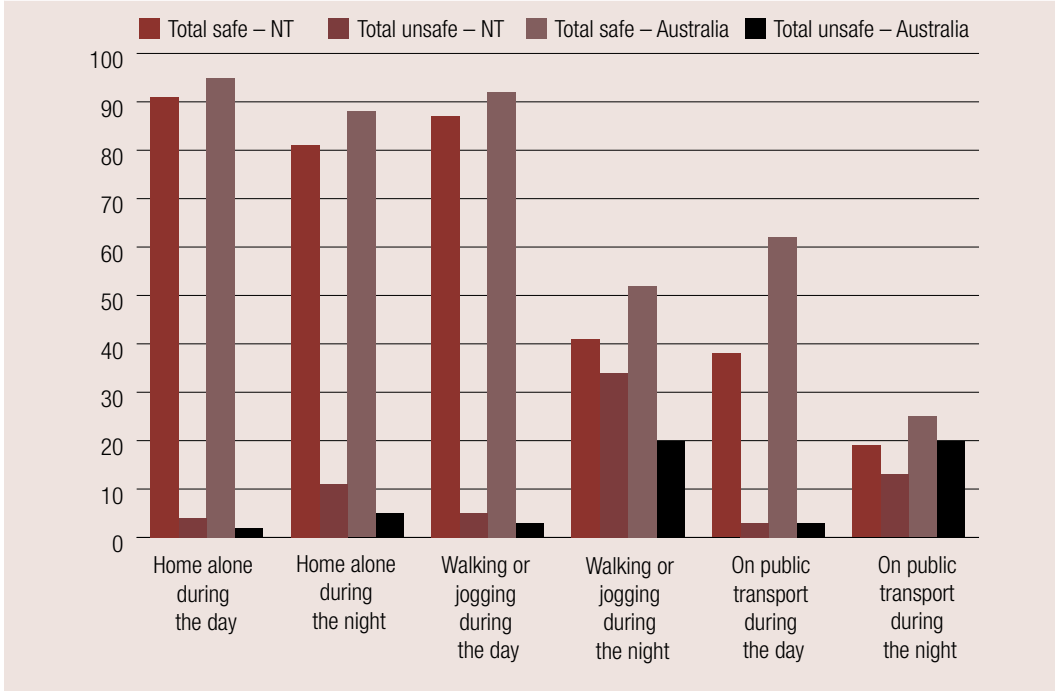
Perceptions of safety in the Northern Territory

Reducing fear of crime is an important goal for many crime prevention programs and policies (AIC 2012; ECOSOC 2002). Fear detracts from quality of life and has a detrimental impact on social and economic wellbeing (Grabosky 1995). The Safe Streets Audit involved focus group input, analysis of Northern Territory media and a review of published data and existing research to assess the degree to which fear of crime represents a problem in the urban communities of the Northern Territory, identify what factors or conditions contribute to heightened levels of fear and worry about crime, and indicate what strategies could be used to improve perceptions of safety.

Perceptions of safety in the Northern Territory

As shown in Figure 1, in 2011–12, the proportion of Northern Territory respondents to the *National Survey of Community Satisfaction with Policing* who reported feeling safe or very safe was lower than the national average across all measures of feelings of safety (SCRGSP 2013). Further, the proportion of people who reported feeling unsafe or very unsafe was higher in the Northern Territory than the Australian average, except for when using public transport during the day or night.

Figure 1 Proportion of respondents who report feeling safe and unsafe, 2011–12 (%)



Source: ANZPAA National Survey of Community Satisfaction with Policing (SCRGSP 2013)

However, these types of survey questions have been criticised for being relatively blunt measures of perceptions of safety among the wider community (Tulloch et al. 1998). The Safe Streets Audit also included focus group discussions to examine perceptions of safety in the Northern Territory in more detail. Focus groups provide a different type of data from surveys and other quantitative research. Participants are selected for one or more shared characteristics but typically bring a range of perspectives to the discussion. Participants’ interaction over the course of the discussion often leads to richer insights than individual interviews would provide (Lederman 1990).

For the Safe Streets Audit focus groups, participants were chosen for their residence in an urban area of the Northern Territory and also for their work with an organisation relevant to Northern Territory crime reduction. Participants included police officers, but also staff at non-government organisations working with offenders, victims of crime, drug and alcohol issues, and youth at risk. Government personnel in relevant areas such as corrections and child

protection also participated. The focus group participants were therefore not representative of the Northern Territory urban community as a whole, but deliberately reflected a more informed perspective of Northern Territory crime and responses than a random sample of residents would provide.

Seven focus groups were conducted in July 2013. Three were held in Alice Springs, one in Katherine and two in Darwin. A focus group was attempted in Palmerston, but it proved difficult to secure a suitable venue in the timeframe required; Palmerston participants attended the second Darwin focus group. Twenty stakeholders attended the Alice focus groups, 12 attended the Katherine focus group and 12 attended the Darwin focus groups. In addition, eight stakeholders unable to attend the groups provided input individually.

In spite of repeated invitations, there was an underrepresentation of participants from Indigenous organisations, although a number of Indigenous organisational representatives did participate. Participants highlighted this underrepresentation as a critical gap in the research with regards to its

impact on community safety and crime reduction perspectives presented at the groups, but also regarding its impact on discussing potential crime reduction partnerships, as some critical partners were missing from these discussions. However, participants also noted that the focus groups were not exceptional in failing to secure a greater degree of participation from Indigenous stakeholders and that they reflected ongoing issues in securing such participation, undoubtedly due in part to resourcing issues.

Each group began with an introduction on the Safe Streets Audit and a brief overview of the ethical issues involved in focus group work. Any participant there solely because they had been assigned to attend was invited to leave, as only voluntary participation was desired, and all participants were advised that they could leave at any time without explanation if they found the discussions distressing, perhaps by bringing up memories of being a victim of crime. No participant left before the end of the focus group discussion.

The facilitator identified in the introduction that 'crime reduction' could be interpreted narrowly or quite broadly; strategies could be designed to apply immediately before a crime was committed, be early intervention strategies, or apply after crimes were committed and be designed to reduce recidivism. The facilitator stressed that the discussion should focus as narrowly or as broadly as participants in each group desired.

In addition to discussing crime reduction strategies and issues, participants were asked to talk about their personal perception of crime in their local area, thinking as residents rather than as professionals. The question was phrased as:

I'm going to ask you to take off your professional hat for a few minutes. Think about what life in Alice/Katherine/Darwin-Palmerston is like for you as people living here, raising families, seeing friends. How safe do you feel in the areas where you live, shop, play? Have you perceived any trends in local crime and safety, and what has the impact been for you and your family?

Responses were mixed, but a number of patterns emerged. Although many participants identified that they were afraid of crime and this fear impacted on their lives, others felt quite safe in their community.

I think as a resident I feel particularly safe. I live in Fanny Bay next to Koorringal so I've got lots of noises coming out of public housing on one side and everyone there who can't drink there going across...to drink in the park next to me. However, I think of the two years that I've been living here, I've had one person run through my backyard in the whole time...For me, I don't perceive there to be a particular high level of crime in Darwin.

I'm fine because I'm a guy...I live just behind Casuarina shopping centre so we get quite a bit of foot traffic go through. It's not too bad but I've probably noticed in the last 18 months, it's quietened down a bit actually from my personal experience anyway... I feel reasonably safe. I walk my dogs around the neighbourhood all the time. We see a lot of public drunkenness...

Others felt unsafe:

I think safety is a state of mind. I mean the issue with not walking home at night isn't whether or not you won't be attacked, it's that you just won't do it....you know, that means that we are living in that way in essentially, a constant state of fear.

Factors influencing perceptions of safety

A range of factors have been shown to influence community perceptions of safety (ie fear of crime). These are summarised in Table 1 and include individual and community-level factors, a number of them also identified in the focus group discussions. Importantly, for some of these factors, the relationship with perceptions of safety is not a straightforward one and some are interrelated. For example, research has found that age-related effects on fear of crime are influenced by perceptions of societal violence, prior victimisation, experiences in walking in the neighbourhood at night and perceived risk (Tulloch 2000). Older people may feel more vulnerable to crime and therefore be more fearful, but also have a lower perceived risk of crime because they purposefully avoid risky situations (NCAVAC 1998). As a result, studies have tended to produce conflicting results.

Table 1 Risk factors for fear of crime

Individual level	Community level
Age—older people typically feel less safe	Cultural and ethnic diversity (ie higher proportion of ethnic minorities)
Sex—women are more fearful than men	Economic disadvantage
Having a perceived physical vulnerability	Residential instability
Lower levels of personal income/wealth	Non-residential land use—presence of commercial and recreational facilities
Ethnicity—US studies have shown white people tend to be more fearful than black people	Physical disorder—abandoned buildings or vehicles, graffiti, public disorder, people loitering, litter etc
Higher levels of education	Experience of incivilities and harassment
Home ownership	Low levels of social cohesion, social capital and collective efficacy
Prior victimisation	
Perceived risk of crime specific events	
Lower levels of confidence in criminal justice system	

Source: Farrall et al. 2000; Gaine, Alper & Chappell 2011; Killias & Clerici 2000; MacMillan, Nierobisz & Welsh 2000; NCAVAC 1998; Roberts & Indemaur 2009; Taylor 2002; Tulloch 2000; Wilcox, Quisenberry & Jones 2003; Xu, Fiedler & Flaming 2005

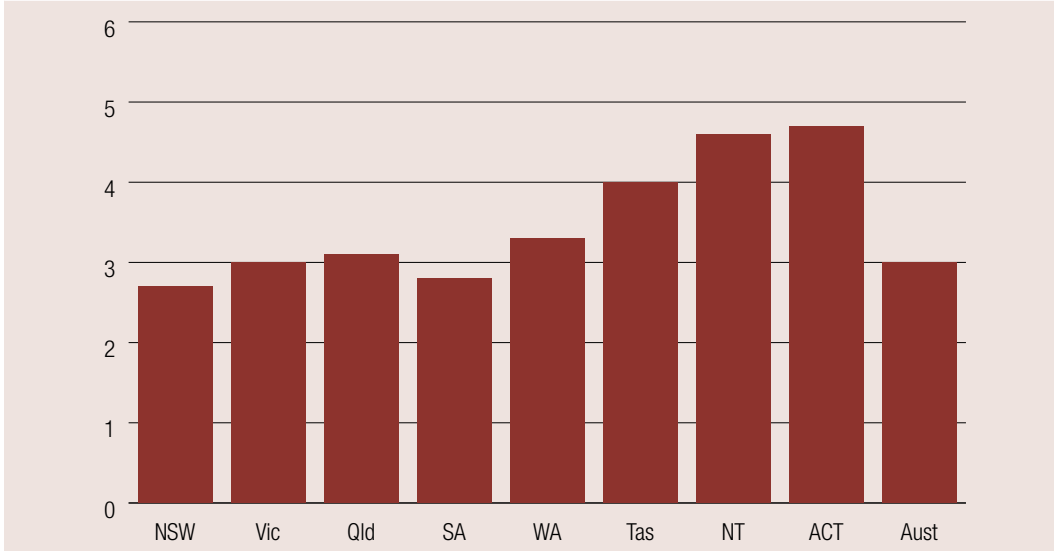
These risk factors may help to explain why people living in the Northern Territory reported feeling less safe than in other parts of Australia. They are also helpful in determining where to target possible fear reduction strategies.

Prior victimisation

One explanation of why NT residents are more fearful of crime than residents in other areas of Australia may be that people in the Northern Territory are more likely to have been a victim of crime in the past and this increases their fear. There is evidence that people living in the Northern Territory experience higher rates of physical assault than other parts of Australia (see Figure 2). According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2013), in 2011–12, 4.6 percent

of persons aged 15 years and over living in the Northern Territory reported having been a victim of physical assault. The victimisation rate for physical assault in the Northern Territory was higher than the national average (3%). The victimisation rate for face-to-face threatened assault was also higher in the Northern Territory (6.8%) than in all other states and territories. Self-reported rates of victimisation for property crime were also higher in the Northern Territory than the national average, including for break-ins (6% *cf* 2.9%), attempted break-ins (4.8% *cf* 2.3%), theft of property from a motor vehicle (5.9% *cf* 3.5%) and malicious property damage (10% *cf* 7.5%).

Figure 2 Physical assault victimisation rate by state and territory, 2011–12 (%)



Note: Physical assault is an act of physical force or violence by a person against another person. Examples of physical force or violence include being pushed, grabbed, shoved, slapped, kicked, bitten, choked, shot, burned, being hit with something such as a bat or being dragged or hit deliberately by a vehicle
Source: ABS 2013

Some focus group participants felt unsafe due to personal experience:

I thought I felt safe at home and a couple of nights ago, early one Sunday morning, someone walked into my house. I was on the back veranda, I'd left the front door open and this person, she was in her thirties, walked in and was rummaging through the stuff on my bench. Luckily it was a bit messy so she didn't see the phones and computers and stuff. I felt very violated; it was awful. Up until then...I'd always felt safe although we'd had two break-ins from youth in thirteen years. Generally I feel safe in Darwin, I go walking along Nightcliff and I feel pretty safe. A random person coming into my house really shattered that.

However, perhaps surprisingly, some of those who felt safe had been victims of crime:

For me personally, I reckon it's a great place to live. I've been affected by crime as well; I've had my house broken into and things stolen. I think that happens anywhere...

I feel really safe in Darwin, I feel safe raising my kids here. The main issues that I've come up

against have been some property stuff. We've had our car stolen, trashed a little bit. Some close friends had a car stolen and other friends have had a car stolen and completely burnt out.

Some with experience in other locations noted that although they had experienced crime, they did not believe that it was worse than areas outside the Northern Territory:

I don't have any trouble. I've got dogs that bark and make a bit of noise so I don't get robbed, but my neighbour does. That happens in Adelaide too when I used to live there.

Well, you know I had a car window smashed, but that was because I left my car overnight in the Kmart car park and I knew better than to do that. Aside from if I do something stupid, I don't have a particular sense that I am going to be a victim of crime or that it goes around all the time. Certainly, I know people who have been robbed or assaulted or whatever and not that that's not a big deal but I don't think I'd perceive that as a particularly higher rate than other places.

Not all participants restricted themselves to their own experiences. Several discussed the perceptions

of their friends and neighbours, identifying the factors they believed influenced their perceptions:

I think you're much more linked to it by it happening to yourself or your friends. You have friends who have been assaulted...I think if you're living in a larger city with a larger population that would still happen but it could be more removed... but I think you are much more confronted with it here...

Residential burglaries are very personal, and when it happens to you, you talk to your neighbours about it etc. So, it does sort of get heightened awareness.

Perceived risk of victimisation and frequency of crime

Another explanation, also noted in the focus groups, may be that people overestimate the risk of victimisation and frequency and severity of crime. For example, among some focus group participants, especially those who were aware of crime statistics, there was some frustration that perceptions did not seem to reflect reality:

I get frustrated about the perceptions of crime. I'm sure that the stats would show that most of the victims of crime are Indigenous people so a lot of crime is within Indigenous communities and families, but the average person on the street is less concerned about that; they are more concerned about what's happened in their street...I find it frustrating that there's a big focus on commercial break-ins and residential burglaries. If the perception of that goes down,

everyone feels happy [although] they know people are still getting beaten up but it doesn't impact on them...they don't see it unless it's in the Coles car park...

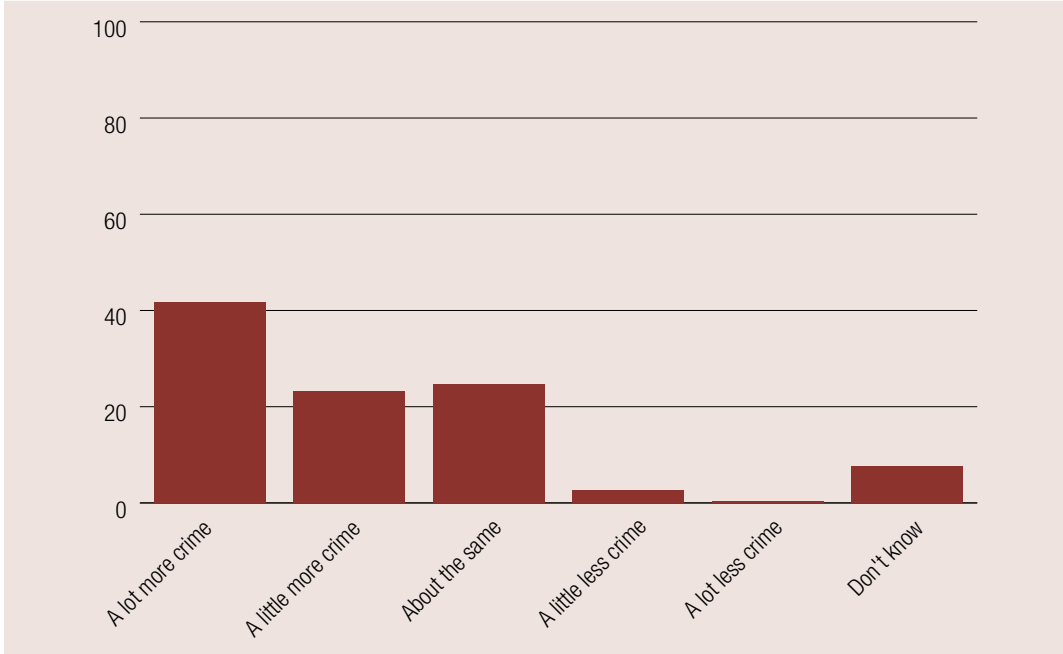
It's frustrating for police because they [community members] always use one example as the example that crime is rampant...

Outside of Alice Springs, everyone thinks it's a very unsafe place. If you have some knowledge, things like knowing the police statistics—if you are not an Aboriginal woman, you are far safer than if you are an Aboriginal woman.

We could quote crime stats until we go blue in the face. If I've been broken into or I go to a BBQ and a person's been broken into—the reality is, crime stats do not mean anything to a resident...

Recent data on perceived crime trends and the perceived risk of victimisation, specific to the Northern Territory, are not available. However, community surveys have shown that respondents incorrectly believe crime has increased during periods when it has actually decreased (Roberts & Indermaur 2009). For example, the *Australian Survey of Social Attitudes*, conducted in 2007, found that nearly two-thirds of respondents believed crime had increased and a further quarter believed crime rates were about the same (see Figure 3). This was despite evidence that crime had declined in the two year period prior to the survey (Roberts & Indermaur 2009).

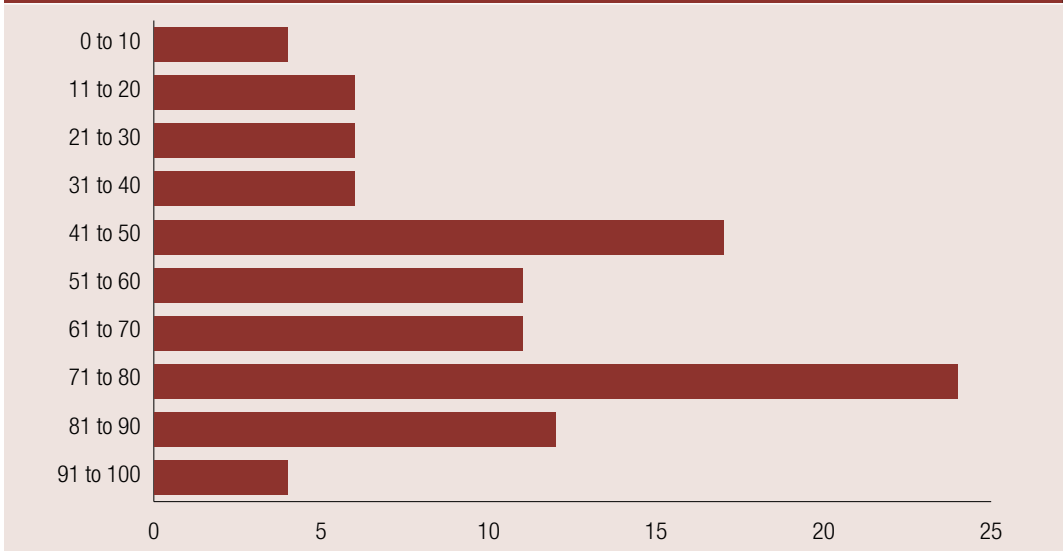
Figure 3 Perceptions of crime trends between 2005 and 2007, Australia (%)



Source: Roberts & Indermaur 2009

Similarly, people also overestimate the extent to which violence is involved in crime, which may lead them to believe crime to be more serious and harmful than it really is (Roberts & Indermaur 2009). *Australian Survey of Social Attitudes* respondents were also asked to estimate the percentage of crimes that involve violence (see Figure 4). At the time of conducting the survey, less than 10 percent of all recorded crimes in Australia involved an act of violence. However, more than 95 percent of respondents incorrectly overestimated this proportion, with about half of respondents believing violence was involved in the majority of offences.

Figure 4 Estimates of percentage of crimes that involve violence, Australia (%)

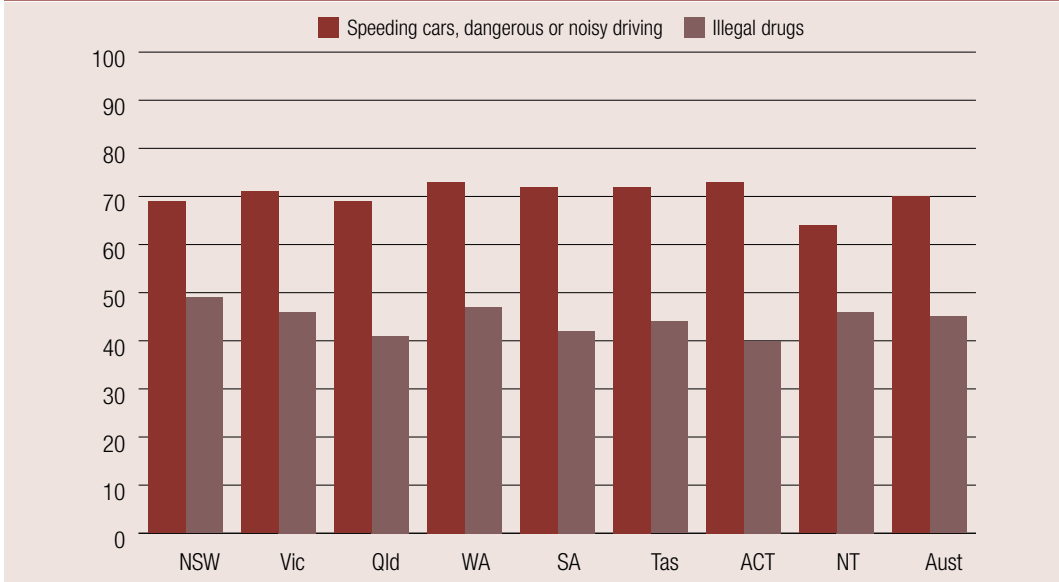


Source: Roberts & Indermaur 2009

There is some evidence that perceived incivilities (ie antisocial and objectionable behaviour), rather than crime itself, makes people feel more vulnerable and therefore more likely to be fearful of crime (Roberts & Indermaur 2009). Two indicators of perceived incivilities in the Northern Territory are available from the *National Survey of Community Satisfaction with Policing* (SCRGSP 2013). Respondents were asked whether they perceived illegal drugs or speeding cars, dangerous or noisy driving to be a problem in their neighbourhood. The responses are presented

in Figure 5 and suggest that there is little difference between people living in the Northern Territory and the national average in terms of perceived problems with illegal drugs. Further, Northern Territory respondents were less likely than respondents in any other jurisdiction to perceive speeding cars, dangerous or noisy driving as a problem in their neighbourhood.

Figure 5 Proportion of persons aged 15 years and over who reported speeding cars, dangerous or noisy driving and illegal drugs as being a major or somewhat problem in their neighbourhood, 2011–12 (%)



Source: ANZPAA National Survey of Community Satisfaction with Policing (SCRGSP 2013)

Confidence in police

People who are more fearful of crime have also been found to have lower levels of confidence in police (Roberts & Indermaur 2009). As confidence increases, fear of crime decreases.

Perceptions of police were discussed at the focus groups:

...We always think, 'what do people think of us?' because perceptions are out there. And if the people feel good about us then we are winning.

However, there was almost no mention by non-police participants of police operations and crime reduction strategies at the focus groups; there seemed to be little awareness of local responses to crime.

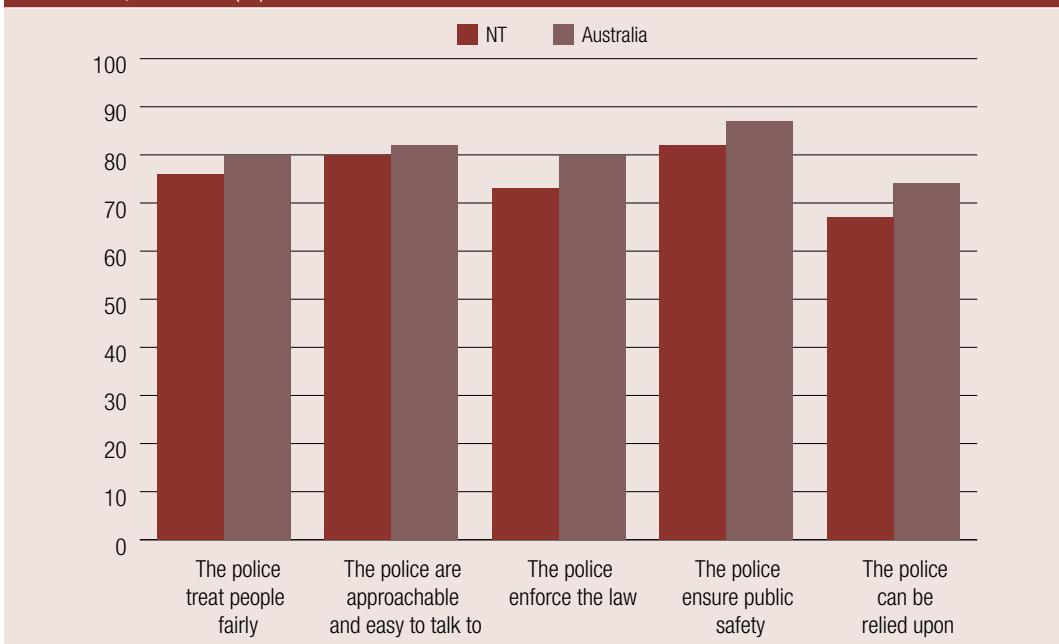
The proportion of Northern Territory respondents to the ABS (2013) *Crime Victimization Survey* to agree or strongly agree with a range of statements about police—including that they treat people fairly, are approachable and easy to talk to, enforce the law, ensure public safety and can be relied upon—was

consistently lower than the national average (see Figure 6). Contact with police has an important influence on people's perceptions of police. Fifty-four percent of Northern Territory respondents to the ABS (2013) *Crime Victimization Survey* reported that contact with police was an important source of information that had influenced their perceptions of police, which was higher than the national average (48%; see Figure 7). Focus group participants noted that 'contact with police' was a particularly important issue to explore with Indigenous Territorians and that future research designs should reflect the very high proportion of Indigenous Territorians in contact with police.

A significant challenge for police, acknowledged during the focus group discussions, is to find an appropriate balance between being highly visible in the community and over-policing, particularly in certain communities:

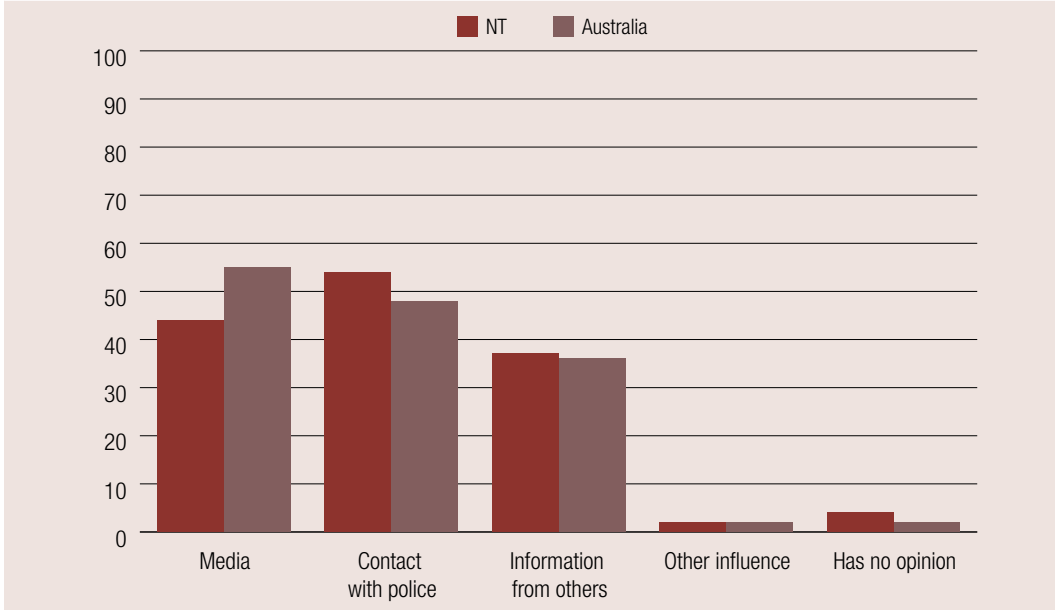
You know, some people want to see more police but we don't want to feel like we're in an over-policed state.

Figure 6 Proportion of persons aged 18 years and over who agreed or strongly agreed with the following statements, 2011–12 (%)



Source: ABS 2013

Figure 7 Sources of information that have influenced perceptions of the police, 2011–12 (%)



Source: ABS 2013

Impact of media on perceptions of crime and safety

The media is also an important factor in influencing perceptions of police, crime and safety. Forty-four percent of Northern Territory respondents to the ABS (2013) *Crime Victimisation Survey* said that the media had influenced their perceptions of police. The media was also identified by a large proportion of Northern Territory respondents as having influenced their perceptions of the courts (62% of respondents) and corrections (65% of respondents).

As well as influencing people's perceptions of the justice system, the media is an important source of information on crime—people who rely on media have been found to have a less accurate perception of crime (Roberts & Indermaur 2009). Media also has an impact on people's feelings of safety and fear of crime (Grabosky 1995; Tulloch et al. 1998). While many people do not believe the media reliably present facts about crime and therefore filter the information presented to them, increased exposure to media is associated with increased fear of crime (Tulloch et al. 1998).

The role of the media in influencing community members' perception of crime and safety was highlighted by a number of focus group participants:

The trouble is, it doesn't matter what stats we quote, people will go by what their friends say, what they see in the newspaper and everything else...

...a media report says that a backpacker has been assaulted or whatever has been chosen to be reported by the media and painted in the worst possible light to then go national...

If it's just the general public...they sort of see it on TV or they read it in the paper. Some of them, [crime has] affected them personally...but yeah, not all.

...maybe the perception of crime is much higher than it is too. I think there is a high level of fear and fear of the other that makes Alice tick. The media reports are really unhelpful.

[Extreme fear of crime] is a media thing...It also breeds. It's just the media beating it up breeds some of that as well.

Look, when you're looking at adults, a lot of their perceptions come from the paper. So, you know, they go, look at what happened. There was an incident in the paper, like a young guy, some sex thing gone wrong and he slashed someone's throat and everyone's perception of that is 'oh my

god, what a horrible, violent person he is'. So, the media...won't put in that this young kid got raped by this bloke years and years before he did that. So, you know, they're not telling that full story.

Media included Facebook as well as TV and newspapers:

...a lot of the public perception of adults comes from the paper. So they think everything is violent, violent, violent...With the younger ones, it's a lot of the Facebook stuff...

...when someone gets broken into, that's the 'worst crime' of the century for them and that's understandable when you look at the Facebook page and all that such and such was broken into and you get a whole stream of comments about how bad crime is in Alice Springs...

...I was interested to see that we've had the lowest figures in the last three months in Alice Springs. When that comment came across, I'm thinking, over the weekend we had no unlawful entries. Those comments on Facebook send out that perception that crime is quite rampant in terms of unlawful entries.

It was not just perceptions of the amount of crime that were impacted by media coverage; discussions also highlighted the impact of media coverage on public perceptions of Indigenous residents, with some pointing out differences in coverage of Indigenous and non-Indigenous crime victims and perpetrators.

I think we have that community perception fuelled by the media in lots of respects and Facebook pages...that the community's not safe because of the Aboriginal mob...

One of the most frustrating things about the media for me is as a youth worker, all the things I hear about are experiences of white families and very little about the experience of [Indigenous] young people. It's because they don't have a space to tell their story...

After the focus groups, one stakeholder brought in two newspapers, each dealing with a recent stabbing death in Darwin CBD. One victim was an Indigenous male and the incident received less than a quarter page of coverage on 2 August. The other stabbing victim was a non-Indigenous male and the incident on 6 October was covered over most of one

page, with half of another page facing it. Patterns of coverage cannot be determined from two cases, but it was determined that a media analysis of crime coverage in Northern Territory would be worthwhile.

Portrayal of crime and police in the NT media

In order to better examine the potential influence of media on perception of crime and safety in Northern Territory, the audit methodology was expanded to include an analysis of how crime and police responses to crime were portrayed in local media.

Three newspapers were analysed. Issues published between 2010 and 2012 from the *NT News*, *Sunday Territorian* and *Centralian Advocate* were selected for analysis. These three newspapers had relatively high local circulation and the dates chosen ensured that comparisons would be possible with police data during the same periods, which was being analysed by AIC staff for this audit. The methodology required a comparison of the patterns of crime reported in the newspapers with the patterns of actual crimes recorded during the same period, to establish if there was bias in reporting that could influence Territorians' perceptions of local crime and safety.

As the media analysis was resource-intensive, only a small sample of newspapers could be fully analysed. Two stakeholders with experience in NT police work were asked to name a period which was neither especially high in crime nor particularly low in crime in a typical year. The month of May was suggested and the analysis was therefore conducted for all issues in the first week of May in 2010, 2011 and 2012. The *Central Territorian* comes out twice a week, the *NT News* six times a week and the *Sunday Territorian* once a week, so 27 newspaper issues in all were analysed.

Most modern media analyses rely on an electronic search of one or more key words. However, the potential number of keywords required in order to examine all instances of crime and safety coverage seemed too large to be feasible. An initial pilot test confirmed that a keyword strategy would not work for this analysis. Instead, a complete digital version of each newspaper was read from cover to cover

and any article, editorial or letter to the editor referring to one or more crimes was recorded in an electronic database. Many crime incidents appear in the paper more than once, as the initial reports of the incident may be followed in succeeding issues by reports of police investigations, then the capture and charging of the alleged perpetrators, and often trial coverage.

The electronic database recorded the following information for each relevant article:

- newspaper name;
- article headline;
- number of rows and columns in the article;
- page number;
- alleged offence;
- type of article (current incident, current response such as ongoing police search and investigation, incident follow up such as trial coverage or parole hearing, general crime/safety response such as police safety campaign, or commentary from editorial staff or from a member of the public);
- date of (alleged) incident (where applicable);
- location of (alleged) incident (where applicable);
- victim's age, gender and Indigeneity; and
- alleged perpetrator's age, gender and Indigeneity.

The number of pages in the paper, and the proportion of columns and rows devoted in each issue to news of all kinds was also noted, in order to identify what proportion of each issue focused on crime and safety issues.

It was anticipated that there would be considerable coverage of safety and crime issues in the newspaper, particularly violent crime. It was necessary to compare patterns of crime reported in the newspapers with the patterns of actual crimes recorded in police data to establish if there was bias in reporting that could influence Territorians' perceptions of local crime and safety.

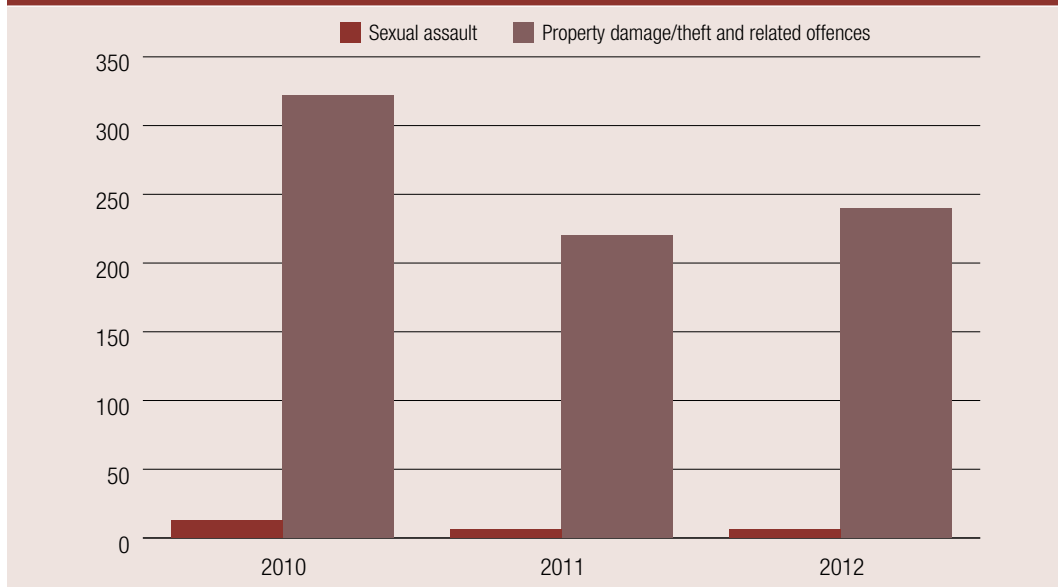
The *Sunday Territorian* and the *NT News* covered stories occurring nationally and internationally, as well as across the Northern Territory; the *Centralian Advocate* had a majority of stories focused on its

own region. Overall, in the 27 issues analysed, the number of articles reporting Northern Territory-based crime was roughly equal to those reporting interstate and internationally based crime. In early May in 2011 in particular, Osama Bin Laden had just been apprehended and much of the coverage had an international focus.

Some media analyses conducted overseas have looked at the impact of victims' and perpetrators' backgrounds on media coverage (eg Gruenewald, Pizarro & Chermak 2009), identifying that Aboriginal victims are under-identified (Gilchrist 2010) and non-white perpetrators over-identified (Barlow et al. 1995) in newspaper reports. In the case of articles in the *NT News*, *Sunday Territorian* and *Centralian Advocate*, victims' and perpetrators' Indigeneity were typically not identified. This is in line with the Australian Journalists' Code of Ethics (Media Entertainment & Arts Alliance 2013), which warns against placing 'unnecessary' emphasis on characteristics such as race. However, there were exceptions. One report in the newspapers analysed referred to a case of alleged police brutality imposed on an 'Aboriginal' youth. Another case which received a considerable amount of coverage in the newspapers analysed noted that the alleged perpetrators were Indigenous and the victims non-Indigenous. Although it was an exception, this case received an enormous amount of coverage and was mentioned as a problem by focus group participants when discussing media impact on community perceptions.

Matching of newspaper coverage of specific cases to crime features mentioned in police data was not possible for ethical reasons. The police data was designed to be used strictly for statistical analysis and it was unethical to allow individuals to be identified. Any matching of specific cases could put individuals' identities at risk and therefore, case by case comparisons were not possible. However, it was possible to compare the coverage of crime types in the newspapers and in the police data.

Figure 8 Sexual assault and property damage/theft offences, Darwin police division, 30 April–6 May (n)

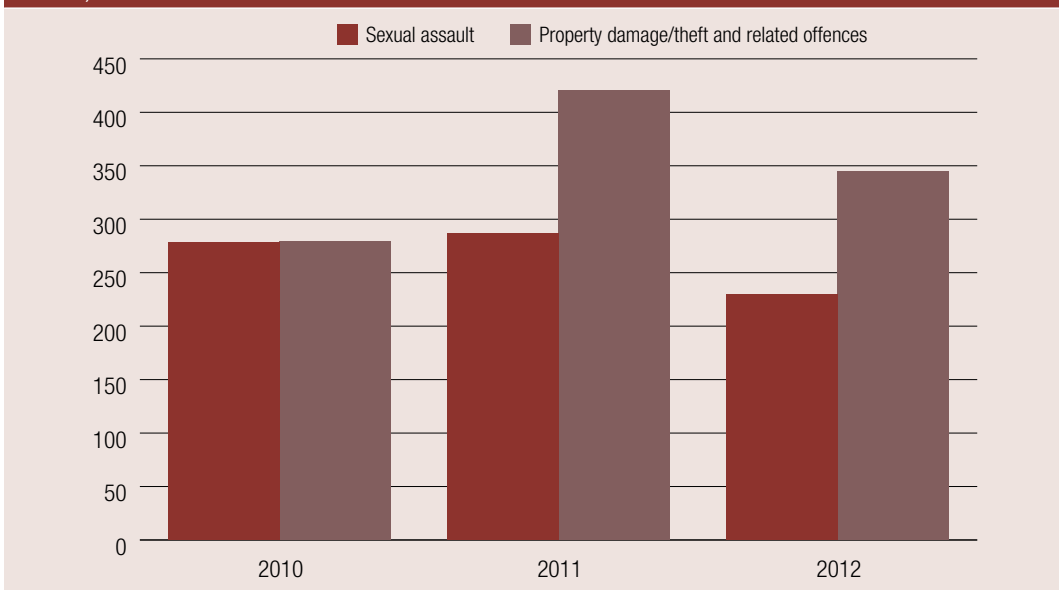


Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

It is well established that some types of crimes receive more media coverage than others. Two categories were chosen for comparison in the NT newspaper issues, sexual assault versus property damage/theft. All instances of sexual assault and of property damage/theft reported in the 27 issues of the first week of May 2010, 2011 and 2012 in the three newspapers analysed were identified and the rows of print used to describe them counted (terms used in the newspapers varied; for example, 'rape' for sexual assault or 'vandalism' for property

damage.) As it was anticipated that crimes reported to police would most likely appear in print media the following day, the number of crimes reported in these categories were compared with crimes recorded in police data for the last day of April and the first six days of May in 2010, 2011 and 2012. Figures 8 and Figure 9 show that sexual assault was over-reported by the media, when compared with property damage/assault.

Figure 9 Media coverage of sexual assault and property damage/theft offences, 30 April–6 May (number of lines)



Source: CDU media analysis 2013 [computer file]

Reader comments in regard to crime and specifically to police responses ranged from expressing gratitude for the work the police force did, to comments on the amount of work police had to undertake, to disdain for the level of crime ‘taking over’ regions.

Overall, however, community consultations revealed that newspapers appeared to be a decreasing influence on community crime and safety perceptions. Particularly for younger Territorians, social media was gaining in influence. The potential for analysing social media crime coverage was explored, but this demanded a very different methodology, particularly as no comparison with current police data would be possible. Social media analysis was therefore not pursued for this audit.

It was not unexpected that sexual assaults would receive greater coverage than property damage/theft and it was a positive finding that the media did not regularly note the Indigeneity of offenders. It appeared from this brief analysis that the biggest impact on community perceptions of crime and safety was likely to derive from the extreme coverage of a particular story, such as the gang rape of a woman in Mumbai recently or the type of coverage given to the rape of two tourists in Alice Springs in the newspapers

analysed here. Research indicates that super-saturated coverage of this type can have a marked effect on community safety perceptions (Chiricos, Eschholz & Getz 1997).

Strategies to improve perceptions of safety

According to Corder (2010), there are a number of principles that should underpin responses to fear of crime:

- Fear of crime negatively affects individuals and communities and has an impact on behaviour.
- The tangible harms associated with violent and serious property crime are likely to have a far greater impact on affected individuals than fear of crime, but fear and worry about crime affects a greater number of people and in different ways.
- Making people feel safe is nearly as important as making people safe from crime.
- Police have a responsibility to implement strategies to reduce fear of crime, but this requires

the support and involvement of a range of stakeholders, including the wider community.

- There is an accumulated evidence base demonstrating that fear reduction strategies can be effective in making people feel safer and address underlying causes of fear of crime.
- Reducing the fear of crime should be an explicit priority for police to ensure that it remains a major focus of policing efforts.
- Strategies to reduce fear of crime should be appropriately targeted, much like strategies to reduce crime and other forms of public disorder.

Importantly, strategies and programs designed to prevent crime will not necessarily lead to a reduction in fear of crime—and fear reduction strategies do not necessarily reduce crime (Tulloch et al. 1998). Strategies specifically designed to reduce fear of crime are therefore required and should be delivered alongside crime prevention strategies. Tulloch et al. (1998: 236–238) described nine steps in developing effective fear reduction strategies:

1. Consult with the target community (particularly marginalised groups).
2. Form a working party comprising key stakeholders.
3. Establish a strategy to deal with the immediate, visible source of the fear.
4. Carry out research to identify social or environmental factors that contribute to fear in the community.
5. Establish the objectives of the program.
6. Select the most appropriate components for the program.

7. Implement the program for a six month trial period.

8. After the trial, evaluate the program.

9. Continue the program or return to step six.

Cordner (2010) identified a range of strategies for targeting the fear of crime, reducing the fear of crime and maintaining low levels of fear or crime (see Table 2).

Fear reduction strategies, like crime prevention more broadly, need to be appropriately targeted. It is important to know whether people's fear of crime relates to:

- personal or altruistic feelings (are people fearful for themselves or others?);
- a specific type of perpetrator (is it a particular individual or group that are feared, is it strangers or known individuals that are feared?);
- certain crime types (eg property crime, fraud, harassment, physical violence or sexual violence);
- particular demographics or communities (ie are certain groups in the community—based on their age, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic background—more fearful than others); and/or
- certain locations (are people fearful of criminal events happening in certain areas/places or at a certain time?).

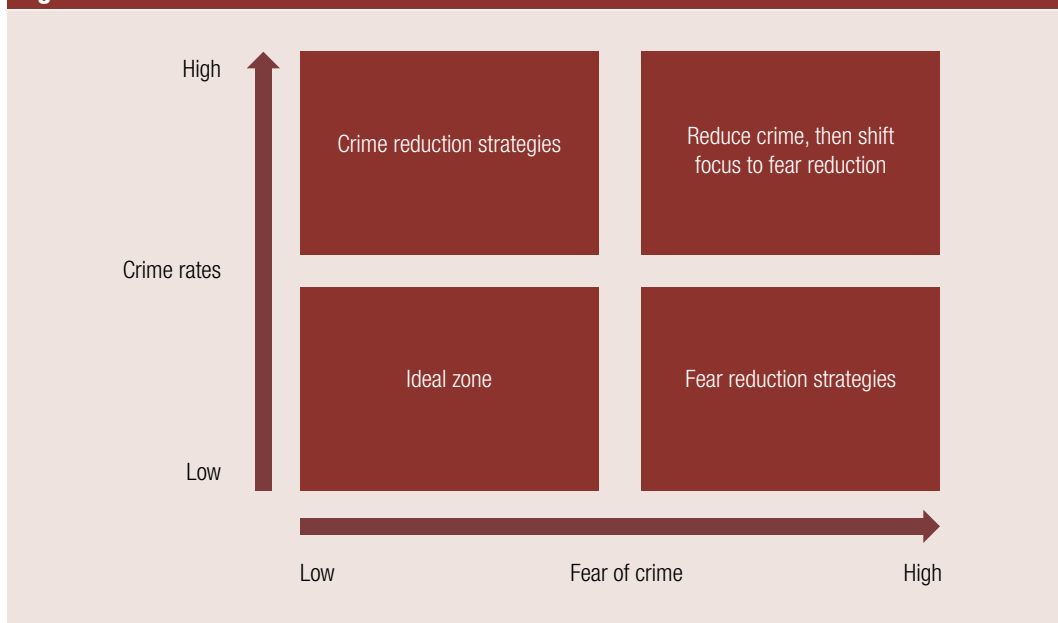
Identifying people's fears requires systematic problem analysis at the local level, using the techniques described in Table 2.

Table 2 Reducing fear of crime—Strategies for police

Targeting fear of crime	Reducing fear of crime	Sustaining low levels of fear of crime
Survey the community to measure people's perception of safety, crime risks and crime rates	Personalised (beats) policing	Include fear reduction in police mission, statement of aim or goals
Lead open discussions with the community to identify what they consider as the most serious crime and disorder problems in their neighbourhood	Community engagement (eg police-supported Neighbourhood Watch program, police volunteering in youth programs, mentoring, conducting neighbourhood clean-ups, establishing citizen patrols etc)	Continue to measure and track fear of crime
Consult with key individuals with knowledge about community issues	Environmental design strategies	Include fear of crime in crime and problem analysis
Conduct environmental audits (with follow up)	Implementing problem-oriented policing strategies	Introduce command accountability for fear reduction
Routinely enquire about crime concerns from the public during normal operational procedures	Provide direct feedback to the community on how police have addressed causes of fear of crime	Introduce beat-level accountability for fear reduction
Use the fear of crime matrix (with actual and perceived risk of crime) to identify priority areas (eg low crime levels but high fear of crime)	Develop a communication strategy aiming to disseminate crime statistics and crime risk to the public. Work with the media to help shape messages	

Source: Adapted from Cordner 2010

Figure 10 Fear of crime matrix



Source: Adapted from Cordner 2010

Further, Cordner (2010) recommends police use the fear of crime matrix to effectively target fear reduction strategies (see Figure 10). The matrix assesses whether fear of crime is high or low and whether the actual amount of crime is high or low. Fear reduction strategies are most applicable to those situations in which the fear of crime is high but crime itself is low. Where crime is also high, Cordner (2010) recommends police prioritise crime reduction strategies to reduce the tangible harms associated with crime. Fear reduction strategies may follow if crime reduction is successful but fear remains high.

Evidence-informed strategies

Reducing fear of crime requires the application of evidence-informed strategies. The evidence in support of the effectiveness of fear reduction strategies is not as strong as it is for strategies targeting actual crime and offending. This, in part, reflects the fact that improving perceptions of crime and safety is often a secondary objective to the reduction of crime.

Nevertheless, there is evidence in support of a number of strategies, including those delivered by police (see Table 3). There is considerable evidence in support of strategies that increase police presence and police–public contact through methods such as targeted patrols, proactive policing and community policing. ‘...[T]he research available suggests that when the police partner more generally with the public, level of citizen fear will decline’ (Weisburd & Eck 2004: 59). Conversely, there is limited evidence in support of increased police numbers, general patrols or rapid response, impersonal community policing (eg newsletters) and general (random and unfocused) police patrols (Weisburd & Eck 2004).

Proactive enforcement and community policing (eg beats policing, community meetings and partnerships) strategies have been found to be the most effective (Cordner 2010; Zhao, Scheider & Thurman 2002). These strategies appear to be more effective when delivered in combination with other interventions (Pate et al. 1986; Skogan & Hartnett 1997; Tuffin, Morris & Poole 2006). There is also considerable evidence from a number of studies that problem-oriented policing is effective at both reducing crime and fear of crime (eg see Mazerolle, Soole & Rombouts 2007a).

There are several notable examples of effective programs that have been delivered in the United States and the United Kingdom. The Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) is one of the most widely cited examples of community policing. CAPS involved police, other government agencies and the community working together to identify and solve crime and disorder problems (Skogan & Hartnett 1995). In addition to beat policing and visible patrols, a range of strategies were implemented by police and the community, including community patrols in high traffic areas, community participation in beat meetings and community marches and events. The evaluation found there had been significant declines in fear of crime and perceived crime and disorder in a number of intervention sites, relative to comparison areas (Skogan & Hartnett 1997; Skogan 2006).

The National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) was delivered in 16 sites across the United Kingdom and was based on the CAPS model (Tuffin, Morris & Poole 2006). The NRPP involved targeted policing activity and problem solving to address priority crime problems, community involvement in the process of identifying priorities and implementing solutions and the presence of visible, accessible and locally known authority figures in neighbourhoods, in particular police officers and police community support officers. In addition to having a positive impact on crime in the pilot sites, the evaluation of the NRPP found significant increases in feelings of safety and improved perceptions of crime and disorder, relative to the comparison areas.

While the evidence in support of proactive policing and community policing is largely positive, there have been a number of strategies that have not demonstrated a positive impact on fear and perceptions of crime. Strategies that were not effective in reducing fear often encountered implementation problems, such as staff turnover, unsupportive officers, poor engagement with minorities and failure to make contact with the community (Kelling et al. 1974; Pate et al. 1986).

The evidence from Australia is not as strong. Research into the impact of beat policing and police shopfronts in a number of locations in Queensland found little evidence of an impact on perceptions of crime and safety (CJc 1995; Mazerolle et al. 2003).

Beat policing involved allocating one or more officers to a residential area for an extended period to develop local knowledge and focus on prevention activities. Police shopfronts were established in shopping centres and staffed with a full-time officer. The evaluations showed there was a high level of awareness of the program but that many residents would not be able to recognise the officer and that visibility was low. There was no impact on perceptions of crime or safety, although the evaluation design was weak (CJC 1995; Mazerolle et al. 2003). Beyond this, there have been relatively few robust studies on the impact of policing strategies on fear of crime.

The evidence in support of situational and broader environmental design strategies is mixed. There is evidence that small-scale environmental design strategies, such as home security improvements, installation or improvement of street lighting and small-scale environmental improvements are effective in reducing fear of crime (Lorenc et al. 2013). The evidence in support of street lighting is particularly strong, with research showing it can increase pedestrian activity, improve perceptions of crime and disorder, reduce the perceived risk of victimisation and reduce the fear of crime (Atkins, Husain & Storey 1991; Davidson & Goodey 1991; Painter 1996; Painter & Farrington 1997).

Table 3 Summary of evidence in support of interventions targeting perceptions of crime and safety

Effective strategies	Increasing police presence and police–public contact (including targeted patrols, proactive policing and community policing)
	Problem-oriented policing
	Home security improvements
	Installation or improvement of street lighting
	Small-scale environmental improvements
Strategies with mixed or uncertain results	Multi-component interventions for crime prevention (eg lighting + security + CCTV + environmental improvements)
	Housing improvements or relocation
	Area-based regeneration
	Increased police numbers, general patrols or rapid response
Ineffective strategies	Impersonal community policing (eg newsletters)
	General (random) police patrols
	Installation of CCTV systems

Larger scale environmental design strategies, such as multi-component interventions for crime prevention (eg lighting, security, CCTV and environmental improvements, delivered in combination), housing improvements and/or relocation of residents and area-based regeneration (eg the New Deal for Communities program in the United Kingdom) have produced some promising results, but overall the findings are mixed (Lorenc et al. 2013).

Finally, there is now a large body of evidence, albeit mostly from overseas, that the installation of CCTV is ineffective at reducing fear of crime and is only effective at reducing actual levels of crime in certain circumstances (Lorenc et al. 2013; Welsh & Farrington 2007b).

Strategic communication

Fear reduction strategies should be supported by a well-designed communication strategy. This communication strategy should describe a clear and consistent approach to communicating with the general public and other key stakeholders. Cordner (2010) recommends there be a strategy for providing targeted feedback (direct to the community, subsequent environmental audit or newsletter) when conditions that led to fear have been addressed and providing accurate or reassuring information immediately following serious and well-publicised incidents. This is important for breaking the 'fear of crime feedback loop' (Lee 2007: 124) that can follow highly publicised incidents, particularly in smaller communities. It requires adhering to effective risk communication principles:

- use simple, non-technical concepts and language;
- present risks within a context that is relevant to audience;
- explain risks on a personal level where appropriate;
- present alternative measures of risk (including strengths and limitations);
- identify and explain uncertainties associated with risks and risk measures; and
- provide opportunities for people to learn how to interpret risk measures (Lee 2007: 59).

The rapidly increasing use of social media by police and the wider community presents particular opportunities and risks for police in terms of reducing fear of crime. Recent research involving law enforcement agencies across Europe highlighted a variety of ways in which police agencies may benefit from the use of social media. This included:

- using social media as a communication tool with the public by having a strong presence on social media sites;
- communicating directly with certain groups within the community, disseminating information to a range of (often large) audiences without having to rely on traditional forms of media;
- interacting with the community and answering questions from individuals, while also sharing this knowledge in a public forum so that it becomes accessible to others;
- supporting community policing efforts by helping police to develop a personal connection with communities and other organisations, which can help with collaborative efforts to address safety issues; and
- engaging with the community in an informal and personal way that demonstrates the human side of policing (Denef et al. 2012).

While the use of social media provides a number of important benefits, the interactive and real-time nature of social media also poses certain risks and issues for police agencies, such as the potential for the information shared online to influence public perceptions of safety or police. This issue emerged strongly in focus groups. It is therefore important that police consider how social media best supports efforts to improve perceptions of safety and that this is reflected in the communication strategy.

As for dealing with the influence of media coverage on public perceptions of crime, there is a substantial literature on how media coverage can distort public perceptions, but much less literature on effective strategies to deal with the issue. A number of strategies have been proposed, including working directly with media representatives on the issue to achieve more balanced coverage and better public education on interpreting media coverage (eg Carli 2008).



Patterns of violence and public disorder in the Northern Territory

Understanding crime patterns, crime profiles and the impact of previous crime prevention strategies is an important first step in effective problem solving (Clarke & Eck 2005). Comprehensive analysis of crime and disorder problems can be combined with information on contextual factors to help to inform an understanding of a problem (or problems) and its causes, possible solutions and factors that may facilitate or inhibit the implementation of the chosen solution and its overall effectiveness (Hirschfeld 2005).

The audit explored patterns of violence and disorder in two ways. Focus group participants, who had experiences of dealing with crime through their work, as well as sometimes personal experiences of crime, provided valuable insights into their own understanding of crime patterns across parts of the Northern Territory. However, most of the resources in this section were devoted to an analysis of NT Police data for the Darwin, Casuarina, Palmerston, Katherine and Alice Springs police division. While it should not be relied upon as the only source of data in a safety audit, police data on crime and disorder is a valuable source of information on the characteristics of offences, offenders and victims (Husain 2007).

Perceived patterns of violence and public disorder among focus group participants

Focus group participants frequently noted that the incidence of crime varied by location, time and other factors such as Indigeneity. A high proportion of focus group participants raised the impact of location on crime. Alice Springs received the most negative comments:

...It's a little bit different for Darwin. It's not that much in your face. Like, it's in your face but it's not as bad...I grew up in Alice Springs and it is a violent place. It is extremely unsafe. I would never let my children walk around anywhere there. You have to lock your house. I mean, just about most people that I have spoken to have had their house broken into. A lot of people have been assaulted. It is not a safe place...

I also wanted to make the comment that as a Darwin person visiting Alice Springs, there's an absolute fear in Alice Springs. I've been visiting over a period of years and I feel safe in Alice Springs but Alice Springs people say no we'll pick you up, we'll drive you here, you can't walk down the street. It's just rubbish.

Interestingly, there was a tendency for focus group participants in Darwin and Palmerston to refer to specific suburbs within their cities when discussing crime, while Alice and Katherine participants tended to comment on their towns as a whole.

I live in Mitchell Street. It's great actually (commenting on other participants' comments on how dangerous they found Mitchell Street).

I live in Tiwi so just across the road from Lyons and the way we kept our windows intact in our car was just to keep the car unlocked every night and once a week, someone would come in, go through the car, check the glove box, come out but they keep the windows from smashing.

We had 12 unwanted entries into the home within 12 months...people walking past all the time on our road. I'm on Rothdale and it's just endless. I've watched people being broken into... but I still say that Darwin is the best place to raise your family. We have no intentions of leaving...

I've been here six months now and I've actually been surprised that it isn't as in my face as I expected it to be...I've actually found Alice Springs to be a relatively easy place to live.

I don't mind Katherine; I think Katherine is a nice little place. There are great areas around here, great shops, great people, friendly atmosphere. However, I wouldn't want my wife and kids to go out after 7 o'clock. It's just not safe. I will not allow her to go down to the village after about 6 o'clock at night.

As in the quote above, the impact of time on crime was often noted. Sometimes this was concern about being out at night:

Kings Cross I would walk around the main street 24 hours a day but not down the back alleyways. I've always been pretty aware of my own safety. You could not pay me to walk from the [Alice Springs] CBD here to my home a kilometre away once the sun goes down. It's just not safe.

In other cases, participants identified how they felt crime incidence had changed over a period of years:

I was just thinking that we used to be able to walk around any time of the day and night and not worry about violence I suppose and then as

soon as I come back, my mum and family you know, say 'don't go here', 'don't go there' so it's really restrictive and you seem to worry about your kids more, like 'I don't want you to go there because...heard bad things about that area or whatever', so I suppose that's changed.

Let me see, probably in the last eight years, the place has gone to the pack. It's just, alcohol is everywhere, violence is in your face. You know, it's nothing to walk out of the supermarket and see a fight and that's how disgusting it is...

I'm born and bred here and I don't think violence had been as bad as it has been, especially night time violence in Mitchell Street...in the last three or four years. That's the only time I think I feel unsafe, if I do go out and I go to my car or you're at a pub or out for dinner is the whole violence thing.

I've been here [Katherine] since 1998, so I was 18 and going out and getting drunk and doing those young silly things then walking home, not a problem. I wouldn't do it now, I wouldn't tell anybody to do it now. It has definitely changed. Back then, everybody used to know everybody.

Indigeneity was also identified as a factor:

Outside of Alice Springs, everyone thinks it's a very unsafe place. If you have some knowledge, things like knowing the police statistics—if you are not an Aboriginal woman, you are far safer than if you are an Aboriginal woman.

While such anecdotes were suggestive of the level of fear of crime, they cannot substitute for quantitative analysis.

Analysis of NT Police data

To better understand patterns of recorded crime and public disorder incidents, NT Police provided the AIC with an extract of data for all recorded offences and all recorded incidents between 2010 and 2012 in the Darwin, Casuarina, Palmerston, Katherine and Alice Springs police divisions. For recorded offences, the extract contained information on the offence category, when the offence occurred, the location of the offence (include street, suburb, location type and common place name), whether the offence was

domestic violence, alcohol or drug related, whether the offence involve a weapon and the action taken by police. The extract also included de-identified information about the offenders and victims involved in each offence, including their sex, age and Indigenous status. Similarly, the extract of incident data included information on the incident category, location of the incident, when the incident occurred and the action taken by police.

Following discussion with the Steering Committee, the decision was made to focus the data on two key indicators of crime and public disorder. Specifically, recorded assault offences and recorded public disorder incidents (including incidents that did not necessarily result in an offence being recorded). These reflected the current priorities for NT Police and the major areas of concern for the NT Government.

These data were then analysed in a series of stages to address the following questions:

- Which NT suburbs are associated with the highest number of offences and how does this vary by incident type (assault offences and public disorder incidents)?
- Which location types within these suburbs are associated with the highest number of offences and how does this vary by incident type (assault offences and public disorder incidents)?
- Is it possible to identify specific places within these suburbs (by either street or common place

names), that are associated with high numbers of assault offences and public disorder incidents?

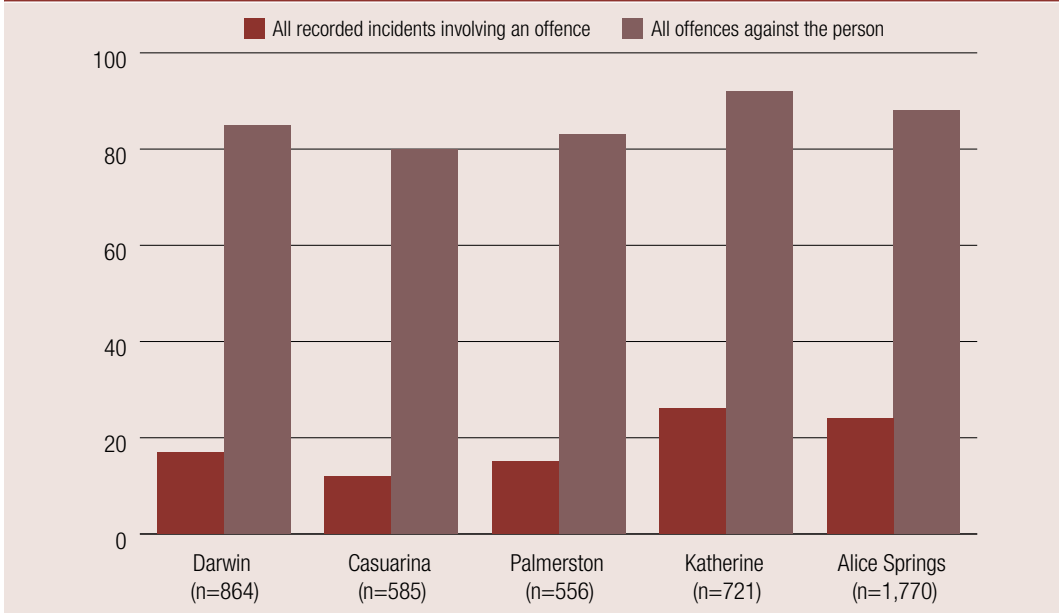
- What are the characteristics of assault offences and public disorder incidents in these hotspots, including characteristics of the incident, offender(s) and victim(s)?
- How has the location of hotspots changed over time?

The analysis of offence, victim and offender data followed the counting rules used by the NT DAGJ in the *NT Annual Crime Statistics 2011–12* report (NT DAGJ 2012).

Overall trends in assault offences

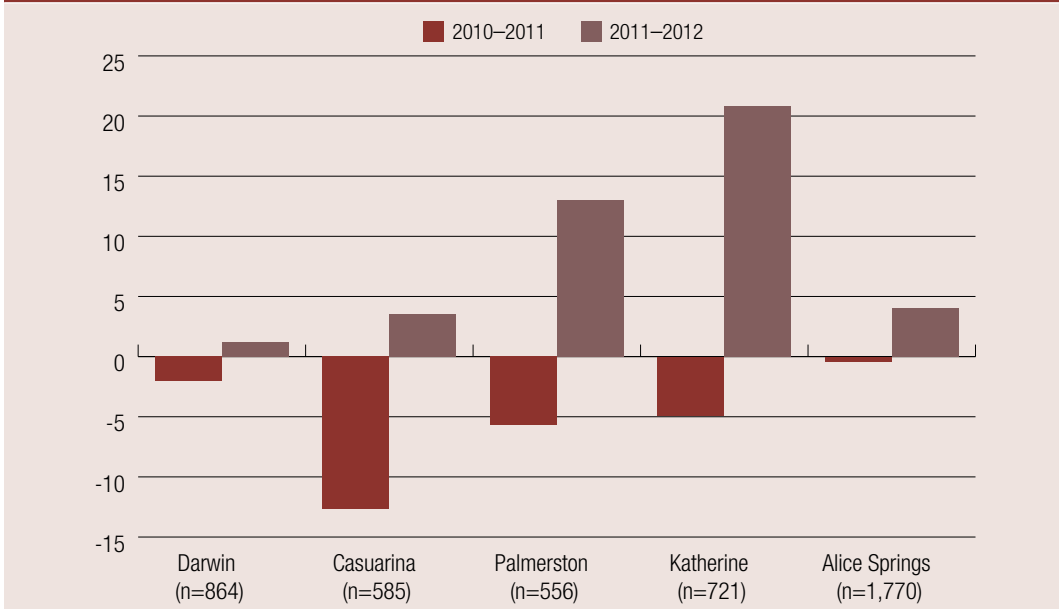
In 2012, the proportion of all recorded incidents (involving at least one offence) that involved an assault offence ranged from 12 percent in Casuarina to 26 percent in Katherine (see Figure 11). The proportion of recorded incidents involving an assault offence was highest in the semi-urban police divisions of Alice Springs (24%) and Katherine. Assault offences accounted for a significant proportion of the total offences against the person across all five police divisions, ranging from 80 percent in Casuarina to 92 percent in Katherine.

Figure 11 Proportion of all incidents (involving an offence) and all offences against the person involving an assault offence, 2012 (%)



Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Figure 12 Annual percentage change in the number of assault offences, by police division (%)



Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Population estimates for the police divisions were not available due to differences in geographical boundaries with Australian Bureau of Statistics' data. Therefore, changes in the total number of assault offences provide an indication of overall trends in assault, not taking into consideration potential changes in the population. Nevertheless, the analysis of NT Police data showed that the total number of assault offences decreased between 2010 and 2011, before increasing in 2012 (see Figure 12). This trend was consistent across all five police divisions. The most significant increases were recorded in the Palmerston and Katherine police divisions, with increases of 13 percent (from 492 to 556 offences) and 21 percent (from 597 to 721 offences) respectively between 2011 and 2012.

Overall trends in public disorder incidents have not been reported in this section. Public disorder incidents include those incidents proactively detected and/or attended by police while performing operational duties and those incidents that are reported to police (and to which police respond). The total volume of recorded incidents is therefore susceptible to significant fluctuations from year to year, largely due to changes in proactive policing activity. Rather than reflecting a real trend in actual

public disorder incidents, changes over time may be more likely to reflect changes in recording practices or changes in police operations.

Concentration of assault and public disorder in crime hotspots

Police divisions cover a relatively large geographic area and encompass a range of different types of communities, including urban, semi-urban and non-urban communities. Crime and disorder are rarely evenly distributed, with offences more commonly concentrated in particular neighbourhoods or places (Husain 2007).

Understanding where offences are concentrated and whether this has changed over time is important in effectively targeting crime prevention strategies. Safety audits need to identify high-crime areas, diagnose what social and environmental factors are contributing to the high rate of crime (as well as fear of crime) and assess what crime prevention activity is already being delivered in these areas (Husain 2007).

Table 4 Assault offences by suburb, 2012 (Darwin, Casuarina and Palmerston police divisions only)

Darwin police division			Casuarina police division			Palmerston police division		
Suburb	n	%	Suburb	n	%	Suburb	n	%
Darwin City	359	42	Tiwi	95	16	Moulden	111	20
Ludmilla	75	9	Casuarina	74	13	Palmerston City	107	19
Fannie Bay	69	8	Malak	66	11	Gray	76	14
Coconut Grove	67	8	Karama	54	9	Knuckey Lagoon	45	8
Parap	57	7	Nightcliff	45	8	Driver	39	7
Berrimah	51	6	Rapid Creek	41	7	Woodroffe	35	6
Stuart Park	47	5	Leanyer	28	5	Bakewell	23	4
The Narrows	40	5	Airport	23	4	Howard Springs	19	3
The Gardens	39	5	Jingili	20	3	Holtze	17	3
Larrakeyah	21	2	Millner	20	3	Rosebery	16	3
Winnellie	20	2	Moil	19	3	Farrar	14	3
Other	19	2	Other	100	17	Other	54	10
Total	864		Total	585		Total	556	

Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

The number of assault offences in the Darwin, Casuarina and Palmerston police divisions, disaggregated by suburb, is presented in Table 4. Accurate information on suburb was not available for the Katherine and Alice Springs police divisions (with Katherine and Alice Springs regularly listed as the suburb, despite other details such as street names and common place names indicating otherwise). The results presented in Table 4 show that the top five suburbs for assault offences accounted for 74

percent of all assault offences in Darwin, 68 percent of all assault offences in Palmerston and 57 percent of all offences in Casuarina. Further, Darwin City alone (which includes the CBD and major entertainment precinct) accounted for 42 percent of all recorded offences in the Darwin police division. This pattern is consistent with other CBDs and entertainment precincts in other Australian cities.

Table 5 Assault offences, by street (deidentified) and police division, 2012 (Darwin, Casuarina and Palmerston police divisions only)

	Darwin police division		Casuarina police division		Palmerston police division			
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Street A, Darwin City	185	21	Street A, Tiwi	78	13	Street A, Moulden	33	6
Street B, Darwin City	59	7	Street A, Casuarina	38	6	Street A, Palmerston City	32	6
Street A, Ludmilla	57	7	Street B, Casuarina	26	4	Street A, Knuckey Lagoon	23	4
Street A, Fannie Bay	33	4	Street A, Nightcliff	25	4	Street B, Moulden	19	3
Street A, The Narrows	33	4	Street A, Rapid Creek	14	2	Street B, Palmerston City	14	3
Street A, Berrimah	33	4	Street A, Airport	12	2	Street A, Gray	13	2
Street A, Parap	22	3	Street A, Karama	12	2	Street B, Gray	13	2
Street A, Coconut Grove	20	2	Street A, Malak	12	2	Street C, Palmerston City	13	2
Street A, The Gardens	16	2	Street A, Jingili	10	2	Street D, Palmerston City	13	2
Street C, Darwin City	15	2	Street B, Malak	8	1	Street E, Palmerston City	12	2
Street B, Coconut Grove	15	2	Street C, Casuarina	7	1	Street B, Knuckey Lagoon	12	2
Street C, Coconut Grove	14	2	Street A, Leanyer	7	1	Street C, Gray	12	2
Other	362	42	Other	336	57	Other	347	62
Total	864		Total	585		Total	556	

Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Assault offences were then further disaggregated by both the street and suburb in which they were recorded as having occurred (see Table 5). One in five (22%) assault offences occurred in the top five streets in Palmerston, one in three (29%) assault offences occurred in the top five streets in Casuarina and nearly half (43%) of all assault offences occurred in the top five streets in Darwin. Twenty-one percent (n=185) of all assault offences in the Darwin police division were recorded as having occurred in Mitchell Street.

Similar patterns were observed in both the Katherine and Alice Springs police divisions (see Table 6). In Katherine, the top five streets accounted for 49 percent of all assault offences and in Alice Springs, the top five streets accounted for 27 percent of assault offences. Some caution is needed in interpreting these results, given the absence of suburb data and the fact that some of these streets are several kilometres long.

Table 6 Assault offences, by street (deidentified) and police division, 2012 (Katherine and Alice Springs police divisions only)

Katherine police division			Alice Springs police division		
	n	%		n	%
Street A	157	22	Street A	166	9
Street B	70	10	Street B	116	7
Street C	45	6	Street C	79	4
Street D	42	6	Street D	62	4
Street E	34	5	Street E	52	3
Street F	30	4	Street F	51	3
Street G	24	3	Street G	49	3
Street H	21	3	Street H	47	3
Street I	18	2	Street I	43	2
Street J	17	2	Street J	34	2
Street K	16	2	Street K	32	2
Street L	16	2	Street L	25	1
Other	231	32	Other	1,014	57
Total	721		Total	1,770	

Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Table 7 Assault offences, by common place name (deidentified) and police division, 2012 (Darwin, Casuarina and Palmerston police divisions only)

Darwin police division		Casuarina police division		Palmerston police division				
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Place A	48	6	Place A	76	13	Place A	23	4
Place B	33	4	Place B	21	4	Place B	20	4
Place C	33	4	Place C	16	3	Place C	13	2
Place D	29	3	Place D	12	2	Place D	12	2
Place E	25	3	Place E	9	2	Place E	12	2
Place F	18	2	Place F	9	2	Place F	10	2
Place G	16	2	Place G	9	2	Place G	9	2
Place H	16	2	Place H	8	1	Place H	8	1
Place I	15	2	Place I	7	1	Place I	7	1
Place J	14	2	Place J	7	1	Place J	6	1
Other	341	39	Other	124	21	Other	111	20
No place name	276	32	No place name	287	49	No place name	325	58
Total	864		Total	585		Total	556	

Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Further disaggregation of the data revealed that assault offences are also concentrated at particular places—including within Aboriginal communities and town camps, public housing estates, licensed premises, police stations and correctional institutions, hospitals, bus stations and shopping centres (see Tables 7 and 8). Importantly, some of these locations (such as Aboriginal town camps) encompass a much larger area and are more recognisable as specific places (eg other residential areas will not be as easily assigned a common place name)—which may in part explain why they appear to have such a high number of offences. Similarly, offences that are recorded at a particular premise (eg commercial premise, licensed premise or hospital) may have actually occurred inside or outside (but within the vicinity of) that premise.

Nevertheless, the results in Table 7 and Table 8 highlight the potential crime prevention benefits that might come from targeting these micro-locations. The top five locations accounted for 20 percent of all assault offences in Darwin police division, 49 percent of all assault offences in Katherine police division, 24 percent of all assault offences in Casuarina police division, 27 percent of all assault offences in the Alice Springs police division and 14 percent of all assault offences in the Palmerston police division. It is notable that two of the three places that recorded the highest number of assault offences across all five police divisions in 2012 were hospitals. The proportion of assault offences that had no common place name recorded ranged from 31 percent in Alice Springs to 58 percent in Palmerston police division.

Table 8 Assault offences, by common place name (deidentified) and police division, 2012 (Katherine and Alice Springs police divisions only)

Katherine police division			Alice Springs police division		
	n	%		n	%
Place A	45	6	Place A	119	7
Place B	36	5	Place B	88	5
Place C	36	5	Place C	65	4
Place D	34	5	Place D	50	3
Place E	19	3	Place E	49	3
Place F	17	2	Place F	47	3
Place G	15	2	Place G	46	3
Place H	15	2	Place H	37	2
Place I	13	2	Place I	33	2
Place J	11	2	Place J	30	2
Other	191	26	Other	660	37
No place name	289	40	No place name	546	31
Total	721		Total	1,770	

Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Certain locations also account for a large number of public disorder incidents, although these incidents appear more evenly distributed than assault offences and there are a greater number of locations with a high number of recorded incidents (see Tables 9 and 10). Importantly, there are a number of locations that experience both a high number of assault offences and public disorder incidents and feature highly in

both lists, indicative of a high level of crime and disorder more broadly. There are also some locations, such as some public housing estates in the Darwin police division, which recorded a high number of public disorder incidents in 2012 but did not account for a large proportion of assault offences.

Table 9 Public disorder incidents, by common place name (deidentified) and police division, 2012 (Darwin, Casuarina and Palmerston police divisions only)

	Darwin		Casuarina		Palmerston			
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Place A	640	4	Place A	244	3	Place A	235	3
Place B	630	4	Place B	237	3	Place B	235	3
Place C	501	3	Place C	169	2	Place C	232	3
Place D	228	2	Place D	161	2	Place D	201	3
Place E	223	2	Place E	148	2	Place E	142	2
Place F	222	2	Place F	141	2	Place F	130	2
Place G	189	1	Place G	140	2	Place G	127	2
Place H	176	1	Place H	132	1	Place H	86	1
Place I	169	1	Place I	114	1	Place I	79	1
Place J	162	1	Place J	114	1	Place J	72	1
Place K	161	1	Place K	108	1	Place K	69	1
Place L	156	1	Place L	83	1	Place L	69	1
Place M	154	1	Place M	75	1	Place M	68	1
Place N	144	1	Place N	67	1	Place N	65	1
Place O	125	1	Place O	64	1	Place O	61	1
Place P	114	1	Place P	60	1	Place P	59	1
Place Q	113	1	Place Q	48	1	Place Q	58	1
Place R	113	1	Place R	45	1	Place R	46	1
Place S	109	1	Place S	44	<1	Place S	45	1
Place T	104	1	Place T	43	<1	Place T	43	1
Other	4,873	34	Other	1,724	19	Other	997	14
No place name	5,216	36	No place name	5,114	56	No place name	4,071	57
Total	14,522		Total	9,075		Total	7,190	

Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Table 10 Public disorder incidents, by common place name (deidentified) and police division, 2012
(Katherine and Alice Springs police divisions only)

Katherine			Alice Springs		
	n	%		n	%
Place A	512	6	Place A	523	4
Place B	352	4	Place B	487	3
Place C	323	4	Place C	368	2
Place D	287	3	Place D	356	2
Place E	275	3	Place E	337	2
Place F	264	3	Place F	302	2
Place G	260	3	Place G	273	2
Place H	256	3	Place H	236	2
Place I	211	2	Place I	233	2
Place J	165	2	Place J	195	1
Place K	135	2	Place K	187	1
Place L	126	1	Place L	184	1
Place M	121	1	Place M	182	1
Place N	98	1	Place N	176	1
Place O	83	1	Place O	173	1
Place P	80	1	Place P	171	1
Place Q	76	1	Place Q	169	1
Place R	75	1	Place R	167	1
Place S	71	1	Place S	160	1
Place T	60	1	Place T	148	1
Other	1,347	15	Other	4,341	29
No place name	3,637	41	No place name	5,580	37
Total	8,814		Total	14,948	

Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

The size and concentration of hotspots have important implications for prevention. Diagnosing whether crime and disorder is concentrated at certain places, streets or neighbourhoods or among victims will help with understanding the likely causes of the problem and will also help guide the selection of possible responses (see Table 11).

Table 11 Responding to crime hotspots

Concentration	Map pattern	Theories	Likely causes	Examples	Example of responses
Place—at specific addresses, corners, or other places	Point concentration A few places with many crimes and many places with few or no crimes. Repeat crime places are often more concentrated	Routine activity theory Place management	Management of behaviour at places	Bar fights, convenience store robberies, ATM patron robberies, drug dealing locations	CCTV in parking garages, changing the way alcohol is served in bars
Among victims	Only visible on maps if victims are concentrated at places, on streets, or in areas. Often confused with repeat crime places (above)	Routine activity theory Lifestyles	Victim routines and lifestyle choices	Domestic violence	Helping victims prevent further crimes through target hardening
Street—along a street or block face	Linear concentration along major thoroughfares A few blocks with much crime and many blocks with little crime	Offender search theory	Offender movement patterns and target concentrations	Street drug dealing, robberies of pedestrians	Creating cul-de-sacs, changing traffic patterns, altering parking regulations
Area—neighbourhood areas	Concentration covering multi-block areas	Disorganisation theory and related ecologic theories of crime Opportunity theories	Low collective efficacy, social fragmentation, concentrations of youth, economic disinvestment, concentration of crime targets	Residential burglary, gang violence	Community partnerships, neighbourhood redevelopment

Source: Adapted from Clarke & Eck 2005; Eck 2005

Emerging hotspots

It is also important to distinguish between acute and chronic hotspots (Clarke & Eck 2005). Chronic hotspots persist over time, whereas acute hotspots may show a spike in crime and either decline (often naturally) or go on to become chronic hotspots. As the previous section highlighted, there is strong evidence to suggest that efforts to reduce assault offences are best targeted at a relatively small number of locations that account for a disproportionate number of offences. However, the analysis of PROMIS data also revealed that there are a number of locations that, while not necessarily accounting for the highest proportion of assault offences, represent emerging hotspots or areas of concern.

Suburbs and places were classified as emerging hotspots if they had experienced at least a 20 percent increase in recorded assault offences between 2010 and 2012 (and increased in each subsequent year) or where there was a substantial increase between 2011 and 2012 (eg doubling of assault numbers). Seven suburbs in the Darwin, Palmerston and Casuarina police divisions (suburb level data was not available for Alice Springs and Katherine) were identified as emerging hotspots (see Table 12).

Table 12 Assault offences, by suburb and year (emerging hotspots) (n)

	2010	2011	2012
Fannie Bay (Darwin)	49	50	69
Stuart Park (Darwin)	19	35	47
Gray (Palmerston)	60	69	76
Holtze (Palmerston)	7	8	17
Rosebery (Palmerston)	7	12	16
Airport (Casuarina)	8	15	23
Rapid Creek (Casuarina)	26	36	41

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

A total of 14 places across all five police divisions were also identified as emerging hotspots for assault offences (see Table 13). This included a number of Aboriginal communities and camps, a hospital, a police station, a licensed premise, commercial premises (including a shopping centre), a short-term accommodation provider and a number of public housing estates.

Table 13 Assault offences, by common place name (deidentified) and year (emerging hotspots) (n)

	2010	2011	2012
Place A (Alice Springs)	58	55	88
Place A (Casuarina)	63	70	76
Place B (Alice Springs)	38	38	50
Place C (Alice Springs)	27	47	49
Place D (Alice Springs)	23	26	46
Place A (Katherine)	33	23	45
Place B (Katherine)	27	35	36
Place A (Darwin)	9	12	33
Place B (Darwin)	22	29	33
Place C (Darwin)	6	19	25
Place C (Katherine)	12	15	19
Place D (Katherine)	2	7	17
Place E (Katherine)	4	4	15
Place D (Darwin)	2	2	13

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Declining hotspots

While it was important to identify emerging hotspots to inform future targeting of Northern Territory crime reduction efforts, it may also be possible to draw important lessons from those locations that have experienced a recent decline in the number of assault offences. While it was beyond the scope of the audit to understand what strategies (if any) had contributed to declines in crime and disorder in specific locations, it was possible to identify several locations, both suburbs and places, which had experienced a significant recent decline in assault offences (see Tables 14 and 15).

As with emerging hotspots, suburbs and places were classified as having experienced a decline in assault offences if they had experienced at least a 20 percent decrease in recorded assault offences between 2010 and 2012 (and decreased or remained relatively stable in each subsequent year) or where there was a substantial decrease between 2011 and 2012 (eg halving of assault numbers).

Further investigation is required to determine why these locations have experienced a decline in assault offences, including whether the decrease in recorded offences was due to an effective crime reduction strategy (including but not limited to the efforts of police) or whether it was due to some other influence (eg closure of a problematic venue, departure of repeat offenders or victims, change in the way a space is being used etc).

This is particularly important given that similar place types (eg Aboriginal communities and camps, police stations, hospitals, licensed premises, public housing estates and commercial premises) were identified as both emerging hotspots and locations experiencing a recent decline in assault offences. For example, understanding why there was a sharp decline in assault offences in one hospital between 2011 and 2012 may help to inform a strategy targeting another hospital, which recorded a 21 percent increase in recorded assault offences between 2010 and 2012.

Table 14 Assault offences, by suburb and year (declining hotspots) (n)

	2010	2011	2012
Ludmilla (Darwin)	94	82	75
Casuarina (Casuarina)	109	101	74
The Narrows (Darwin)	50	41	40
Driver (Palmerston)	55	35	39
Jingili (Casuarina)	33	16	20
Millner (Casuarina)	31	17	20
Alawa (Casuarina)	29	14	9
Gunn (Palmerston)	28	22	8

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Table 15 Assault offences, by common place name (deidentified) and year (declining hotspots) (n)

	2010	2011	2012
Place A (Alice Springs)	170	229	119
Place A (Katherine)	43	34	34
Place B (Alice Springs)	49	34	25
Place A (Darwin)	25	30	15
Place B (Darwin)	18	9	9
Place C (Darwin) ^a	18	18	9
Place D (Darwin)	16	5	8
Place A (Casuarina)	14	13	7
Place B (Katherine)	14	9	7
Place E (Darwin) ^a	34	6	5
Place A (Palmerston)	19	13	4
Place F (Darwin)	11	8	2
Place G (Darwin)	12	5	2

a: Advice from NT Police suggested the decline in assault offences at these locations was due to the temporary closure and relocation of these premises

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Characteristics of assault offences and public disorder incidents

Understanding where assault offences and public disorder incidents are concentrated is an important first step in determining where to target crime reduction strategies. However, it is also important to understand the characteristics of offences and how they differ between locations. The characteristics of assault offences and public disorder incidents will reflect the different social and environmental factors contributing to the problem in each location and will also help to guide an appropriate local response. The fact that these characteristics vary from place to place demonstrates why there is no one size fits all response to violence and antisocial behaviour in the Northern Territory.

This section presents the results from a comparison between the recorded assault offences and public disorder incidents in each of the five police divisions that were the focus of this report. There were a number of common findings across all five police

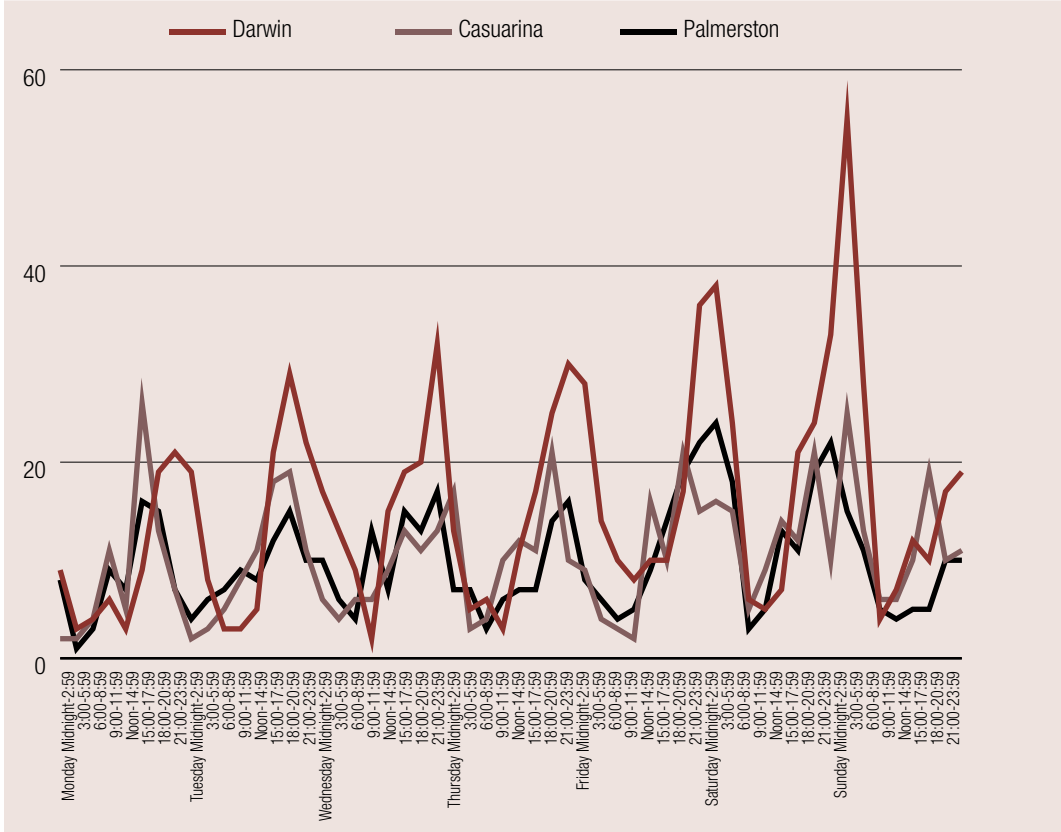
divisions, consistent with the characteristics of assault, many of which have been recently reported by NT DAGJ (2012):

- most recorded assault offences occurred either on the street, footpath, open area or public place or in a residential premise;
- the number of assault offences tended to increase in the late afternoon/early evening and peak at night;
- a significant proportion of assault offences were alcohol related, while the proportion of offences that were drug related was relatively small by comparison;
- a significant proportion of assault offences involved domestic violence;
- the majority of assault offences do not involve a weapon (ie involve bodily force); and
- Indigenous males and females are significantly overrepresented as both assault offenders and victims.

While there were common findings across the five divisions, there were also some notable differences that have important implications for crime reduction.

The number of assault offences in each of the five police divisions, by time of day and day of week, is presented in Figure 13 and Figure 14. This highlights the different patterns of assault across the five police divisions. The number of assault offences in Darwin and Palmerston peaked on Friday and Saturday night—a pattern that is typical of many urban communities across Australia. However, in Alice Springs and Katherine, the number of assault offences was more evenly distributed, with similar numbers of assault offences each night of the week.

Figure 13 Assault offences, by time of day and day of week, 2012 (Darwin, Casuarina and Palmerston police divisions only) (n)

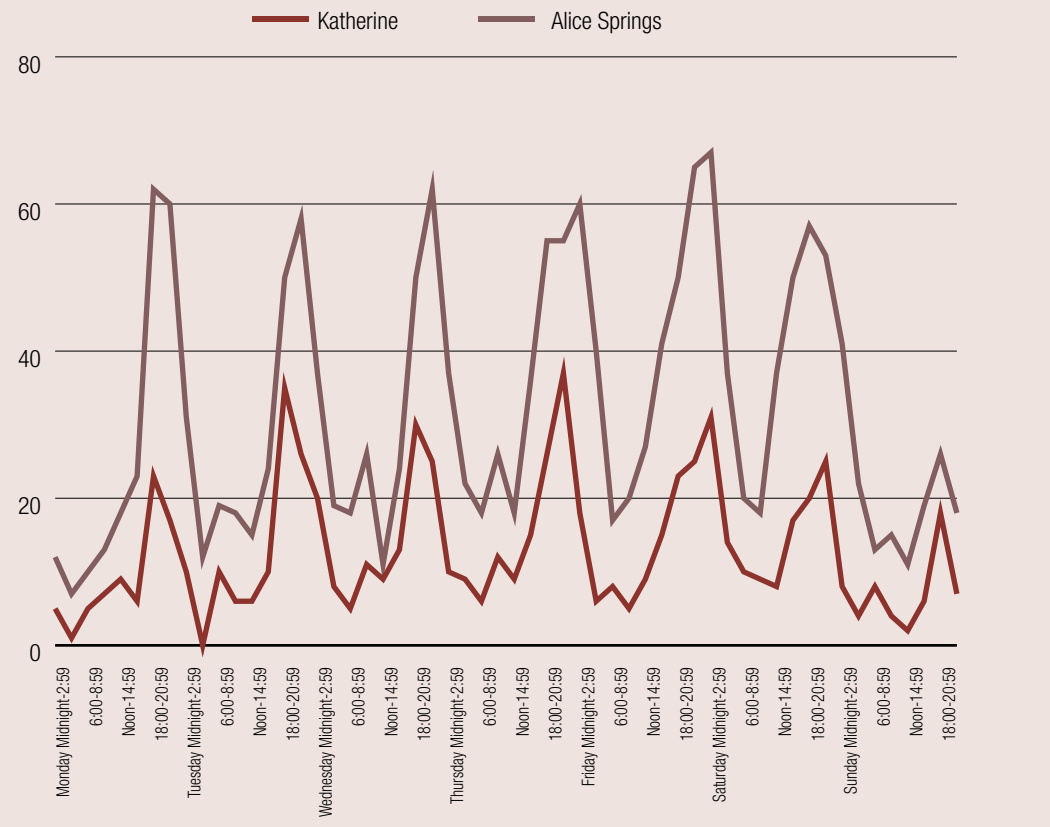


Source: NT POLICE PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

This is further illustrated by comparing the proportion of assault offences recorded between the hours of 6 pm and 6 am on Friday and Saturday nights, which ranged from 21 percent in Katherine and 22 percent in Alice Springs to 27 percent in Palmerston

and 30 percent of assaults in Darwin. The proportion of offences that occurred between the hours of 6 pm and midnight on any day of the week also varied, ranging from 33 percent in Casuarina to 47 percent in Katherine.

Figure 14 Assault offences, by time of day and day of week, 2012 (Katherine and Alice Springs police divisions only) (n)

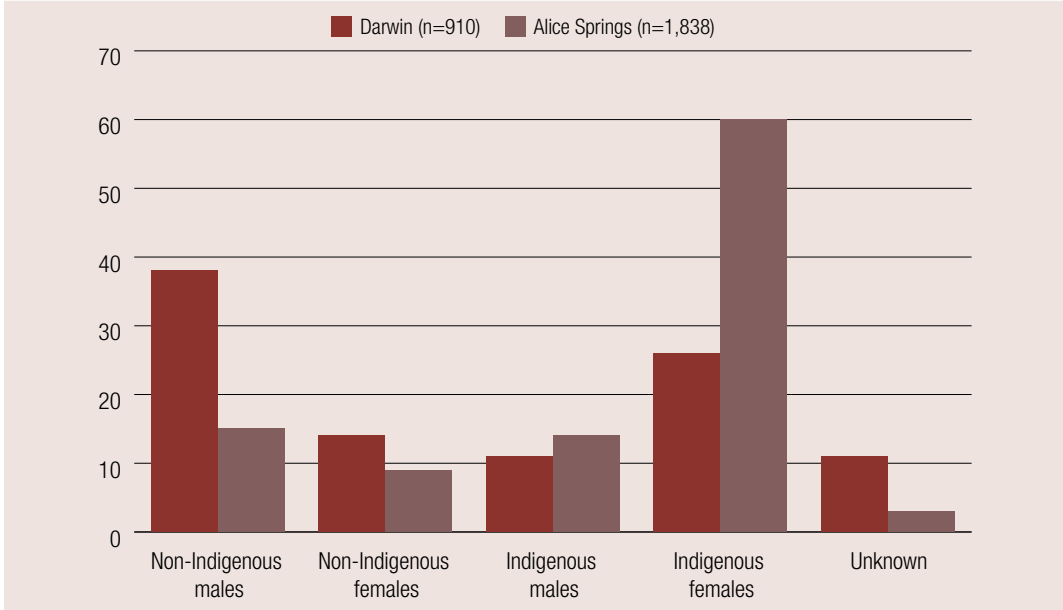


Source: NT POLICE PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

There were also differences between the characteristics of assault victims and offenders in each division. For example, the sex and Indigenous status of assault victims in both the Darwin and Alice Springs police divisions is presented in Figure 15. The proportion of victims who were female and

Indigenous was considerably higher in the Alice Springs police division (60% *cf* 26%). Conversely, the proportion of victims who were male and non-Indigenous was significantly higher in the Darwin police division (38% *cf* 15%).

Figure 15 Proportion of assault victims, by sex and Indigenous status, 2012 (%)

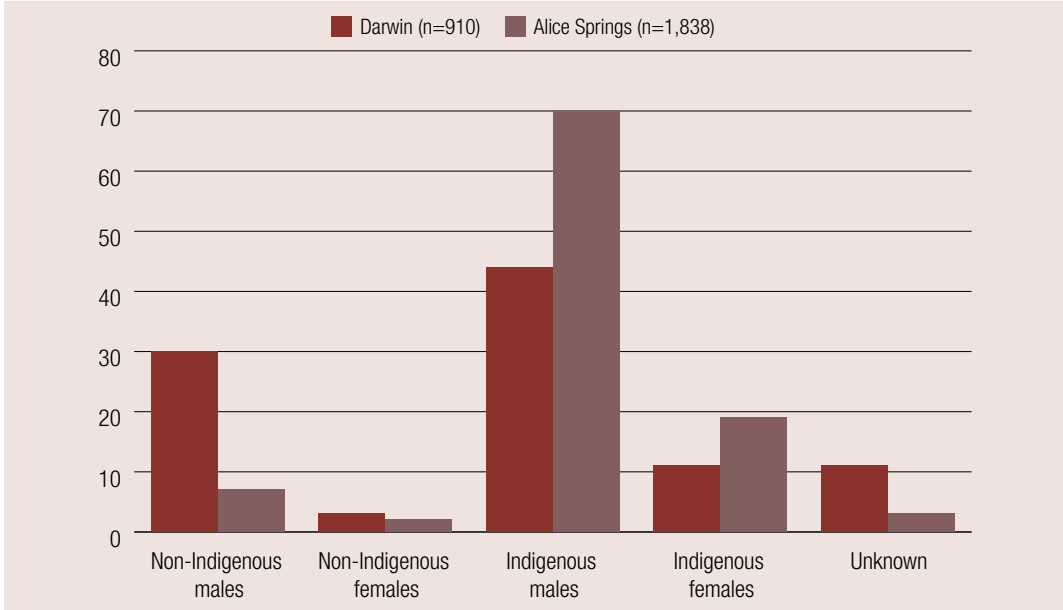


Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Similar differences were observed for offenders. The sex and Indigenous status of assault offenders for both the Darwin and Alice Springs police divisions is presented in Figure 16. The proportion of offenders who were male and non-Indigenous was significantly higher in the Darwin police division (30% *cf* 7%). Nearly three-quarters of offenders (70%) in the Alice Springs police division were male and Indigenous, compared with 44 percent of offenders in the Darwin police

divisions. The differences between the two divisions in the profile of offenders and victims reflects the different types of assault that occur in Darwin and Alice Springs and the different dynamics and contributing factors in each. These results also highlight a consistent trend across all five police divisions—the significant overrepresentation of Indigenous people as both offenders and victims of violence.

Figure 16 Proportion of assault offenders by sex and Indigenous status, 2012 (%)



Note: Excludes offences for which the offender was not known. 'Unknown' refers to unknown sex and/or Indigenous status

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

However, there is considerable variability in the characteristics of crime and disorder within these divisions. The development of localised responses should take into consideration the characteristics of the specific area (be it a suburb, street or place) being targeted. To illustrate the differences between

locations within police divisions, the characteristics of assault offences, offenders and victims are presented in Table 16 for the two suburbs in the Darwin, Casuarina and Palmerston police divisions with the highest number of recorded assault offences in 2012.

Table 16 Assault offence characteristics, by suburb, 2012 (selected locations) (%)

	Darwin police division		Casuarina police division		Palmerston police division	
	Darwin city	Ludmilla	Tiwi	Casuarina	Moulden	Palmerston city
Total offences (n)	359	75	95	74	111	107
Location type						
Street, footpath, open area, public place	67	57	48	55	24	76
Residential premises	9	41	36	7	70	6
Licensed premises	16	0	0	3	2	10
Type of assault						
Domestic violence related	14	68	56	19	67	27
Alcohol related	68	68	57	28	64	47
Drug related	4	7	3	0	5	2
Time and day						
Friday and Saturday 6 pm–6 am	39	23	22	23	35	29
Weapon use						
Weapon used	16	44	30	20	37	19
No weapon (bodily force)	79	47	59	78	58	76
Victims^a						
Indigenous females	15	57	39	18	34	19
Non-Indigenous females	15	8	11	23	16	17
Indigenous males	7	18	12	11	23	8
Non-Indigenous males	53	9	28	32	20	40
Offenders^b						
Indigenous females	9	16	14	24	25	19
Non-Indigenous females	5	0	5	7	4	8
Indigenous males	31	69	41	40	48	35
Non-Indigenous males	47	8	28	16	12	17
Offender unknown	43	17	24	32	18	32

a: Percentages calculated based on total number of known victims

b: Percentages calculated based on total number of known offenders. 'Offender unknown' refers to proportion of offences for which no offender was identified

Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

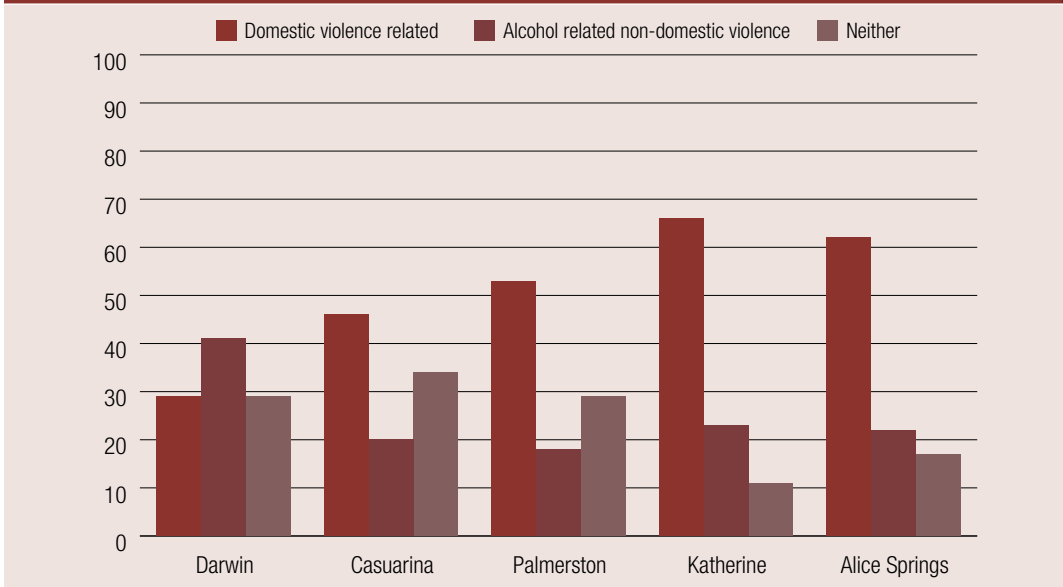
Key findings from a comparison of assault offences, victims and offenders in these six suburbs include:

- The proportion of assault offences that occurred on a street, footpath, open area and public space ranged from 24 percent in Moulden to 76 percent in Palmerston city and was highest overall in suburbs that contained the city centre or entertainment precinct (ie Darwin city, Casuarina and Palmerston city);
- Palmerston city (10%) and Darwin city (16%) had the highest proportion of assault offences that occurred in licensed premises.
- Assault offences were more likely to occur in a residential premise in suburbs with a higher density of residential premises (Ludmilla, Tiwi and Moulden) and accounted for 70 percent of assault offences in Moulden. The proportion assault offences that were domestic violence related was also much higher in these suburbs (accounting for between 56 and 68% of all assault offences).
- Casuarina recorded a much lower proportion of assault offences involving alcohol (28%)—in all other suburbs the proportion of assaults involving alcohol ranged from 47 to 68 percent.
- Relatively few assault offences were recorded as being drug related (between 0 and 7%).
- The proportion of assault offences that occurred between the hours of 6 pm and 6 am on a Friday and Saturday night (typically regarded as the peak entertainment period and, for most major cities, the peak period for alcohol related assault) ranged from 22 percent in Tiwi to 39 percent in Darwin city.
- The use of weapons was more common in those locations with a higher proportion of assault offences in residential premises and involving domestic violence.
- Non-Indigenous males accounted for the largest proportion of victims in Darwin city (53%), Casuarina (32%) and Palmerston city (40%). Indigenous females accounted for the largest proportion of victims of assault offences in Ludmilla (57%), Tiwi (39%) and Moulden (34%).
- Indigenous males accounted for the largest proportion of assault offenders (where the offender was known) in five of the six suburbs. However, the proportion of offences for which the offender was unknown was largest in those suburbs that contained the city centre or entertainment precinct.

Overall, these findings demonstrate the variability in assault offences, offenders and victims across suburbs, and highlight the importance of a place-based approach to crime reduction.

Further analysis of the NT Police PROMIS data identified three distinct categories of assault—domestic violence-related assault (ie alcohol related or non-alcohol related assault involving intimate partners), alcohol-related non-domestic violence and non-alcohol and non-domestic violence related assault (see Figure 17). There were marked differences between the five police divisions in terms of the prevalence of these different types of assault. The proportion of assault offences that were domestic violence related was highest in the Katherine (66%) and Alice Springs (62%) police divisions, and lowest in Darwin (29%) and Casuarina (46%). Conversely, the proportion of assault offences categorised as alcohol related non-domestic violence was much higher in the Darwin police division (41%) than in any other location.

Figure 17 Proportion of assault offences that are domestic violence related, alcohol related non-domestic violence or neither, by police division, 2012 (%)

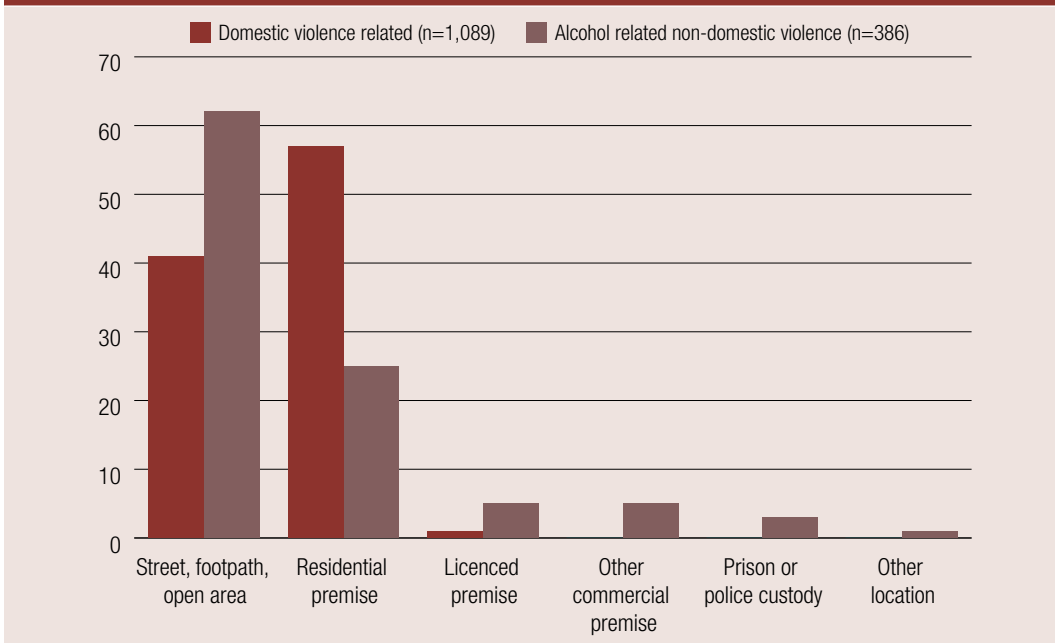


Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

There are important differences between these categories of assault. To illustrate these differences, the characteristics of domestic violence-related assault and alcohol-related non-domestic violence in the Alice Springs police division were examined. The location of assault offences in Alice Springs police division is presented in Figure 18. The proportion of alcohol related non-domestic violence that occurred on the street, footpaths and in open areas (62%)

was much higher than for domestic violence-related assault offences (41%). Not surprisingly, the proportion of domestic violence related assault offences that occurred in residential premises was significantly higher (57% *cf* 25%). This presents a number of challenges for crime reduction strategies designed to prevent or limit the severity of assault offences, discussed later in this section.

Figure 18 Proportion of assault offences, by location type, Alice Springs police division, 2012 (%)

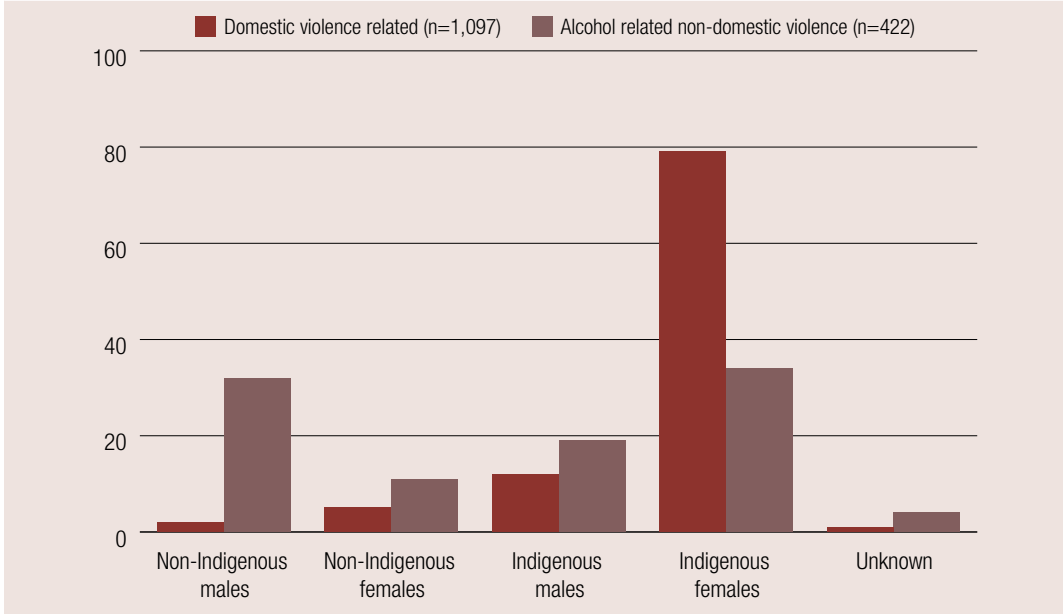


Source: NT POLICE PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Also not surprisingly, domestic violence-related assault and alcohol-related non-domestic violence have different victim profiles. For example, in the Alice Springs police division, four in five victims of domestic violence-related assault were female and Indigenous, compared with one-third of all victims of alcohol-related non-domestic violence (see Figure 19). Non-Indigenous males comprised a much

greater proportion of victims of alcohol related non-domestic violence (32% *cf* 2%), although Indigenous females were still significantly overrepresented as victims of alcohol-related non-domestic violence and accounted for the largest proportion of victims (34%).

Figure 19 Proportion of assault victims, by sex and Indigenous status, Alice Springs police division, 2012

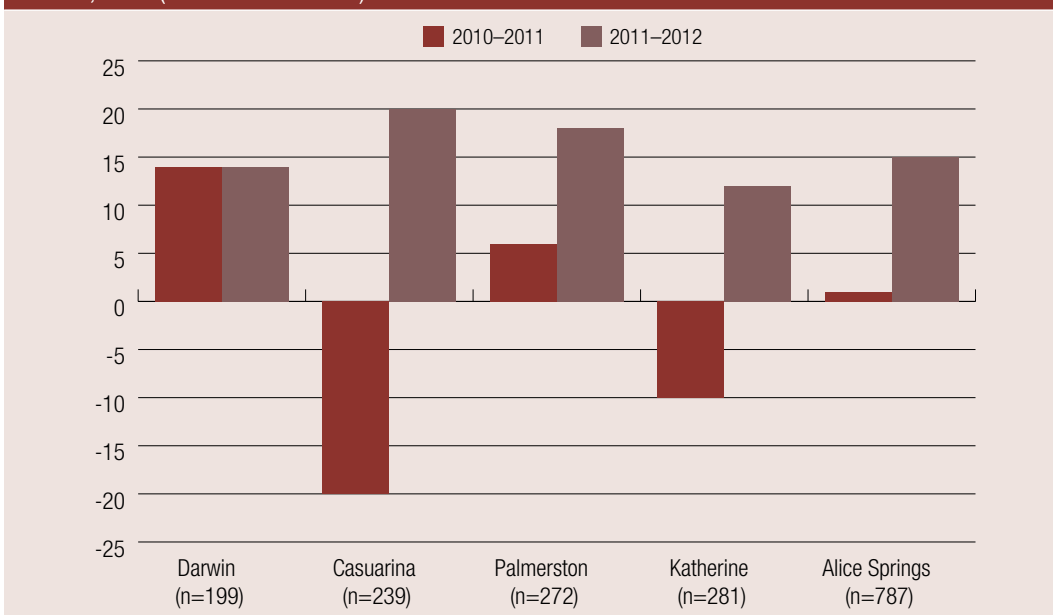


Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

As well as highlighting the need to adapt responses to different locations and to different types of assault, the characteristics of assault offences and public disorder incidents also present certain challenges for crime reduction strategies. For example, the

prevalence of violence in residential settings can present a significant challenge for police, due to the issues associated with detecting, responding and intervening to prevent or reduce the escalation of and harm associated with domestic violence.

Figure 20 Annual percentage change in the number of assault offences in residential premises by police division, 2012 (n=offences in 2012)



Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

There is evidence that the level of violence in residential settings has increased. Results from the analysis of data on assault offences in residential premises in each of the five police divisions are presented in Figure 20. There was a significant increase in the number of assault offences in residential premises between 2011 and 2012, ranging from 12 to 20 percent. This pattern was not observed in other location types, suggesting that the increase in offences in residential premises largely accounted for the overall increase in assault offences.

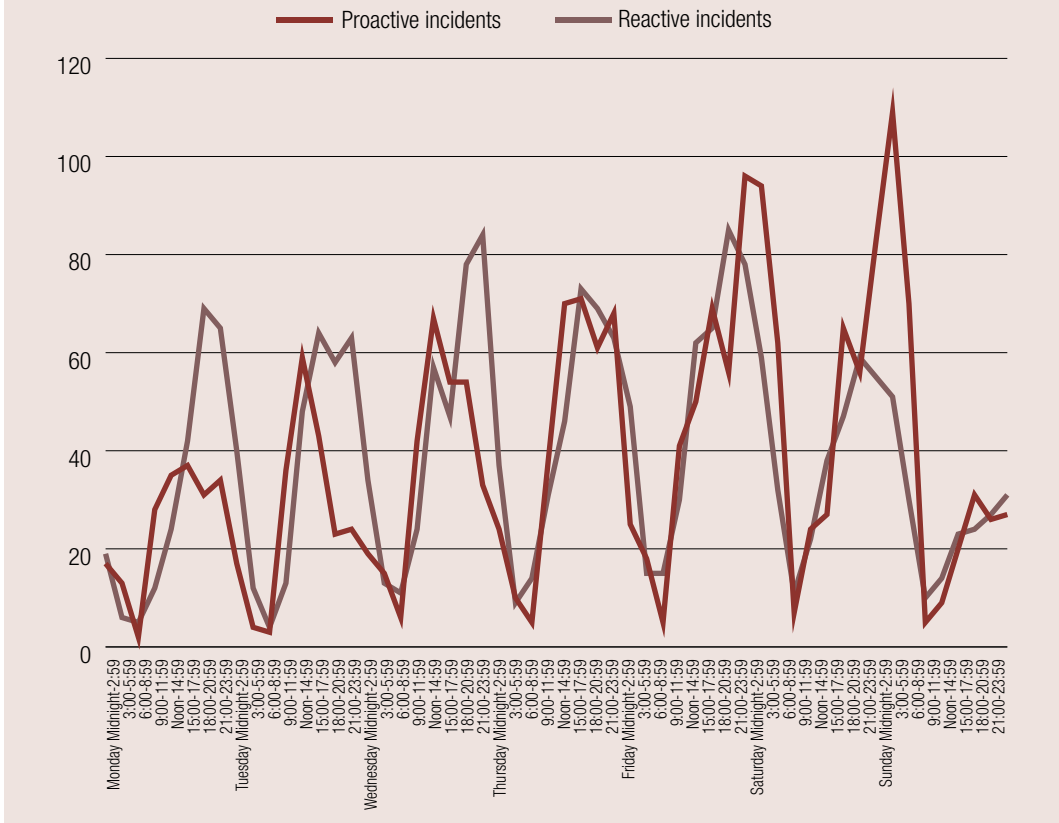
Another challenge for police is balancing the competing demands of proactive and reactive policing activity. A major challenge confronting attempts by Australian policing agencies to implement proactive crime reduction strategies has been the tendency to prioritise reactive policing activity, particularly in response to community expectations of police (Morgan 2011).

NT Police record whether the incidents they attend are proactive or reactive. Proactive incidents are those initiated or detected by police and typically

reflect police operational activity. Reactive incidents are those that are reported to and attended by police (ie calls for police attendance). The number of proactive and reactive public disorder incidents, disaggregated by time of day and day of week, are presented in Figure 21 (Darwin police division), Figure 22 (Casuarina police division) and Figure 22 (Alice Springs police division).

These results highlight the different patterns in proactive and reactive incidents and how these vary between the police divisions. In Casuarina and Alice Springs, the number of proactive incidents typically peaks earlier in the day, while reactive incidents tend to peak later in the evening. In Darwin, there is a notable increase in proactive incidents late on Friday and Saturday nights (where it exceeds the number of reactive incidents), which reflects the proactive patrols conducted by the Darwin City Safe team during peak entertainment periods.

Figure 21 Recorded public disorder incidents in Darwin police division (TCG data only) by time of day and day of week, 2012 (n)

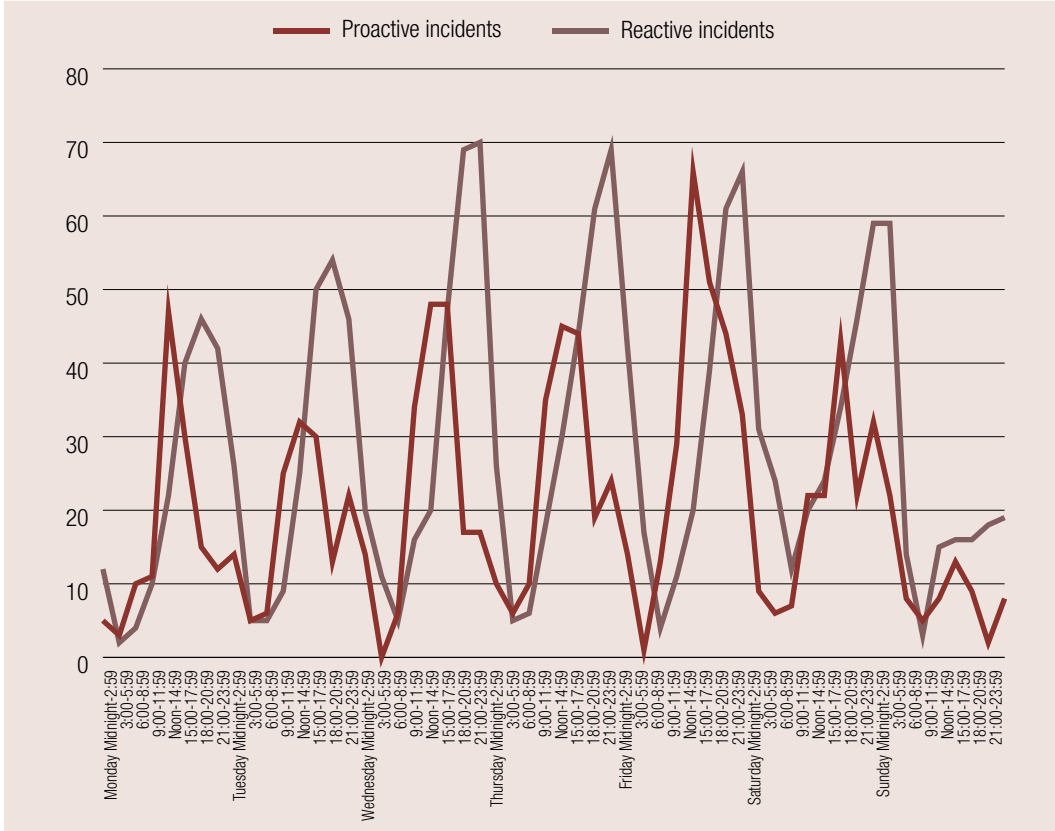


Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

The number of reactive incidents reflects the public demand for policing resources—a decline in proactive incidents when reactive incidents peak

may indicate a shift to prioritising public calls for police assistance.

Figure 22 Recorded public disorder incidents in Casuarina police division (TCG data only) by time of day and day of week, 2012 (n)

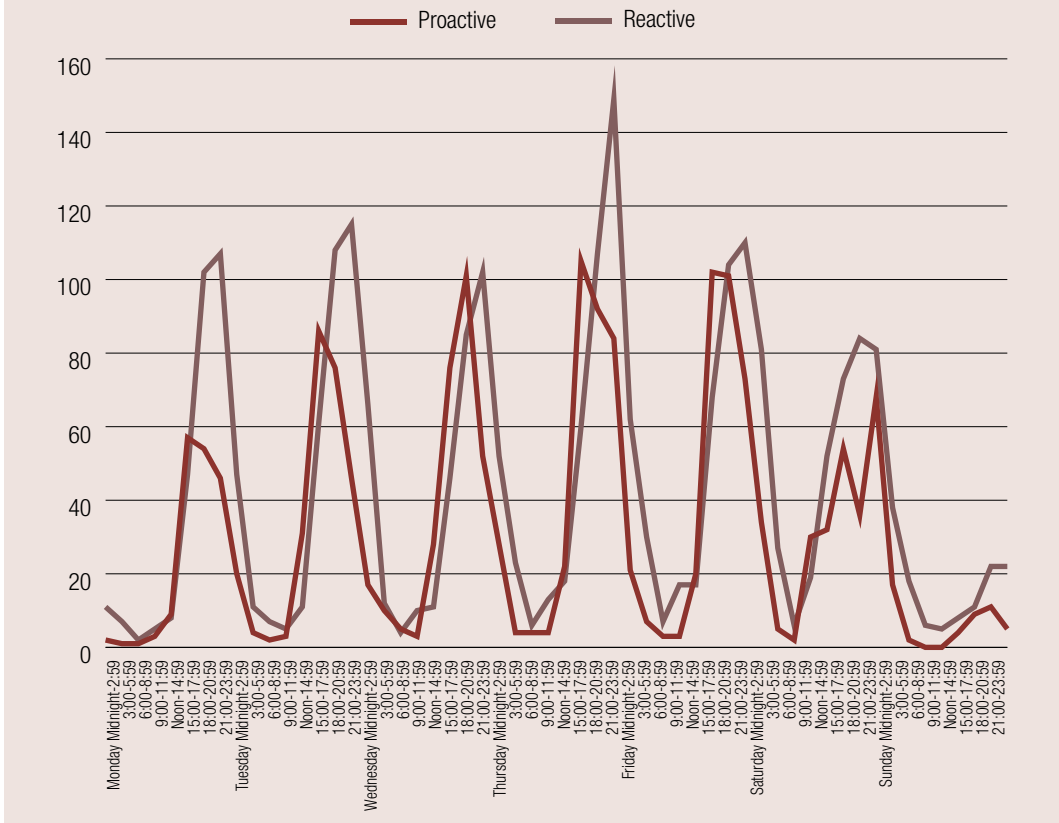


Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Related to this point, there may also be some locations in which proactive policing—specifically, increasing the presence of police—may not be possible or appropriate. Recorded public disorder incidents in Katherine police division, disaggregated by common place name, are presented in Figure 24. According to these data (which have been deidentified), incidents in certain locations, primarily public spaces and open areas, were more likely to

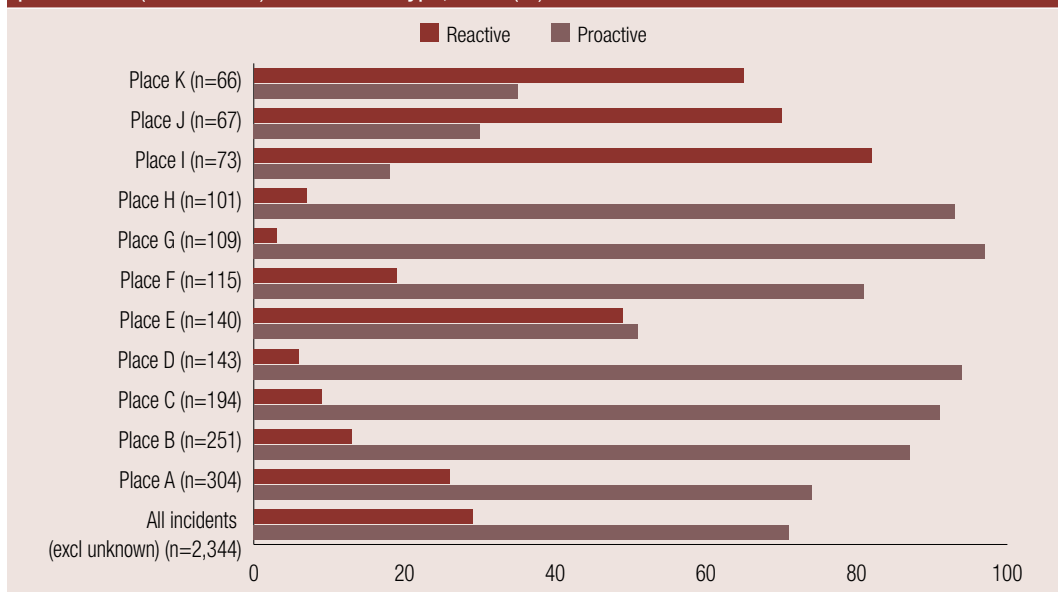
be proactively identified or initiated by police. Public disorder incidents in Indigenous communities and camps, commercial premises and public housing estates were more likely to be reactive. Increasing police presence in locations that are private spaces or where it might cause tension with the local community would be problematic—instead, these locations require alternative responses that can help to prevent public disorder incidents from occurring.

Figure 23 Recorded public disorder incidents in Alice Springs police division (TCG data only) by time of day and day of week, 2012 (n)



Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Figure 24 Recorded public disorder incidents in Katherine police division (TCG data only) by common place name (deidentified) and incident type, 2012 (%)



Source: NT Police PROMIS 2013 [computer file]

Benefits of improved data collection

This section has described the results from the analysis of both assault offences and public disorder incidents in the Darwin, Casuarina, Palmerston, Katherine and Alice Springs police divisions using PROMIS data supplied by NT Police. Locations with a high number of offences and incidents were identified and the characteristics of offences, offenders and victims described. Several themes from the analysis were highlighted.

In describing these findings, several gaps in the data were identified. First, there is a need to improve the quality of geographic information, particularly as it relates to suburbs in the Katherine and Alice Springs police divisions. The lack of suburb data in these areas hampered more detailed analysis of crime and disorder hotspots. Second, there is scope to improve the recording of common place names. While there will be incidents that occur in residential premises or that do not occur in or near any landmarks, there was a high proportion of assault offences for which no common place name was recorded.

Related to this point is the need to consider instituting a system for recording whether an incident occurred within the vicinity of a particular place or landmark—this is particularly relevant to alcohol-related incidents that occur within close proximity to licensed premises (Burgess & Moffatt 2011; Fitzgerald, Mason & Borzycki 2010). In part to address this problem, several jurisdictions have now implemented some form of place of last drink survey to link incidents back to licensed premises to gather useful operational intelligence (Doherty & Roche 2003; Smith, Morgan & McAtamney 2010).

Finally, this section has highlighted a number of locations that have experienced a decline in assault offences. There would be considerable benefits associated with recording information on police operations, collaborative crime reduction strategies involving police and major initiatives delivered by other agencies. While not replacing evaluation for large-scale initiatives, this information could be used to help explain whether a decline might be the result of a particular strategy or whether it is more likely due to some other external factor.



Opportunities and priorities for Northern Territory crime reduction

Recognising that crime reduction is ‘everyone’s business’ and addressing the causes of crime requires efforts from many partners, the audit elicited views from a wide range of government and non-government agencies on opportunities for reducing local crime and suggestions for what actions should be prioritised. Over 50 stakeholders were consulted, most as part of focus groups. In a few cases, where stakeholders were unable to attend the group but wished to give their views, individual interviews were conducted.

Focus group participants were selected for their membership in an organisation relevant to Northern Territory crime reduction, as well as their residence in Alice Springs, Katherine or Darwin/Palmerston. Some were police officers, others worked in drug and alcohol areas, child protection, housing, or with offenders, women escaping violence, or at-risk youth. Some participants had a frontline role, while others worked on policy or represented a key group such as Aboriginal women. Bringing these parties together represented a valuable opportunity to discuss potential opportunities and priorities for crime reduction efforts in the Northern Territory.

After describing the Safe Streets Audit project and its components to participants, focus group members were asked to identify what opportunities they saw ‘right now’ for local crime reduction. The definition of

‘crime reduction’ was to be as broad or as narrow as each group cared to make it and every group identified a range of crime reduction opportunities, including early intervention strategies.

After discussing immediate local opportunities for crime reduction and participants’ personal perceptions of local safety and crime, the focus group discussion concluded with responses to a final question on how participants would allocate crime reduction funding if they could only direct it to a single target or program.

Although there were significant gaps in participation, particularly in an underrepresentation of Indigenous organisations, there were enough different perspectives that many of the groups offered learning experiences for participants. The range of topics addressed included:

- how the special context of Northern Territory urban communities impacted on patterns of crime and opportunities for crime reduction;
- the issues of Indigeneity in Northern Territory urban communities and how those issues impact on crime reduction;
- the impact of alcohol on crime and opportunities to reduce alcohol-related crime;
- the dynamics of violence, particularly domestic/family violence, in the Northern Territory;

- opportunities for interventions to reduce crime at critical points, including early interventions targeting parents, young children and at-risk youth as well as interventions for offenders to reduce recidivism;
- opportunities for partnership in crime reduction, including interventions at community level; and
- the critical importance of evidence-based solutions to crime reduction in Northern Territory.

Focus and scope of crime reduction efforts

There were relatively consistent views regarding the focus and scope of crime reduction efforts. As a police officer participating in a focus group indicated:

From a police perspective, we can do lots of things and proactive measures, but we're really trying to manage outcomes or trying to prevent outcomes.

Every group identified that a broader approach was required to substantially reduce crime:

I think there needs to be greater acknowledgement of the social factors that are contributing to [crime]... [another participant interjects] cultural factors as well...

Don't just deal with the crime, you've got to get behind that. Often the crime is a scream for help, a scream for support. I've seen that this year with a couple of young men, they've just crumbled and cried at the end because they don't know where to get help. That to me is, you deal with the problem...not the symptom.

This requires other agencies and groups to take on responsibility for crime reduction; it cannot be regarded simply as 'police business'. The difficulties were acknowledged:

It's very difficult to separate those early intervention programs with the sort of down the track social dysfunction and impact on crime and violence. It's like every time you look at it, and you go a step back, and you end up at places like the early childhood and family support services and parenting support programs, because it's really, you need to be working at that level to really

impact on those children coming through and also just to try and make those households functional as possible. You know, it's very complicated.

Participants recognised that many community members might not see the importance of such interventions:

People want to see police cars and nurses on the floor but they forget that early intervention and prevention stuff is actually long-term big picture, hard to quantify, hard to draw stats on but so much more important...

Some indicated that many of the elements required were already in place, although not linked and sustainably supported:

...long-term, sustainable programs to reduce crime and that obviously starts within school, childcare centres, playgroups then onto your teen years. There's lots and lots of programs out there. There's lots of resources out there, it's already out there, we don't necessarily need to create new ones. I think we just need to use what we've got...

Importance of context and issues unique to the Northern Territory

Although most participants identified that the Northern Territory presented special issues, these issues often appeared to vary by location. Darwin, for example, was characterised by one stakeholder as 'really just a very big mining town, with issues different from other places in the Northern Territory', while Alice Springs was often identified as providing a unique environment. Not every participant agreed:

Personally, I'm not sure that Alice Springs is that 'special'. I think alcohol and violence and domestic violence, you read about that anywhere, and it's a topical issue wherever you want to go. I suppose it's more concentrated here...

However, the majority stressed the special nature of Alice Springs:

I think everyone in Central Australia would say that there are really distinctive things about this area. You can't even talk about the Territory as a

whole, you really have to talk about Central Australia as a region and then as a specific place with some problems, and also [Alice Springs] as a place within that, that is quite culturally and linguistically diverse. There are at least five or six different language groups that we work with; the actual number is bigger than that but they're the major language groups that we know about. I know that's one of the criticisms that's been levelled against these justice reinvestment approaches, that a lot of the evidence of where certain strategies have worked is drawn from [dissimilar] environments...

One of the features that distinguishes Alice from other urban areas of Northern Territory is the interaction—or lack of interaction—of Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents:

Alice Springs as we all know is a dual town... where our Indigenous families live, they're on the other side to me. They don't even come to my side...there are two separate cities here. I see one side, I don't really see the other side very often. It's there but we're oblivious to it.

Perhaps of equal importance is the interaction between Indigenous people living in Alice and those visiting it from remote communities:

There is tension between people who have a more urbanised lifestyle and those who have a more traditional lifestyle. And there are discussions between those in town and the bush mob that can be a point of contention as well.

There's a lot of talk as well, at least in the circles I'm in, about the problems really being about the people coming into the town, that a lot of the anti-social behaviour that people see on the street in Alice isn't about people who live in Alice, it's about people who are coming in from out bush...

Katherine was the same and Tennant Creek probably not so much, but it's like the 'party town'. So they'll come to town, and they view this as, 'well we're coming to town; we're coming to the big city'. So, there are all those options that aren't at Papunya or Yuendumu or anywhere else in Central Australia. In a sense, they come here to party and of course it just overflows into that alcohol abuse and then spills into the locals who are maybe trying to live an actual normal life

and then they have all these visitors who bring all the alcohol and then the temptation's there.

[The issue is] a combination of alcohol and the cultural requirements of Indigenous communities and visitors...the people who are actually the legal tenants can't necessary get rid of the visitors they don't want because it's culturally inappropriate, so it goes round in circles. So, they're the very unique factors that happen here in Alice Springs that you probably wouldn't find anywhere else.

However, as noted by a number of participants, it is not easy to draw clear distinctions between 'bush mob' and urban residents.

So many people come from all the communities so it's extremely difficult to actually say who is an Alice Springs resident and who's from Papunya, Yuendumu and everywhere else because it's extremely interchangeable.

We're trying to identify where a person's from so that we know where a referral can go to and may ask, 'where ya from?' And we may get a town address that they've been at for a week but then [in another case] we'll say, 'well where ya from?' And they will say the community. And they've lived in town for two years...

...people will be out bush for two months, be in town for three months, be at one house for a month, and then be at a different house with different relatives, and then they go out bush for six months. So, I think sometimes it can be hard to define who are the bush mob who are making all this trouble...

Relationships with visitors used to be differently managed:

...an Arrernte man gave us a cultural training thing and he showed us footage of those welcoming ceremonies when people came to visit Arrernte people. It was a whole one-day ceremony of negotiating what you have to do if you come into this country. [Now] kids come in from Kintore as you mentioned. No one says to them 'you don't do this' or 'you do do this' or 'be careful of this' or 'if you have to be sitting on the grass after nine at night the police might come and pick you up'. There's no regulation of the

rules and protocols that exist in the world of Alice Springs.

Tensions were cited between Aboriginal groups:

Traditional cultures of inviting to stay in a place, that social structure has fallen down. I have talked to a few Indigenous significant people. They're not only dealing with us being here, they're dealing with all the other Indigenous tribes making their base here in Alice Springs. This is Arrernte land, not Warlpiri land, not Pitjanjatjara land. There's that challenge there to explore and how do we move past that?

Non-Indigenous people in Alice Springs also were cited as sometimes uncomfortable with any influx from communities:

If we have an event on like the show, for instance, you'll get the communities will empty out and be in Alice Springs and whether there's any additional trouble here or not, it's the perception of the influx of Aboriginal people and the loudness of Aboriginal people and as someone once said, it's not illegal to be Aboriginal or loud, but it's that perception. It's always about perceptions.

The town camps pose a special issue:

...even my eldest daughter, her sort of perception is, you know, 'why can't they clean their houses and why can't they do this?'...so I got her a job and I rang up one of my cousins and go you know, give her a job...and she went to them houses and she had a totally different view. She said, 'oh, you know mum, they've got 30 people living in a house, how do you expect them to have a clean house then?' You know, and they have 30 people in there because there is nowhere else for people to live...

While such issues were less discussed by Darwin participants, the issue of housing in Katherine pervaded much of the focus group discussion there. Here also the impact of those coming into town from surrounding communities raised challenges:

...from the Katherine Women's Crisis Centre's point of view, I think we see a lot of people because of housing. Whether that be in the wet season that people need somewhere to sleep or there are people living in houses that are overcrowded and don't want to be with people

that are drunk or causing problems for their children, all those sorts of things that have potential to escalate. Housing is a huge issue in Katherine or the lack of housing...

Here in Katherine, there is lack of housing and then of course it comes from they can't get grog on community so they come down here. If they're not staying in the streets which is where they become my problem, they're staying at relatives' places which causes more domestic breaches and domestic violence. In some houses there are 30 plus people in one house. Out of those, four people actually live in that house according to Territory Housing...

However, housing shortages in Katherine extended past Indigenous and public housing. Shortages were also cited as a challenge to service provision, making it difficult to fill positions even where there was funding for staff.

We've got positions coming out of our ears, we can staff as many as we want. We've got 15 positions we're trying to fill and not one of them can move here because there's no housing to get here.

Even where there was less evidence of housing shortages, staff turnover was cited as an issue:

[Agencies working collaboratively] is one of the things that is impacted on by the transition of workers through Alice Springs, because you seem to just get somebody up to speed and thinking the right way and suddenly they're gone again, you know?

Being able to hire Indigenous staff, particularly outside of Darwin/Palmerston, was cited as an issue:

I've got this guy who's trying to turn his life around and committed an offence two years ago...he is now trying to turn his life around, he has got a child, he has got semi-employment or is working on the community and it's really frustrating when intellectually, they are great, they've done a little bit of training but it's really difficult to get our numbers up because of that criminal history. So, intervention in the earlier stages, fully support, we need to stop them getting the criminal histories. It all comes back to the pre stuff, because they don't realise the flow-on effect afterwards.

An issue identified in some groups was the legacy of the past and how that impacted on current efforts to reduce crime. The impact of the Stolen Generation and of other past negative interactions made it difficult to build trust and to work together:

Jenny Macklin had a session at our school and had all Indigenous families there talking. The rawness of the 50s and the 60s and the abuse they had experienced is still very strong in those parent's minds. There's a huge distrust of us. I just went, oh wow. That's why they're so slow in coming to connect with me, because there's all this other history we have to deal with.

I've had people say to me why don't they just get over it? We're living in the 21st century. When you hear some of those stories you can understand where that lack of trust comes from.

Participants also noted that traditional mechanisms could be used to address crime, so that the involvement of elders could have a deterrent effect on crime and recidivism:

People coming up against the Magistrate, that's nothing to them. If they are coming up against their Elders, then that's a totally different ball game.

Significance of alcohol

The issue of alcohol-related crime came up in most groups and dominated much of the discussion in some:

...if I could turn the alcohol off, I reckon I could reduce crime overnight 50%...

A number of participants felt that, even if alcohol was not the only cause of antisocial behaviour, reducing its impact would substantially reduce crime.

If you're working in Katherine as a police person, Good Friday and Christmas Day are wonderful days to be working, do you know why?...The alcohol rivers have been turned off. It reduces crime.

However, this presented challenges:

The fundamental issue is that alcohol is a legal substance...

...we have to accept that alcohol is a legal substance and can we, in a sense, try and bring restrictions that allow us to police it more effectively...It's a complex problem because licensees obviously pay good money for it and we have to accept that as well. It's about trying to find that balance between everyone.

I don't see any responsibility from anybody who sells alcohol in this town to what happens afterwards. As far as the pub goes or the liquor licensing guys, the alcohol sales fellows, they sell it, that's it, too bad. As long as it's not happening straight outside the front of their place, they couldn't care less. It continues to be allowed to happen. There's going to be no change in the culture at all, absolutely none.

...we wrestle with liquor restrictions, alcohol management plans and those sorts of things and then you have to balance it with community expectations, community convenience and a person's right to access alcohol. To improve opportunities to reduce crime, it would need to encompass all those sort of issues...

A number of strategies were suggested, some already trialled or ongoing:

...our TVL process is emanated out of Alice Springs and that's placing police at liquor outlets—that is an Alice Springs genuine idea that came from the police involved and we've actually trialled that in other places in the Territory to some good effect. Once again, it's very manpower intensive.

...we had our own supply restrictions...going for about two years here in Katherine. What had happened was the police would arrest somebody, they'd be put on a list or the magistrate would make an order that that person couldn't consume alcohol...

Others were proposed, including:

I would just buy both hotels, buy every outlet that's selling alcohol and put very strong restrictions on family alcohols with the takeaway. That way you would have ownership, control and supply of the product into the town and region.

Others looked at broader strategies to reduce demand for alcohol:

...the thing is, you have to go back and ask why is alcohol such a big issue for Indigenous people?

Many of the early intervention strategies that could reduce alcohol demand are discussed further in a separate section below.

Violence

Two types of violence were discussed in the groups. One was alcohol-fuelled crime that might be centred in areas of high alcohol consumption, such as Mitchell Street, which could be best addressed by alcohol-targeting strategies. The other was domestic/family violence that occurred even in the absence of alcohol, although alcohol often exacerbated the issues:

I think it's 58% of assaults in Alice Springs are DV related...some of those family violence issues overlap with alcohol but not all of them...

A lot of our men in our group will talk about exactly that [alcohol causing family/domestic violence] but really it's about deflecting blame from themselves as an individual to the grog. So, once we start talking to them about... 'So, have you ever had fights with your wife when you haven't been drunk, and what about hitting, sexual violence, taking a basics card, what about mapping where she's going, what about stopping her from going to funerals?' When you start drilling down into it, it's not so much the grog. That may be certainly something to look at, absolutely, because they are less in control of their behaviour but...they are still perpetrating significant violence...stone cold sober...

Family violence was cited by a number of participants as a precursor to other issues, particularly youth crime and homelessness:

A wise man once said to me that every unlawful entry is linked to domestic violence. They are linked because when a kid doesn't want to be at home because of the violence that's there, they are not being cared for, they're not being fed—then what do they do? They go out and commit unlawful entry. So, you look at all the linkages there, so domestic violence at home, there's no safe place to be, they will go out and commit

offences to either eat or just to be part of the group or whatever...

The intensity of the violence was a particular concern:

I think that the severity across the board of domestic violence, that's where the difference is. So, this is extreme violence, extreme. And the use of weapons is much higher than anywhere else...

The thing is, in Central Australia, you're not talking about minor crimes, you're talking about major crimes—domestic assaults and you're talking about deaths at a very high rate and very serious injury at a high rate.

Participants were clear that this was not solely an Indigenous issue:

...in domestic violence for example, the expectation is the Aboriginal mob are the ones who are the perpetrators. But it hides the real issues around domestic violence in all aspects of our society. It's not just an Aboriginal problem... [statistics] hide what else is happening...from other aspects of society, white fellows, whoever else in the community...

Migrant women, for example, were identified by participants as less likely to go to hospital and therefore be identified as victims of violence at home than were Aboriginal women, but it was also noted that this type of violence affected women of every background. However, Indigenous women comprised a group disproportionately at risk of serious injury and death due to this type of violence. As with targeting alcohol supply, targeting intimate partner violence in this group appeared to offer the best use of resources in initiatives such as the Integrated Response to Family and Domestic Violence:

...It's Alice Springs based because of the funding which is from the Alice Springs Plan and it's focusing largely on intimate partner violence, although in the context here the legislation in the Territory is domestic and family violence and it is relatively broad...but we're focusing on the fact that most victims of DV are women and Indigenous women in Alice Springs...so it's focusing on Indigenous women. It doesn't exclude others; it's just more about trying to ensure that it targets that particular group.

Critical points for intervention

One of the issues most often discussed was the need to operate from a crime prevention perspective, identifying the factors leading to alcohol abuse and to crime, and putting strategies in place to address these issues before crimes were committed.

I think it's about finding the points of intervention and being able to respond when a situation arises and being able to respond effectively... rather than things getting left until later for whatever reason when it becomes too late.

It was identified that this should lead to a saving in resources:

...we're looking to try and form task forces to try and intervene with people before it results in violence but of course all those types of things, from a policing perspective, are extremely manpower intensive. In reality, every time you arrest someone, you're basically tying up two police officers for a number of hours. So, all those exercises are very manpower intensive...

It was clear from the focus group discussions that effective crime reduction was not just a police task, but required responses from many agencies, at multiple points. There were two areas identified as being universally important, where enhanced access for all Territorians would result in lower crime rates over time. Both education and employment came up repeatedly in groups:

...early education, everyone has spoken about that...

When I look at the kids that fall through the net I would concentrate on education and sort of encompass them in programs that encourage them to go to school and have that safety net there. And they have the food programs and all that sort of stuff but I think we allow far too many children not to go to school—we need to address that. And we've got truancy officers and all that sort of stuff but I just think that there needs to be a lot more money put into those efforts. I'm just dismayed when I see the kids never go to school. They're supposed to be the future, but they're

not. They're just going to be part of the problem again.

Even where education was achieved, the transition to employment presented challenges for some groups:

I see many educated business people in communities who can't utilise their skills because there's nothing for them to put that to. Our students at school, we sell them a product, an image that school is important. It's like a four lane highway to year 12. You have to learn, learn, learn and then they get to there and it turns into a track at the end. A few kids see the single lane road off to the left to go to uni or work or whatever but a lot of them it's like where do I go now...I think that's the next part. We sell a story but we don't have the ability to follow through on the end of it.

...dismantling the exclusivity of qualifications in various job descriptions...greater recognition of inherent cultural competencies possibly through a VET setup so that in our sector we could utilise people who have four or five languages, good knowledge of kinship networks and so on without having to have a...Certificate IV...For many years we've employed people with no western qualifications at all. I don't see why that can't happen across the board...

I'd [also] like to see some Indigenous microeconomics start coming up in communities...I don't understand why we don't have a bakery and a hairdresser in every remote community and all those things. Build microeconomics back in communities and create jobs...alcohol is just a symptom.

In addition to education and employment, four intervention points were considered to be particularly worthwhile for investment, with other points less amenable to intervention. As one participant noted:

Senior secondary is the last opportunity we as a society have to change a young person's life. Once they leave school, that's it. As a societal structure, there is no opportunity to reengage with that young person, male or female...later on when they get children, that's the next phase.

The four key points for intervention identified in the focus groups were the parent stage, the young child

stage, the youth stage and the post-apprehension stage, after a person was apprehended for a crime.

Focus group members therefore advocated for initiatives such as:

...an NT wide maternity services program... teaching parents how to parent. Every mother that has a baby will be given a maternity services nurse and I think it's for a year or two years... When you look at the evidence base, it changes the justice determinants...that program deals with having less people coming into the system in the first place.

Young children were also identified as a group where early intervention was a worthwhile investment:

Whatever it is I would invest that [crime reduction] money on, it would be for children aged 0–7 years old.

Young people in the child protection system were noted as requiring particular support; they have a particularly high risk of crime involvement in later life:

...try and do something with foster placements... the amount of young people we have who are just being passed around like little pennies is horrible. Try and do something to make their life more consistent...I'd like to see a bit of stability, that they have somebody in their life who can... give them support and stability.

A substantial amount of discussion focused on interventions for youth. Although many were targeted at specific groups of marginalised groups, participants also noted:

Can I also say there are a lot of youth who come from really good families who have gone off the rails? There are a lot of Indigenous but I know people from really good families who have just lost the plot through whatever reason.

One issue was the lack of positive youth activities; an issue discussed most in the Katherine focus group:

Having raised five children here...it's an amazingly wonderful town for small children but it sucks for teenagers...of any kind of demographic. My kids as teenagers have found it really difficult and they're pretty focused and well behaved...young teenage Aboriginal kids...even with good

intentions of keeping their life on track, can't.

The issue of young people on the streets at night was discussed in every urban centre:

I find it quite alarming as a mum myself. Kids who are about 10 years old are out at 10 o'clock at night.

Many related the presence of children and youth on the streets back to dysfunctional families and often violence in the home, so that the streets were safer for them than the family home. Interventions targeting family violence and substance abuse could reduce these over time, but evening activities in safe locations were also identified as a priority. Although there were excellent activities available, these were often available only once or twice a week in the evening, and additional evening activities were advocated:

...[Katherine] YMCA are running some amazing programs through youth diversion programs funded by police but also through Communities and Children. They do things like drop in nights on a Friday night with 240 plus kids coming for food and transport...They'd be able to tell you... in terms of low level social disorder and social crime at least [the reason they are] committed by young people is boredom, hunger and a lack of a safe place to be...they regularly get two or three hundred kids there because there's nothing else for them to do. The unfortunate thing it's only one night a week.

...the obvious need for more avenues for young people to engage in structured activities or youth programs...the amount of kids in this town [Alice] who wander the streets with nowhere else to go...More evening programs would help.

While many other youth programs were mentioned, including football and basketball programs, it was noted that there was less for young people whose interests were other than in sports.

Accommodation for youth was also repeatedly advocated. For example:

They have women's shelters [so why not] have a kid's shelter where kids can, if home is really bad, go to this place where you can get a meal, a bed.

Then you'll have enough sleep to go to school the next day if possible.

...accommodation for youth...that's a huge problem. We have found that even with youth being in the care of Children and Families, if they can't find somewhere for that child to be placed, they will place them in Don Dale Juvenile Detention Centre. And, these kids have not committed an offence so once they are placed and exposed to that area then the [chance] of them committing an offence is likely...

The other key point identified for intervention was after a person came into contact with the legal system. Increasingly, this can lead to incarceration:

I'm a local from Alice Springs and rarely would a family member go to jail; if they'd committed an offence, you'd see them at home detention or community work orders. Today, it is nothing. I can count heaps of my family being in jail, it's nothing. And you're like, what is our society coming to?

...we're building a 1,048 bed facility which opens next year and it's going to be the largest prison in Australia. Based on current prisoner projections, it's probably going to be full on the day it opens. We've got the Darwin correctional centre, the Alice Springs correctional centre, the work camps...We're looking at creative solutions to house people, let alone the programs, education and offender programs that address their criminogenic needs.

This increases the needs for interventions to reduce recidivism both in custody and after release. However:

...we have very limited after care and perpetrator programs. We have very limited support for people leaving prison and next to no support for kids leaving...we have people get off the bus, they're put on a bus outside Berrimah Prison and they arrive in Katherine and within an hour they are offending or within six hours they are blind drunk and we're picking them up and they're saying hey I just got out of Berrimah today. There's not that support for them...

A number of programs are already underway and were discussed in the focus group, including 'Quick Smart', an accelerated literacy and numeracy program, and the 'Sentenced to a Job' employment program with a target of 200 prisoners

to be employed. However, other types of programs and particularly after-care were advocated by participants, for those coming out of rehab programs as well as prison:

Programs like CAAPS, which is a residential rehab program, are wonderful but the moment they get on the bus and return, there's no support through care. That makes it almost impossible for them to maintain their sobriety or maintain their non-offending so for me anyway, the prevention stuff at the beginning, early intervention and the post-care support are your two primary absolutes...it's so obvious to me anyway to break the cycle.

Participants identified that when developing post-crime initiatives, victims' needs also needed better attention to reduce the risk of crime in the future:

...we need to increase the safety for victims of crime and for children. If we don't do something that supports the safety of women who can then support their children, then we are going to have children who grow up and commit further crimes...

Community-based and environmental initiatives

The final type of interventions discussed at the focus groups were those that involved public spaces. There were a number of issues identified including a lack of safe and adequate public transport, but also a number of problematic areas with the local urban area. For example:

You look at the [Todd] mall and there's a lot of empty shops and there's all that, so there's a lot of underlying issues that exacerbate or perpetuate perceptions of crime.

However, these areas could offer opportunities as well:

...there's opportunity for the community to be involved in crime reduction...I found through my work that when residents start to have ownership of their community, their suburb, their road, their verge, their walkway, they're more likely to take pride in it. Just the simple things like tidying up areas reduces the risk of people hanging out there at night. It reduces the perception of crime...Once communities take ownership,

we've done...mural paintings on toilet blocks and walkways and involving local residents or kids, students in local schools, they take pride in those areas.

Interventions were cited that achieved this:

Red Cross recently ran a program at the park at Palmerston to engage communities. It was seen as an unsafe area and it was underutilised by families. There are a lot of disadvantaged families in that court...They did a separate audit for crime prevention...they looked at the foliage and the equipment and made sure things were safe and Red Cross started holding family mornings down there...They're starting to get residents to run them themselves...

[A site in Alice Springs] was all fenced off, it was dark and it was a hotspot for crime and so it became about a fence trying to keep people out, then it became about street lighting to try and make it less interesting or available space for people to hang out in the dark...But interestingly, since the fence has come down, it's been effectively used...If there's hotspots or dark spots or unutilised spaces, a more constructive way of doing that is to reclaim that public space and have community activity in that space. Because then there's activity, there's more of that incidental surveillance that comes from just having people present...

In some cases, resourcing presented a barrier:

One of the activities we did was to have... Katherine people and they had a map of Katherine to mark the areas of risk. This is the second workshop in Katherine I've been to and both times people highlight areas and also come up with solutions to fix that. It can be as simple as lighting an area or a walkway from one side of Katherine through a big grassed area to the YMCA. There's all long grass so girls walking at night, there's a risk of rape and attack. They've come up with all these solutions to fix these things and it goes nowhere...my counterpart in Katherine has brought it to the Katherine City Council but they don't have funding to [do what needs to be done].

Resources required involve more than money:

At one stage, we had a fairly large community involvement, involving the mayor and councillors

in Main Street and virtually the Katherine CBD area which is three main streets of town here. That was creating a very good sense of community. We've drifted away from that but there's no reason why we can't go back towards it. The hardest part of all is to encourage and engage members of the community, especially those in business to give up their time and come along to volunteer activity or audits we do.

One of the really frustrating things...we have a relatively small group of people who actually put their money where their mouth is. There's a high burnout factor in that...people who are Indigenous are the ones who are least represented. It's not through lack of trying and lack of invitations and lack of trying to engage...

Business owners were occasionally cited as working with police:

My husband owns a business in the main street so we have CCTV footage inside and outside our business. Once a month we have requests from police for outside footage to be produced as a tool for investigations. That's not necessarily large investigations, it can be something as minor as damage to a car...[another participant interjects] or a missing child...

Environmental issues were considered sufficiently important that two participants, when asked the one thing they would fund to reduce local crime, chose CPTED.

I'd CPTED the whole of Alice Springs—CBD and the area river down to the centre and basically redevelop the whole area with lighting and usable spaces—that's what I'd [fund].

[I'd fund] CPTED training.

Other community strategies were proposed in addition to making public spaces safer. There were many calls for emergency overnight shelters for youth and a number that called for one or more new community centres, particularly to better integrate Indigenous community members into the wider community:

...crime prevention, the way I like to think about it is the best way to prevent crime is to make people be a part of the community that we don't want them to offend against. If they feel like

they're a part of the community, ultimately it's about that marginalisation that really challenges people. Things like language, belonging, having a house, poverty. All those things are in their face every day. It makes it really hard for all those people to feel a part of Alice Springs and a part of the community. Ultimately it can lead to somebody offending.

Not surprisingly, community centres were often identified by participants as a useful strategy:

[I'd like to fund] an overarching, well-resourced and funded community centre that can coordinate and communicate with services, government and non-government. [Another participant interjects] Yes. A one-stop shop, not only for families but for services but the ability to actually know who's who, who's got what money, who's got what training, who's doing what and communicate service...

...a safe place that's owned or run by Aboriginal people...

I reckon we should have a big cultural community centre in the middle of town. It should tell everyone's stories and be open to everybody and everyone from Alice Springs. There are fire pits and nice gardens and everyone can be together.

Evidence-based responses

Finally, many participants stressed that program funding should be based on proven effectiveness.

I really think that the NT government has to re-focus community safety...they need to look at justice reinvestment and having programs that are evidence-based that will reduce crime...

There were some concerns expressed about whether proven effectiveness in other environments would translate to success in Northern Territory:

...a lot of the evidence of where certain strategies have worked is drawn from environments that are...well-resourced and that those things may or may not apply...But that said, we have so many gaps in our data that I don't know what other starting point you would use, other than to look at things that have worked elsewhere.

I was thinking before around your question about whether you can pick things up from other jurisdictions and bring them here. I think you absolutely should and you absolutely can't—both of those things. You must, as a practitioner, look at what's been done well and what mistakes have been made in other places...from my perspective, here, [implementation] must be done in a culturally appropriate way...incredibly significant responsive factor. People can sit in a group for a month and not say a word if you don't get it right...

Although some participants recognised that community attitudes could also influence program choices (or assumptions of what community attitudes could be, sometimes termed 'penal populism'; see Jones & Weatherburn 2011; Quilter 2013), they felt that there were strategies to address this:

What they need to do is change the way they use the media to get to the public because the public are who are influential. If the government was to go out there and say 'we're going to make our community safer and we're going to have youth diversion, case manage you' all this sort of stuff, and then people see that that's going to make the difference and also reduce their taxpayer's money, that will change the public's perception...



Evidence-based strategies to address Northern Territory crime problems

Evidence-based crime reduction requires the practical application of research and evaluation findings in the development and implementation of measures to reduce crime, targeted to areas of the greatest need (based on a detailed analysis of the problem) and adapted to suit local conditions (AIC 2012). There is an accumulated body of high-quality research that demonstrates the effectiveness of different approaches to reducing crime.

The results from the analysis of assault and public disorder incidents presented in this report, along with the input of participants involved in the focus groups, highlighted the need to identify strategies that are supported by evidence in the following areas:

- effective policing strategies to address local crime problems;
- strategies to reduce alcohol consumption and related harms;
- preventing violence in Indigenous communities;
- responding to family and domestic violence; and
- strategies that can be delivered by other agencies.

This section presents the findings from a rapid evidence assessment in these five areas to help inform potential crime reduction strategies to reduce violence and public disorder in the Northern Territory.

Effective policing strategies for local crime problems

There are a number of reasons that police have a primary role in the prevention of crime and can make a significant contribution to the effective delivery of strategies to reduce local crime problems:

- police provide a strong presence on the ground in most communities across Australia;
- police act as gatekeepers to the criminal justice system and therefore represent an important juncture between primary prevention efforts and the criminal justice system;
- police officers deal with crime and its impact on a daily basis and therefore have considerable interest in reducing local crime problems;
- police agencies comprise a large and highly skilled workforce, with specialist skills, knowledge and experience in problem solving and partnership working and represent a valuable resource upon which communities may draw to address local crime problems (Bodson et al. 2008; Cameron & Laycock 2002; CMC 2009; Homel et al. 2007).

There is high-level commitment to the involvement of police in whole of government crime prevention initiatives and at the local level, partnerships with community-based organisations. The important role

of the police is reflected in ANZPAA's Directions in Australia New Zealand Policing (SCPEM 2012), as well as the National Crime Prevention Framework, developed by the AIC on behalf of the Australia and New Zealand Crime Prevention Senior Officer's Group (AIC 2012).

The National Crime Prevention Framework identifies a number of important functions performed by police relevant to crime reduction, such as:

- providing a visible presence in communities;
- deterrence through the threat of apprehension and prosecution;
- intelligence-led and proactive policing of crime hotspots;
- diversionary programs that change the course of individuals away from the criminal justice system and, in some cases, into treatment;
- providing assistance in the planning, implementation and review of community-driven crime prevention initiatives;
- problem-oriented policing strategies, often involving police led partnerships with other stakeholders;
- disseminating crime prevention information and advice and conducting safety audits;
- community policing initiatives that engage the community in the development and implementation of crime prevention strategies (AIC 2012).

It is widely accepted that, in performing these functions, police must work in partnership with other agencies.

However, past experience has shown that a number of challenges have limited the capacity of police to make a more significant contribution to efforts to prevent crime in local communities, particularly as part of collaborative strategies. Involvement in crime prevention partnerships has remained a secondary policing activity, rather than becoming part of core police business, due to a variety of reasons, including:

- the absence of a clearly defined role for police in the implementation of crime prevention programs developed at the national or state and territory level;
- an organisational structure and culture that is not conducive to supporting the non-authoritarian and

problem solving approach of local crime prevention efforts;

- varying degrees of commitment among senior police to participation in crime prevention partnerships;
- limited evidence as to the effectiveness of the range of initiatives that have been delivered at the community level with the support and involvement of police;
- recruitment and training practices that do not support the development of a workforce with problem solving, networking and interpersonal skills critical to effective partnership work;
- organisational and individual performance measures that do not reflect role of police in crime prevention partnerships;
- community expectations regarding the role of police;
- a tendency to focus on crisis management and to prioritise reactive policing efforts (responding and investigating offences and apprehending offenders); and
- limited capacity within current funding arrangements to dedicate resources to collaborative activity, including limited access to long-term funding for crime prevention (Brereton 2000; Cameron & Laycock 2002; CMC 2009; Fleming & O'Reilly 2007; MacRae et al. 2005; Sarre 1997).

For these reasons, Morgan (2011) made four recommendations to improve the capacity of police to effectively contribute to crime reduction strategies. First, there was a need to more clearly define the role of police in the development of crime prevention policy and programs. The capacity of local police to contribute to community-driven initiatives would be enhanced with a clear framework and agreement among key partners as to the general scope of police involvement. It would then be possible to adequately resource police to perform this function.

Second, there needs to be a concerted attempt to build the capacity of police in the areas of partnership working, problem solving and crime prevention and to share the lessons from previous experience. A similar recommendation was made as

part of the recent parliamentary inquiry into local crime prevention in Victoria.

Third, there is a need to adopt a systematic approach through which local police decide which projects to support and what contribution they can make. This requires greater level of flexibility within police structures to find a balance between centralised decision-making and local discretion, and the devolution of decision-making to officers actively involved in problem solving and partnership working.

Finally, convincing senior police to invest resources (and redirect resources from reactive policing), or to undertake the necessary organisational change to support community partnerships and projects requires a strong evidence base. Strategies to improve the quality of evaluation and performance measurement are therefore required.

Evidence of effectiveness

A number of large-scale systematic reviews and meta-analyses have assessed the impact of different policing strategies in terms of their capacity to prevent crime, drawing together the findings from multiple evaluation studies. Generally speaking, these reviews have demonstrated positive results. Past reviews have found problem-oriented policing, neighbourhood watch, hotspot policing, pulling levers-focused deterrence and some forms of community policing to be effective in preventing crime (see Table 17).

Table 17 Evidence in support of police crime prevention

Intervention type (source)	Description	Evidence of effectiveness
Hotspots policing (Braga, Papachristos & Hureau 2012)	<p>Targeting smaller high-activity crime places through police enforcement strategies, such as directed patrol, heightened levels of traffic enforcement, aggressive disorder enforcement and problem-oriented policing (with limited situational responses and limited engagement of the public).</p> <p>Responses can include arrests, informal counselling and cautioning and referrals to other agencies)</p>	<p>Majority of studies reviewed reported noteworthy reductions in crime and disorder, with overall small statistically significant reduction in calls for service.</p> <p>Does not inevitably lead to displacement; rather, strong evidence of diffusion of benefit to surrounding areas</p>
Problem-oriented policing (Weisburd et al. 2008)	<p>Involves the application of the SARA model—scanning analysis, response and assessment. Emphasis on understanding problems and developing and evaluating proactive responses.</p> <p>Addresses a wide range of problems, including probationer/parolee recidivism, drug markets, vandalism and park drinking, violence, school victimisation, problem addresses and overall crime</p>	<p>Modest but statistically significant impact on reducing crime and disorder, although based on a relatively small number of studies</p>
Community policing (MacKenzie & Henry 2009)	<p>Five key elements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • decentralisation of responsibility to officers on the ground to respond to local problems; • partnerships with other agencies; • meaningful community engagement, community input into police priorities and practice; • proactive and problem solving; and • philosophical change in understanding 'real' police work. 	<p>Overall evidence is mixed, but possible to draw a number of conclusions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community policing is effective in increasing public satisfaction with police; • some evidence that community policing can reduce fear of crime; • some evidence that community policing can reduce crime and disorder (esp. disorder), with strongest evidence in support of foot patrols and problem solving; • implementing variety of methods more effective in engaging community; and • community policing can increase police officers' levels of engagement and satisfaction with job
Neighbourhood Watch (Bennett, Holloway & Farrington 2008)	<p>Involve one or more of three key elements—neighbourhood watch scheme (designed to encourage residents to look out for and report suspicious activity), property marking and home security audits.</p> <p>Can also involve a recruitment drive for special constables, increased regular foot patrols, citizen patrols, educational programs for young people, auxiliary police units and victim support services</p>	<p>Majority of schemes evaluated found that neighbourhood watch effective in reducing crime. Meta-analysis concluded neighbourhood watch associated with reduction in crime between 16 and 26 percent</p>

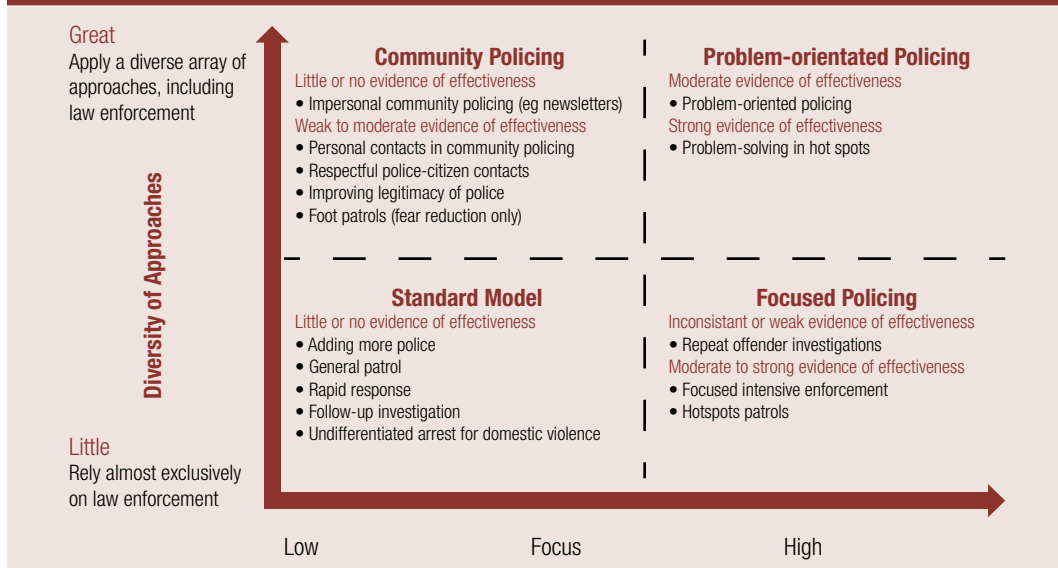
Table 17 Evidence in support of police crime prevention cont.

Intervention type (source)	Description	Evidence of effectiveness
Enhancing police legitimacy or applying principles of procedural justice (Mazerolle et al. 2013)	<p>Focuses on increasing perceptions of police legitimacy through the use of procedural justice</p> <p>Procedural justice involves four essential components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • citizen participation in the proceedings prior to an authority reaching a decision (or voice); • perceived neutrality of the authority in making the decision; • whether or not the authority showed dignity and respect toward citizens throughout the interaction; and • whether or not the authority conveyed trustworthy motives (Mazerolle et al. 2013: 8) 	<p>Strongest overall effect on satisfaction with and confidence in police, followed by compliance and cooperation with the police and enhanced perceptions of procedural justice.</p> <p>Some evidence of a positive impact on self-reported victimisation (no measurable impact on reoffending using police data).</p> <p>Authors conclude that police can achieve positive changes in citizen attitudes to police through adopting procedurally just dialogue as a component part of any type of police intervention (ie the actual type of police intervention is secondary to the procedurally just dialogue)</p>
Pulling levers focused deterrence (Braga & Weisburd 2012)	<p>Pulling levers-focused deterrence consists of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • selecting a particular crime problem, such as gang homicide; • convening an interagency working group of law enforcement, social-service and community-based practitioners; • conducting research to identify key offenders, groups and behaviour patterns; • framing a response to offenders that uses a varied menu of sanctions ('pulling levers') to stop them from continuing their violent behaviour; • focusing social services and community resources on targeted offenders to complement law enforcement prevention efforts; and • directly and repeatedly communicating with offenders to make them understand why they are receiving this special attention 	<p>All but one eligible evaluation found a statistically significant reduction in crime.</p> <p>Meta-analysis found an overall statistically significant reduction in crime reduction outcome measures, along with some evidence of diffusion of benefits</p>

Broader reviews, such as the review of street level drug law enforcement by Mazerolle, Soole and Rombouts (2007b) and the review of different hypotheses about how police prevent crime by Sherman and Eck (2006), have concluded that certain policing approaches are more effective than others. This is perhaps best illustrated by the evidence-based policing matrix devised by Lum, Koper and Telep (2010), who reviewed a total of 97 police evaluation studies and concluded that

proactive, place-based and specific policing approaches appear much more promising in reducing crime than individual-based, reactive and general ones. Similarly, Clarke and Eck (2005) argue that police strategies should include two main elements—a diverse range of approaches, often with multiple partners, and being focused on particular people or places—in order to maximise their effectiveness (see Figure 25).

Figure 25 Effectiveness of different policing strategies



Source: Clarke & Eck 2005: 19

Karn (2013: 4) recently conducted a review of the evidence and concluded that limited police resources should:

- be targeted on high crime micro-locations where the risks of potential harm are greatest;
- focus on connected problems rather than on individual incidents and involve local communities in identifying and prioritising them and harnessing their own resources to address them;
- be used to effectively engage with the local community and harness the resources of other agencies to deliver an integrated approach to reducing crime; and
- be aware of the central importance of securing police legitimacy in delivering a new and more effective approach.

However, what these reviews have in common is that they are largely reliant upon high-quality research that has been conducted overseas, particularly in the United States and United Kingdom. While there are exceptions, such as studies examining the effectiveness of police diversion reviewed by Mazerolle, Soole and Rombouts (2007b), there are relatively few Australian studies that have met the

criteria for inclusion. This is mainly due to the challenges with identifying a suitable comparison group, which has meant many evaluations in Australia have not met the threshold for being included in systematic reviews.

There are, as a result, some questions about the relevance of findings from these reviews for policing in the Australian context. There are important differences between the problems encountered by Australian police and their overseas counterparts, as well as differences in organisational cultures, structures and responses to crime. However, a large-scale review of policing in Indigenous communities in Queensland, based on both a review of the evidence and consultation with the community, concluded that police play an important role in reducing crime in Indigenous communities (CMC 2009). The review recommended that community policing, partnership and problem solving policing, directed patrols, sport and recreation programs and policing domestic violence should be core components of the policing response to crime and disorder in Indigenous communities.

Reducing alcohol consumption and related harms

Both the analysis of NT Police data and the focus groups highlighted the significant role of alcohol in crime and disorder in the Northern Territory. There was strong support among focus group participants for interventions to reduce alcohol consumption and related harms.

The role of alcohol in violent crime, while significant, is not unique to the Northern Territory. There is now considerable evidence of a direct association between the excessive consumption of alcohol and a range of social, health and economic harms (Collins & Lapsley 2008). Alcohol-attributed disease and injury accounts for a significant number of hospitalisations each year (Pascal, Chikritzhs & Jones 2009). Research has found that a significant proportion of assaults involve persons affected by alcohol, either as victims or offenders (Doherty & Roche 2003; Morgan & McAtamney 2009; Plant, Plant & Thornton 2002). Conservative estimates suggest that in 2004–05, the total cost attributable to alcohol-related crime in Australia was \$1.7b (Collins & Lapsley 2008). This has a negative impact on community safety and public amenity, which extends well beyond those who have been directly involved in an incident of alcohol-related antisocial behaviour or harm (Nicholas 2006).

The relationship between alcohol and aggression

Research shows that heavy drinking and intoxication are associated with physical aggression (Plant, Plant & Thornton 2002; Wells & Graham 2003). However, the majority of people who drink alcohol do not become offenders or victims of violent crime and consuming alcohol does not necessarily act as a precursor to violent behaviour (Plant, Plant & Thornton 2002). Research suggests that the association between alcohol and aggression is the result of an interaction of a number of variables, including:

- individual characteristics including age, gender, personality traits, predisposition to aggression, deviant attitudes and expectations of the drinker

about the effects of alcohol and their behaviour while intoxicated;

- the pharmacological effects of alcohol on the cognitive, affective or behavioural functioning of the drinker which can lead to increased risk-taking, reduced anxiety regarding possible sanctions for their behaviour, heightened emotionality, impulsive behaviour, 'liquid courage', a distorted interpretation of events and an inability to resolve incidents verbally;
- effects of the drinking environment including situational factors such as crowding, permissiveness of violent behaviour, the management of licensed premises and the role and behaviour of venue staff (including managers and security); and
- societal attitudes and values, including a culture of deliberately drinking to become intoxicated, and using alcohol as an excuse for behaviour not normally condoned and for holding individuals less responsible for their actions (Graham et al. 2006, 1998).

The relationship between alcohol and violence is therefore influenced by the interactive effects of alcohol with personal, environmental and cultural factors. The prevention of violence and aggression requires an understanding of these interacting processes and risk factors. It also requires developing strategies that are informed by the evidence base with respect to the most effective interventions to address these factors and customising these strategies to suit the specific circumstances of local communities (Graham & Homel 2008; NDRI 2007).

Effective responses to alcohol-related crime and disorder

There is considerable evidence in support of a range of supply reduction and demand reduction strategies to reduce alcohol consumption and related harms, including violence and public disorder (see Table 18). Effective strategies include legislative restrictions on the availability of alcohol, treatment programs and (in entertainment precincts) community-based strategies targeting licensed premises supported by strong enforcement of liquor licensing legislation.

Table 18 Intervention types targeting alcohol consumption and related harms

Effective	Mixed or uncertain results	Not effective
Minimum legal purchase age	Lock outs	Classroom education
Ban on sales (eg certain communities or events)	Minimum price	Warning labels and signs
Hours and days of sale		Social marketing
Restrictions on outlet density		RSA training (without enforcement)
Restrictions by strength		Liquor Accords and community-based programs (without enforcement)
Enhanced enforcement of liquor legislation		Local area alcohol bans
Alcohol taxes		Promoting alcohol-free events
Differential price by strength		
Special taxes on youth-oriented drinks		
Brief interventions with at-risk drinkers and students		
Medical/social detox		
Interventions targeting drink drivers (RBT, BAC limits, license suspensions, treatment)		
Community-based programs supported by police enforcement		
Dry community declarations		
Training bar staff and security in managing aggression		

Source: Babor 2010; NDRI 2007

Australian policy directed towards reducing the incidence of alcohol-related crime, particularly violence, has been primarily concerned with regulatory responses that target licensed premises and liquor outlets (Loxley et al. 2005). The regulation of the sale and supply of alcohol through liquor licensing legislation in Australia is the responsibility of state and territory governments. Most jurisdictions, in recognition of the harms associated with the excessive consumption of alcohol, have introduced harm minimisation as a primary objective of their liquor licensing legislation (NDRI 2007). However, this has been balanced against the requirement for state and territory governments, in accordance with the National Competition Policy, to ensure there are no unfair restrictions on competition and pressure to promote a vibrant night-time economy (NDRI 2007).

This has had important implications in terms of the availability of alcohol. Like many other countries, there has been a general trend in Australia towards the liberalisation of liquor licensing legislation and

deregulation of the sale of alcohol and growth in the night-time economy (Graham & Homel 2008). Availability theory hypothesises that, while people will continue to consume alcohol, decreasing the availability of alcohol will result in a decrease in the level of alcohol consumption and in turn, lead to a reduction in the harms associated with the excessive consumption of alcohol (Jones et al. 2009; NDRI 2007). State and territory liquor acts regulate the physical availability through restrictions on premise trading hours, restrictions on the number and types of outlets, responsible beverage service requirements and imposing controls over the management and operation of licensed premises (NDRI 2007). Many of these controls will be universal, while others may be specifically targeted at certain premises. The trend towards liberalisation has seen increases in the number of licensed premises, different types of premises, hours of availability, beverage types and special event licenses and special license conditions (Nicholas 2010).

There has been extensive research investigating the relationship between the availability of alcohol and social harms. An international review of studies investigating the impact of variations to trading hours concluded that extended late-night trading hours leads to increased consumption and related harms (Stockwell & Chikritzhs 2009). A recent evaluation of the impact of significant restrictions on the trading hours (among other conditions) of a number of problematic premises in the Newcastle CBD found a significant reduction in the number of assaults, with no evidence of displacement to other neighbourhoods or premises—and a subsequent follow-up study found that this impact had been sustained over time (Jones et al. 2009; Miller et al. 2012). Increasing the number of liquor outlets in a designated area has been found to increase the risk of multiple forms of social disruption, as well as impacting upon neighbourhood perceptions of crime and safety (Chikritzhs et al. 2007; Donnelly et al. 2006). Studies into the impact of mandatory responsible beverage service have produced mixed findings, but there is some evidence of a positive impact in terms of reducing availability and therefore associated harms (Stockwell 2001).

In recognition of the significant harms associated with the consumption of alcohol in Indigenous communities, including alcohol-related violence, a number of strategies have been implemented in these communities in an attempt to reduce the consumption of alcohol:

- Mandatory alcohol restrictions imposed by licensing authorities in regional and remote towns are effective in reducing alcohol consumption, as well as alcohol-related crime and hospitalisations (Drug and Alcohol Office 2012, 2011; Kinnane et al. 2010; Margolis et al. 2011; NDRI 2007).
- Dry community declarations have been implemented in some remote Western Australia, Northern Territory and South Australian communities with Indigenous community control and statutory authority and are effective when they are supported by police enforcement and strategies are implemented to minimise issues such as sly-grogging (NDRI 2007).
- Restrictions on the consumption of alcohol in designated public places are not effective and tend to displace drinkers to areas where there are no

restrictions, sometimes resulting in negative impacts (especially for Indigenous people; NDRI 2007).

The review of supply reduction strategies by NDRI (2007) highlighted several factors for positive change:

- effective enforcement;
- consideration of substitution practices and displacement of drinkers;
- meeting the specific and changing needs of the target population;
- community support, control and awareness of restrictions;
- evidence-based initiatives, situational suitability and disseminated evidence for outcomes; and
- comprehensive intervention strategies and supply reduction strategies.

This first point warrants further attention, given that police perform an important role in the enforcement of liquor licensing legislation. Research has shown that legislation or regulations prohibiting (for example) the service of alcohol to minors or requiring the responsible service of alcohol, with the threat of penalties for breaches, is not sufficient to encourage compliance. Licensed premises frequently breach licensing provisions relating to the service of alcohol to intoxicated patrons and the promotion of irresponsible drinking, and these licensed premises are responsible for a disproportionate amount of harm (Briscoe & Donnelly 2001; Trifonoff & Nicholas 2008). There is considerable evidence that the effectiveness of strategies that aim to restrict the sale and supply of alcohol, such as responsible beverage service programs, liquor accords, restrictions on the access to alcohol among young people and community prevention initiatives, is contingent upon the presence of a strong and reliable enforcement component (Trifonoff & Nicholas 2008; Loxley, Toumbourou & Stockwell 2004; NDRI 2007). Strict enforcement of extant legislation pertaining to the responsible service of alcohol and management of licensed premises has been shown to have some impact upon compliance with these policies (Grube & Nygaard 2005).

The assumption underlying the strict enforcement of liquor licensing laws is that it has the capacity to increase the perceived risks and costs associated

with breaching legislative provisions governing the responsible service of alcohol and management of licensed premises, thereby deterring licensees and staff of licensed premises from breaching the legislation. The likely effectiveness of enforcement as a deterrent is dependent upon a number of factors:

- the frequency of the enforcement activity, including whether it has been sustained or is an irregular or one-off occurrence;
- the probability that breaches will be detected and penalised;
- the immediacy of the response to breaches;
- the severity of the penalty and whether it is commensurate to the scale and frequency of the breach(es); and
- whether the activity has been widely publicised (Grube & Nygaard 2005; NDRI 2007).

The enforcement of liquor acts can involve both randomised and targeted strategies (Graham & Homel 2008). Randomised enforcement focuses on all or most licensed premises within a defined geographic area, using highly visible enforcement of liquor licensing legislation according to a random schedule. Targeted enforcement utilises intelligence collected by police to target problematic premises (Graham & Homel 2008). The fact that some premises are more problematic than others means that intelligence-led approaches to the policing of licensed premises and entertainment precincts are often recommended as the most effective mechanism for producing substantial reductions in alcohol-related problems (Nicholas 2010). Research into the impact of enforcement strategies, including but not limited to those directed at licensed premises, suggests that intelligence-led and targeted enforcement programs are more likely to be effective in dealing with the problems associated with alcohol-related violence in entertainment precincts (Graham & Homel 2008; McIlwain & Homel 2009; Sherman & Eck 2006).

Research examining the effectiveness of interventions focusing specifically on policing has shown that, when appropriately targeted, enforcement can be an effective approach to reducing violence in licensed premises (Haines & Graham 2005). Studies in Australia have demonstrated that a persistent and visible police presence in and around licensed

premises has the capacity to reduce the level of alcohol-related crime and disorder in an area (Doherty & Roche 2003; McIlwain & Homel 2009). This has been supported by research in New Zealand (Sim, Morgan & Batchelor 2005), Sweden (Wallin & Andreasson 2005) and the United Kingdom (Jefferies & Saunders 1983; Maguire & Nettleton 2003). Other studies have been less supportive of this finding (Burns & Coumarelos 1993). However, many of these studies (with both positive and negative findings) have experienced methodological limitations. Given the level of resources invested by police in policing licensed premises, there is a relative lack of high-quality and independent evaluations into the effectiveness of the variety of approaches that have been adopted (Fleming 2008).

Drawing upon the available evidence base, Doherty and Roche (2003) have identified the following five key elements of a best practice approach to policing licensed premises:

- a clear strategic direction for policing licensed premises and alcohol-related harms;
- proactive policing of licensed venues, events and harms;
- establishing intelligence gathering and analysis practices and systems that identify problematic licensed premises and assist with the evaluation of police responses;
- collaboration with key local stakeholders to develop integrated responses to reduce alcohol-related incidents and harms; and
- enforcing liquor and other legislation impacting on the management of licensed premises and behaviour of staff and patrons.

Preventing violence in Indigenous communities

The analysis of NT Police data demonstrated that in the five urban communities of Darwin, Casuarina, Palmerston, Katherine and Alice Springs, Indigenous people are overrepresented as both offenders and victims of assault. The overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system is well documented (Allard 2010). Indigenous people come into contact with police, the courts and

corrections at a higher rate than the rest of the community (AIC 2012). The rate of imprisonment for Indigenous offenders is 15 times higher than for non-Indigenous offenders (ABS 2013). The rate of offending and victimisation varies across communities, with some Indigenous communities experiencing higher crime rates than others (CMC 2009; Lawrence 2007). As part of a broader response, crime reduction strategies can go some way in addressing the underlying reasons for Indigenous people becoming involved in crime, either as offenders or victims, which can in turn reduce their likelihood of coming into contact with the criminal justice system.

A number of recent reports have highlighted the importance of investing in crime prevention and community safety initiatives to reduce Indigenous people's contact with the criminal justice system (Allard 2010; CMC 2009). There are many examples of promising interventions already in place in many communities (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner 2006; SCRGSP 2009). These initiatives, when developed and implemented in accordance with good practice, have the potential to address important risk factors for offending and victimisation within Indigenous communities and help to build strong and functional communities where there are low rates of social problems (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner 2006; Lawrence 2007).

Factors contributing to high rates of offending and victimisation

There is a range of factors that contribute to the high rate at which Indigenous people come into contact with the criminal justice system. Risk factors that have been identified by Australian research include:

- alcohol use—while the proportion of Indigenous people that drink alcohol is lower than for non-Indigenous people, those that do drink are more likely to consume alcohol at harmful levels;
- substance use—in regional and remote communities, this primarily involves the use of cannabis, inhalants and increasingly, amphetamines;
- poor health and limited access to health services;
- failure to complete Year 12;

- problems relating to securing and maintaining stable employment;
- living within households that have experienced financial stress;
- welfare dependence;
- living in a crowded household;
- a lack of support from parents, families and friends;
- familial violence and abuse;
- experience of racism, including institutional racism;
- insecure cultural identity;
- living in an area with perceived neighbourhood or community problems; and
- being a member of or related to a member of the stolen generation (Allard 2010; Delahunty & Putt 2006a; Morgan & Louis 2010; SCRGSP 2009; Weatherburn, Snowball & Hunter 2006).

Many of these risk factors are also common among non-Indigenous offenders. However, the level of social and economic disadvantage is greater among Indigenous communities, resulting in higher rates of involvement in crime (Allard 2010; SCRGSP 2009). Some commentators have argued that this is due to historical events, with dispossession, colonisation and child removal having had a profound effect on Indigenous communities, resulting in social disorganisation, the loss of parenting skills, intergenerational trauma and a cycle of abuse (Allard 2010; Stanley et al. 2010).

Regional and remote communities encounter additional disadvantage due to inadequate infrastructure, issues relating to residents' ability to access housing assistance and, in some communities, limited capacity to address social and economic factors contributing to high rates of offending (Delahunty & Putt 2006a). The living conditions of Indigenous Australians therefore have important implications for projects aiming to improve community safety. Almost 70 percent of Australia's Indigenous population live outside of metropolitan areas, while around one in four Indigenous Australians live in remote areas, compared with only one in 50 non-Indigenous Australians (SCRGSP 2009).

Evidence of effectiveness

Crime prevention programs targeting Indigenous communities can reduce risk of contact with the criminal justice system by aiming to:

- reduce rates of drug and alcohol abuse;
- build cultural resilience and reduce ‘cultural discontinuity’;
- improve school performance, retention and attendance;
- strengthen social support and increase participation in social activities;
- increase employment and employment skills;
- increase access to adequate housing and reducing financial stress;
- improve important life and social skills, particularly among Indigenous youths;
- improve quality of family life, in particular addressing issues relating to parenting skills, family violence and sexual abuse;
- increase the level of support for victims of crime and those people exposed to violence in the home; and/or
- reduce the opportunities for crime by modifying the physical environment (Allard 2010; Snowball & Weatherburn 2006).

While a range of crime prevention projects have been implemented in Indigenous communities, very few have been rigorously evaluated. As a result, there is a lack of evidence in terms of effective Indigenous crime prevention initiatives (Allard 2010; Memmott et al. 2001; Richards, Rosevear & Gilbert 2011). Some of the more promising community-based strategies include:

- night patrols;
- sobering-up shelters and drug and alcohol services;
- programs that aim to reduce the availability of alcohol and other substances (such as inhalants);
- education, employment and training programs—particularly those programs that provide ongoing support to individuals;
- intervention programs for victims and perpetrators of family violence;
- mentoring programs for Indigenous youths;

- early intervention schemes that provide support and training to parents and facilitated activities for young children to develop relationship skills;
- diversionary projects aimed at at-risk youths;
- programs that aim to strengthen cultural identity; for example, through sport, arts and cultural activities; and
- programs that provide support to Indigenous people during their contact with, and exit from, the criminal justice system to prevent reoffending (beyond...2004; Blagg 2003; Cunneen 2001; Lee et al. 2008; Memmott et al. 2006; Richards, Rosevear & Gilbert 2011; Robinson et al. 2009).

Characteristics of effective initiatives

Despite there being limited evidence regarding effective crime prevention initiatives, there is a large body of research that identifies characteristics of effective projects and requirements for successful implementation. Past research points to the need for crime prevention projects in regional and remote Indigenous communities to:

- involve local Indigenous persons in the development of the project, including Elders and other respected persons from the community;
- promote the project within the wider community and work to build community support and where possible, involvement;
- involve Indigenous personnel in the delivery of project activities and where this isn't possible, ensure staff are provided with appropriate and adequate cultural awareness and sensitivity training;
- adopt a holistic approach to Indigenous health and wellbeing that takes into consideration the range of societal, cultural, community, family and individual factors which may impact upon a person's behaviour;
- be sensitive to the traditional value systems and practices of the particular community in which they are being implemented and adapt the mode of delivery accordingly;
- meet the needs of Indigenous people at risk of becoming involved in crime by providing Indigenous-specific content;

- engage the participant's family and community in programs and services;
- develop strategies to overcome language and literacy barriers;
- consider eligibility criteria where programs are open to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants to ensure that Indigenous people can access the program;
- work to build the capacity of local communities to continue to develop and implement initiatives to improve community safety;
- establish and strengthen relationships with Indigenous persons who are able to mentor others;
- be supported by good governance at the organisation, community and government levels;
- have ongoing government support including human, financial and physical resources; and
- include measures of performance that go beyond reductions in crime and victimisation rates (Cunneen 2001; Robinson et al. 2009; SCAG 2009; SCRGSP 2009).

Responding to family and domestic violence

Many of the strategies already described in this section, including strategies to reduce alcohol consumption and related harms and strategies to reduce violence among Indigenous communities, will contribute to the prevention of family and domestic violence, either as a primary or secondary goal. However, there is growing recognition of the need for specialist responses to reduce family and domestic violence. These responses are reviewed briefly in this section.

Criminal justice responses to family and domestic violence include second responder programs, domestic violence courts and perpetrator programs. The evidence in support of these programs is mixed.

Second responder programs target victims of family violence. They involve a team, usually consisting of a police officer and a victim advocate, who follow up on the initial police response to a family violence incident and provide the victim with information on

services and legal options and may also advise perpetrators (where present) of the legal consequences of further violence (Davis, Weisburd & Taylor 2008).

According to Davis, Weisburd and Taylor (2008), the aims of these programs can vary. Some aim to help victims better understand the cyclical nature of family violence, develop a safety plan, obtain a restraining order, increase their knowledge of legal rights and options and provide assistance to the victim to access emergency accommodation. They might also attempt to assist victims to leave a violent relationship by helping them to establish great independence counselling, job training and other referrals.

Nevertheless, these programs attempt to encourage victims to report incidents of family violence to police and to prevent repeat victimisation. The evidence in terms of the impact of these programs is mixed. Results from the meta-analysis showed that second responder programs increased the willingness of victims to report incidents of family violence to police and that this may have been the result of increased confidence in police (Davis, Weisburd & Taylor 2008). This is an important outcome. However, there was no impact on the likelihood of new incidents of family violence (ie repeat victimisation).

Domestic violence courts have become increasingly common internationally, although their growth in Australia has been slower than in other countries (Stewart 2011). There are a number of different models that have been implemented (with common elements adapted to suit local conditions), with a more recent trend towards intervention with perpetrators and treatment programs based a therapeutic justice approach (as opposed to an emphasis on victim participation and safety). The evidence in terms of the impact of these court models is mixed, but there are some promising results (Stewart 2011).

For example, a recent study by Birdsey and Smith (2012) examined the effectiveness of the NSW domestic violence intervention court model (DVICM) in terms of police and court outcomes and found similar results to those reported by Labriola et al. (2010) based on their review of US court models. The DVICM sought to improve the criminal justice system's response to domestic violence by

improving police evidence gathering in relation to domestic violence, improving the efficiency of the court response to matters of domestic violence, providing greater support to victims of domestic violence and improving the management of domestic violence offenders (Birdsey & Smith 2012: 2).

This study compared court outcomes in three court locations (Campbelltown, Macquarie Fields and Wagga Wagga) with the rest of New South Wales. The results showed that the DVICM had increased the proportion of persons of interest charged in Macquarie Fields, but not in the other two locations. It had also reduced the time taken to finalise domestic violence matters in Campbelltown and Wagga Wagga Local Courts. However, the DVICM did not impact on the resolution of court matters (in terms of matters resolved through a guilty plea or dismissal) or sentence outcomes for offenders (eg proportion of offenders sentenced to prison or placed under supervision). The authors concluded that the program was successful in achieving some of its aims, particularly with regards to reducing court delays, and that this highlighted the challenges associated with delivering positive outcomes for victims of domestic violence.

There has been less research into the impact of perpetrator programs, which typically focus on changing the attitudes of domestic violence perpetrators towards women and intimate partners by addressing issues related to jealousy (among other things) and helping them to better manage conflict without resorting to aggression (Cussen & Lyneham 2012; Day et al. 2010). Research into the impact of a perpetrator program on the Gold Coast found that by program end, many of the participants reported a greater awareness of their problematic behaviour, had less supportive attitudes towards violence and felt more confident in their ability to manage conflict without violence—and very few participants were charged with a further offence in the 12 month follow up period. While promising, these findings need to be interpreted with some caution, given the relatively small number of participants, reliance on self-report data and absence of a comparison group.

The limits of a criminal justice response have been acknowledged and the importance of an integrated

response to family violence (which involve but is not limited to second responder programs, domestic violence courts and perpetrator programs) has been recognised at all levels of government. The National Council to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children (NCRVWC) National Plan for Australia acknowledged that there are challenges in overcoming a fragmented approach to family violence prevention and in particular, service planning, program design, funding, evaluation and monitoring—resulting in gaps in service provision, duplication of services and limited resources for competing services (NCRVWC 2009). For this reason, the NCRVWC recommended urgent action to develop policy, planning and service delivery responses that emphasised collaboration and integration and addressed fragmented programs and services.

There are a number of potential benefits associated with bringing together agencies alongside criminal justice, such as child protection, corrections, housing, advocacy and diverse sectors of the health system. Interagency collaboration is now regarded as a fundamental requirement of good practice (eg see Mulrone 2003; Pence & McDonnell 2001; Wilcox 2008). It allows for the consolidation of resources from a diverse range of services (Souhami 2008). Integrated responses to family violence can increase access to services, improve cost efficiencies and lead to better service outcomes, particularly for victims (ADFVC 2010).

Bringing together a range of service providers can lead to innovation in service design and delivery. Importantly, it can assist with better identification of client risks and needs and the development of a service delivery strategy to address them (Souhami 2008). This is important in responding to both family violence victims and offenders.

Different models of intervention have been developed across Australia and overseas as specialised responses to family violence. While Australian jurisdictions differ in terms of how they define family violence in policy and legislation, all jurisdictions currently support coordinated responses to family violence (Cussen & Lyneham 2012). Some examples of integrated responses to family violence implemented in Australia include:

- Family Violence Intervention Program (Australian Capital Territory);
- Gold Coast Integrated Response (Queensland);
- Family Safety Framework (South Australia);
- Safe at Home (Tasmania);
- Armadale Domestic Violence Intervention Project (Western Australia); and

- New Response to Family Violence (Victoria) (Cussen & Lyneham 2012).

Wilcox (2008) identified a number of good practice principles for integrated responses to family violence (see Table 19).

Table 19 Good practice principles for integrated responses to family violence

Focus on victim safety and offender accountability	Adequate resourcing
Inclusion of all family violence-related services at all levels (service delivery, policy, problem solving)	Workable structure of governance, with coordination, steering, troubleshooting and monitoring functions
Shared missions, aims, values, approaches to family violence protocols	Transparency, particularly in regard to outcomes, including criminal justice system outcomes and evaluation processes
Collaborative approach to policy development and memoranda of understanding	Commitment to continual self-auditing, with data collection and monitoring processes to enable this
Willingness to change organisational practice to meet the aims of the response and develop operating procedures to achieve this	Regular and frequent coordinated case management meetings
Practices and protocols which ensure cultural safety, inclusivity and access and equity issues	Mechanisms to enhance legal equality, such as access to legal services and representation
Information sharing system	Identification of service gaps (eg children's counselling) and development of new services to address them
Adequately trained and professional staff	Incorporation of specialist courts with concurrent family law jurisdiction
Senior level commitment and coordination	

Source: Wilcox cited in Cussen & Lyneham 2012: 13

Integrated interventions aim to improve victim safety, offender accountability and system-level responses. Research into the effectiveness of integrated programs have tended to focus on component parts rather than system level impacts due, in part, to the complex nature of family violence and associated interventions. Research into the impact on victim safety, offender accountability and improved agency responses is therefore limited.

A review of evaluated programs (Cussen & Lyneham 2012) identified positive impacts that can be attributed to the integrated or coordinated nature of the responses employed by those programs. Programs appear to be particularly effective in improving victim satisfaction and feelings of support. Reductions in offender risks of reoffending and increased victim safety have also been demonstrated in programs that:

- combine the use of a range of court based sanctions with offender support or counselling (eg see Murphy, Musser & Maton 1998);
- ensure appropriate arrangements are in place to allow the sharing of offender and victim risk assessments between service agencies (eg see Shephard et al 2002); and
- provide for the early and systematic identification of repeat offenders (eg see Hanmer, Griffiths & Jerwood 1999); and
- In addition, integrated programs have been demonstrated to have an impact on legislative changes and approaches to handling both family violence and sexual assault cases (Cussen & Lyneham 2012).

Conversely, in some circumstances, integrated responses designed to empower victims and improve family stability that fail to engage with offenders and services for offenders have been demonstrated to unintentionally generate conditions that can precipitate further violence (eg see Hovell, Seid & Liles 2006).

Overall, the evidence suggests that integrated responses that are supported by practice frameworks that assist agencies to understand what they are trying to achieve as well as providing the necessary guidance to ensure the needs of victims, offenders and the broader community are met are most likely to be successful.

Strategies that can be delivered by other agencies to reduce crime and disorder

Reducing crime and fear of crime in the Northern Territory will require individuals, communities, businesses, non-government organisations and all levels of government to work together to address the complex and wide ranging individual, social and environmental factors that increase the risk of crime, disorder and victimisation. There is a range of strategies that can be delivered by agencies other than NT Police (with or without the support and involvement of police) to help reduce crime and disorder in the Northern Territory. This includes urban planning and design, situational approaches to crime prevention, development crime prevention and early intervention, community development approaches and criminal justice approaches to reduce reoffending. The evidence in support of these approaches is presented in Table A1 in Appendix A and summarised below.

Urban planning and design

- Broader planning initiatives include Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) and urban renewal projects and seek to reduce the opportunities for crime through the design and management of the built and landscaped environment.
- CPTED has a major influence on crime prevention policy and practice in Australia as in other parts of the world, and a number of state, territory and local governments now have specific planning policies that incorporate CPTED principles or guidelines.
- The evidence in support of CPTED is growing. There is sufficient evidence to support the application of CPTED principles, as well as environmental safety assessments more broadly, as a key consideration in the development of the built environment, including new development proposals and urban regeneration initiatives. This should be supported by further research into the effectiveness of CPTED as a crime prevention measure.
- State and territory and local government play a key role in environmental design, through the

development and management of safe public spaces. Governments can address factors that influence the opportunities for crime to occur through its various responsibilities in areas such as managing public space and building design, providing community recreational services and developing policies that affect local businesses and urban development processes.

Situational approaches to crime prevention

- Situational crime prevention is based upon the premise that crime is frequently opportunistic, and aims to modify contextual factors to limit the opportunities for offenders to engage in criminal behaviour.
- There is considerable evidence of the effectiveness of situational crime prevention in reducing crime, both from Australia and overseas. There is also a growing body of evaluated strategies which can help to inform the selection and design of situational crime prevention interventions and a well-developed methodology for their application.
- Communities and individuals can assist situational approaches by implementing personal, household and vehicle security measures, participating in the delivery of crime prevention strategies directed at the physical environment and providing input into identifying and understanding the nature of local crime problems and identifying local priorities. Similarly, by adopting business practices and designing business premises and products that minimise the opportunities for crime to occur, businesses can help to reduce crime.

Developmental crime prevention and early intervention

- Developmental crime prevention, which involves intervening early in critical transition points in a person's development to address those factors that may lead them on a pathway to future involvement in crime, can produce significant long-term social and economic benefits.
- Eliminating risk factors and enhancing protective factors associated with offending can impact upon the likelihood that a young person will engage in future offending behaviour. These

factors can be related to the individual or their family, school, peers, life events and community and cultural factors.

- Long-term reductions in offending have been achieved by providing basic services or resources to individuals, families, schools or communities to minimise the impact of these factors on the development of offending behaviours. These resources and services are best directed towards disadvantaged families with young children.
- Many of the risk and protective factors related to crime are the responsibility of state and territory and Commonwealth government agencies. Community-based and non-government organisations also provide a range of important services that can address many of the individual and community level factors associated with crime and antisocial behaviour.

Community development approaches

- A focus on community development recognises that crime is strongly associated with the coincidence of a series of structural determinants present within particular communities (eg differential rates of access to housing, employment, education and health services, among other factors).
- There is some evidence from overseas that neighbourhood-level interventions in deprived areas designed to address issues related to economic and social regeneration can result in reductions in crime and fear and increased satisfaction with the local area. Further research into the effectiveness of these programs in achieving long-term reductions in crime is required.
- Community development programs that focus on strengthening informal networks and enhancing community structures have the potential to build community capacity, which can in turn provide opportunities to mobilise communities to address local crime problems.
- Crime prevention initiatives need to be supported by broader social policy initiatives that are designed to reduce the supply of potential offenders by reducing economic stress and preventing geographic concentrations of disadvantage.

- Local government can also deliver both crime prevention and community development strategies that focus on providing important infrastructure to meet the needs of communities, as well as hosting a range of community events to build a sense of community. The active participation of the community in these strategies is an important factor in their success.
- Effective programs address dynamic risk factors that are directly associated with an offender's behaviour, are delivered as they were planned and designed (treatment fidelity), are implemented in a way that is appropriate for the participating offenders, provide for substantial contact between treatment personnel and participant (where relevant) and target high-risk offenders.

Criminal justice approaches

- Criminal justice approaches include interventions at all stages of the criminal justice system, including police diversionary programs, court-based diversion and problem-solving courts, programs and services for offenders serving custodial and non-custodial sentences and re-entry programs and support post release for prisoners.
- There is strong evidence that reintegration programs delivered at different stages of the criminal justice process can contribute to significant reductions in offending behaviour and reduce the impost on police, courts and corrections.
- Programs that have been shown to be effective in reducing recidivism depend upon the close cooperation between agencies within the criminal justice system and those agencies outside it, including a range of government agencies responsible for housing, health and education, non-government service providers, local industry and the community.

Considerations for the successful implementation of Northern Territory crime reduction strategies

There are several important considerations for the successful implementation of future Northern Territory crime reduction strategies. In addition to investing in evidence-based responses, it's important that these factors be considered when developing and implementing strategies to increase perceptions of safety and reduce violence and public disorder.

Respond to challenges relevant to the Northern Territory context

There are certain contextual factors that will impact on future crime reduction strategies and that need to be considered when implementing responses to violence and public disorder. Some of the barriers and challenges already identified and discussed above include:

- the unique environment of the Northern Territory, including its cultural complexity, particularly outside the Darwin/Palmerston area and the legacy of mistrust left by previous interactions such as the Stolen Generation;
- the scale of alcohol abuse and the intensity of domestic/family violence in areas of the Northern Territory;

- the challenges of finding people who can meet requirements in both cultures, such as having cultural authority but also a clean criminal record;
- high mobility within the Northern Territory, in terms of people moving from bush to urban areas and back again, but also the high rate of staff turnover in crime reduction programs; and
- housing issues, identified as an issue contributing to social disorder in lack of accommodation for those visiting from remote areas but also—particularly in Katherine discussions—as a barrier to hiring staff for service delivery and for crime reduction initiatives.

In addition, as noted previously, Indigenous community members' perspectives are not sufficiently addressed in research on safety perceptions and contact with police. As Indigenous Territorians make up a large proportion of crime victims and perpetrators, greater engagement is warranted to identify and implement locally effective crime reduction strategies.

Importance of focusing on implementation

Effective crime reduction requires careful consideration of the evidence base with regard to

identifying possible interventions, the circumstances in which these interventions will be delivered and how they will be adapted to suit local conditions. It also requires an understanding of what needs to be done and the factors that are integral to successful implementation. This includes features that are specific to crime prevention, as well as aspects of good governance more broadly. Initiatives should be supported on the basis that they are shown to target factors known to influence crime, are consistent with proven or promising practice and adhere to best practice in implementation.

Many interventions fail due to policy makers and practitioners focusing too much on replicating a successful intervention and not on the factors needed to implement that approach (Eklom 2010; Knutsson & Clarke 2006). This has been termed ‘implementation failure’ (see Eklom 2010, 2002; Tilley 2009). Implementation failure refers to problems with translating an idea into practice, resulting in either no interventions being delivered, the desired interventions not being delivered, or the interventions being implemented so poorly that the intended results are not produced (Tilley 2009). The risk of implementation failure increases with the number and complexity of the interventions being delivered, the number of agencies that are involved, the presence of separate lines of accountability, personnel changes, the absence of support and the volatility and changeability of the context in which the intervention is being delivered (Knutsson & Clarke 2006; Tilley 2009). Implementation failure has proven to be a significant issue impacting upon the effectiveness of crime prevention programs and initiatives, both in Australia and overseas (Homel 2009a; Sutton, Cherney & White 2008; Tilley 2009, 2005).

Experience from crime prevention programs in Australia and overseas has demonstrated that there are several factors that need to be considered in developing and implementing an effective intervention. There are a number of implementation considerations that are specific to the different types of responses described in the previous two sections of this report. There are also a number of requirements for successful implementation that are common across the different approaches.

Problem solving and crime prevention

Effective crime prevention requires a problem-solving approach to the development, implementation and review of policies, programs and local initiatives (Cherney 2006; Henderson & Henderson 2002; Homel 2009a; Laycock 2005; Tilley & Laycock 2002). Various models have been developed to guide this process (Cherney 2006; Eklom 2008; Tilley 2009). All of these models involve some combination of problem analysis, strategy selection, implementation, partnership working and review (Cherney 2006). Problem solving involves a systematic analysis of current and emerging crime problems, their causes and risk factors. Once these problems are identified and understood, an appropriate response can then be identified and developed based on evidence regarding the effectiveness of different approaches and a consideration of the circumstances to which it will be adapted. The process then involves identifying the key parties that need to participate and mobilising them for action to implement the response. The response is then subjected to regular review and evaluation and feedback on implementation and effectiveness of the strategy is used to inform improvements (either to the current or future strategies).

This does not replace the need for more in-depth analysis of crime hotspots is required. Similarly, it is important that there is a systematic approach to the selection of local solutions to crime and disorder hotspots identified in this safety audit.

Analysis of the crime problem being addressed

An important dimension of the evidence-based approach to crime prevention is the selection of a response based on an understanding of the problem being addressed and its underlying causes (Clarke & Eck 2005). Determining how, where and when to intervene requires an understanding of the nature of the crime problem being addressed (Hirschfield 2005).

Unless there is a clear definition of the crime problems to be addressed, with evidence for them,

it will not be possible to work out what to introduce or how to implement it (Laycock 2005: 572).

The effectiveness of a particular intervention is highly dependent upon how appropriate that intervention is for the crime problem being addressed (Hirschfield 2005). Experience from problem oriented policing (POP) projects has shown that crime prevention projects can fail because the targeted problem was inaccurately identified or inadequately analysed, leading to the selection of a response that doesn't address the actual problem or its causes (Scott 2006). There needs to be a clear rationale for the proposed intervention, based on an understanding of the problem being addressed and its causes (Laycock & Tilley 1995).

This requires the systematic identification and analysis of crime problems (Laycock 2005). Comprehensive analysis of the crime and contextual factors will help to inform an understanding of the problem and of environmental factors that may help facilitate or inhibit the implementation of the chosen solution and influence its overall effectiveness (Hirschfield 2005). In some instances, the most obvious and appropriate solution will emerge through the analysis of the problem (Clarke & Eck 2005; Goldstein & Scott 2001). In others, a range of potential solutions may be identified. Further analysis will help determine whether the proposed interventions are appropriate to the problem being addressed.

Assessments of local crime problems need to be based on information from multiple sources, not just police data, to ensure that a complete picture of the nature and scope of a problem is formed and so the causes of that problem may be understood. For example, a common element of effective responses to gang-related crime in the United States was that there was an extensive research process undertaken before developing the scheme in order to understand the key issues associated with gang-related violence in the local community (Braga et al. 2001; Skogan et al. 2008; Tita et al. 2010). This involved wide-ranging consultations with police, community leaders and service providers. The result of this process was the identification of a discrete and manageable problem. Similarly, in the case of burglary, effective strategies are those that had been able to identify high-risk households (based on local crime data and previous victimisation), factors that

contribute to this high risk and access points for burglary offenders, so as to inform the development and implementation of appropriate responses (Bowers, Johnson & Hirschfield 2004; Ekblom, Law & Sutton 1996; Forrester, Chatterton & Pease 1988; Forrester et al. 1990). In this example, recorded crime data from police were frequently used to identify the locations of recent burglaries, the extent of repeat victimisation, common access points for offenders, the types of premises that were targeted and the types of property that were stolen.

Effective strategies frequently rely upon a combination of data sources to provide a more in-depth understanding of the problem being addressed, including:

- recorded crime data, which is a valuable source of information about crime trends and temporal patterns (ie by month, day of week and time of day), the types of locations that are targeted, people or households at risk of becoming a victim, offenders apprehended by police and the types of property that is stolen;
- hotspot maps, which provide a visual representation of the locations within each neighbourhood with the highest number of recorded offences, as well as the specific locations at which these offences occurred;
- surveys or interviews with victims of crime provided useful information about the level and nature of victimisation, risk factors and the types of measures that were already in place (and may not be working);
- surveys of the wider community to assess the degree of concern among residents about the prevalence of offending in their neighbourhood, possible explanations for this offending, high-risk locations, perceptions of safety and the level of support for different types of prevention strategies;
- surveys or interviews with offenders, while less common due to the challenges associated with their implementation, have been used to develop a better understanding of the motivation of offenders and the reasons they target specific locations or victims and the techniques used to conduct the offences; and
- consultation with relevant local stakeholders (potentially as part of a working group or project

committee, see below) is often used to seek useful information regarding other organisations' experience and understanding of offending in the local community, the possible causes of this offending and information on local initiatives trialled in the past (Morgan et al. 2012).

Regular data collection and analysis (ie over the life of the project) enables project managers to monitor progress and identify new issues as they emerge. It is vital that key indicators continue to be monitored so that interventions can be modified in response to changing crime rates and patterns (Hough & Tilley 1998).

Deciding what to do

One of the challenges for Northern Territory crime reduction efforts will be deciding on an appropriate response to the problems that have been identified and explored in this report. The evidence presented in this report has illustrated the need for a targeted approach—one that involves developing local solutions for places accounting for a disproportionate number of offences.

There are a number of factors that need to be considered in deciding what to do to address a crime problem. According to Goldstein (1990), this should involve a wide-ranging search for alternatives, which includes both brainstorming for new interventions and reviewing what has been tried elsewhere, and then choosing from these alternatives. In some instances, the most obvious and appropriate solution will emerge through the analysis of the problem (Brown & Scott 2007; Clarke & Eck 2005; Goldstein & Scott 2001). In others, a range of potential solutions may be identified. Nevertheless, there are a number of important factors that need to be considered in determining which alternative is the most appropriate and most likely to be effective. Brown and Scott (2007: 23–30) have identified 10 questions to ask about planned interventions as part of the planning stage:

- What is the change mechanism (see below)?
- What evidence is there that the intervention has worked before?
- How difficult will it be to implement the intervention?

- Does the intervention rely on external partners' actions?
- Are regulatory or high-level policy changes required to implement the intervention?
- How will the intervention interact with other interventions being implemented in the same area/with the same group?
- What will be the stakeholders' reactions to the intervention?
- Will any negative consequences accrue from the intervention?
- How long will it take for the intervention to show results?
- Can the impact be measured?

The answers to each question will help inform the process of deciding what to do to address the identified crime problem. The relative importance or weight assigned to each question will vary across different circumstances, but need to be determined early in the decision-making process. Like Goldstein (1990), Brown and Scott (2007) acknowledge that one or more possible responses will quickly emerge as preferred options, or that the most suitable option may appear obvious to those responsible for planning a crime prevention project. Nevertheless, they suggest that these questions should still be asked about any planned intervention, because greater attention needs to be paid to the process of implementing crime prevention responses to avoid implementation failure.

Supporting innovation

The limits of the crime prevention evidence base have been widely reported and acknowledged—the findings presented in the rapid evidence assessment showed that, while certain responses have been subjected to rigorous evaluation, others have not. For this reason, some intervention options that will be considered by NT Police and its partners will not be supported by evidence of their effectiveness, particularly in Northern Territory contexts. They may not have been evaluated or, where they have been evaluated, may only have shown some evidence of success. Evidence of their effectiveness may also not yet be clear. Importantly, the absence of evidence or prior effectiveness should not stifle

innovation. The National Crime Prevention Centre (2007) describes innovative programs as being those initiatives that, while novel, are based on a sound theoretical framework. They should adhere to principles of good practice (especially in terms of their implementation) and be targeted at the causes of crime.

Choosing innovative solutions therefore requires an understanding of crime prevention theory and the causal mechanisms that underpin the different approaches to preventing crime (Cherney 2006; Eck 2005; Homel 2009; Tilley 2009). Theory is becoming increasingly recognised as an important feature of crime prevention evaluation and practice (Eck 2005; Liddle 2008). Theory provides an intervention with a clear purpose—without a clear purpose for having chosen a particular intervention, it is unlikely that this intervention will target a problem effectively (Laycock & Tilley 1995). Theory failure results when a problem is misdiagnosed or misunderstood, the interventions delivered are not capable of producing the intended results, or the conditions in which that intervention was delivered are not conducive to successful outcomes (Tilley 2009).

Eck (2005) argues that crime prevention programs and projects are (or should be) an extension of theories tested empirically through research and evaluation, which help explain how a crime problem has emerged, what settings contribute to the problem and which suggest logical solutions to the problem. Theory-driven crime prevention also requires an understanding of the mechanisms underpinning a crime prevention strategy (which refers to how an intervention produces changes), the means through which they are activated and the conditions needed for these mechanisms to operate (Pawson & Tilley 1997; Tilley 2009). This recognises that if the circumstances in which an intervention is delivered are different, the measure may activate different causal mechanisms and as a result, produce different outcomes (Ekblom 2002). This is an important consideration when determining whether an intervention is an appropriate choice for the current problem and circumstance.

Focus group participants concurred:

I think that it is highly specialised work and it needs to be done with a lot of thought and ongoing reference to the literature. Otherwise, you do what has been done over and over and over again here, and you make it up as you go along and you make the situation worse...

Sustainable funding

To support effective programs, sustainable funding was identified as critical by focus group participants:

...sustained funding that's not just short-term fixes and sustained grant cycles so we have a consistent framework of supporting communities...It's a far better way, as a long-term [tactic] but it also helps in the short term because people start to know where to go...

...it needs to be long term sustainable. That's what I see a lot of, we have these programs and all of a sudden it's gone, another one, a great one, gone...

It needs to be ongoing. We had the same issue in New Zealand. Same problems, same focus groups, same issues...It needs to be ongoing. Every time we had a change in government, it changed focus. What I'm saying is everything is valid, what you're saying here, housing, alcohol-related crime, how to reduce it, that sort of thing. Improve the communities, all that sort of thing, but it needs to be ongoing. There must be a commitment...

...one of the issues is short-term political and funding cycles with a massive changeover in staff and so on. People are sick to death of being consulted. There should be a political commitment at some level, the results of consultation...bipartisan and intergenerational...

The issue of short-term funding is not unique to the Northern Territory and has been identified as having a significant impact on the longer term effectiveness of crime prevention strategies, particularly those that demonstrate positive short-term benefits but are reliant on grant funding (Homel et al. 2007).

Community readiness and engagement

Community engagement is a key feature of effective crime prevention (Camina 2004; Laycock & Tilley 1995; Mistry 2007). A clear strategy for engaging the most vulnerable sections of the community (in terms of their risk of offending, becoming a victim of crime, or feeling unsafe) is important in the development and implementation of crime prevention programs and projects. This can include representatives of the community targeted by a particular strategy as well as those who may otherwise be considered marginal or potentially excluded (eg culturally or linguistically diverse communities). Participative programs that involve young people in program development and delivery are increasingly being recognised as important in addressing high rates of offending and victimisation among young people (Bodson et al. 2008).

Experience has shown that interventions involving the community are more likely to be more effective when members of the community are enthusiastic and supportive of the initiative (Morgan et al. 2012). Experience has also shown that it is important to begin working with the community as early as possible, involving them in both the design and implementation of a strategy. It is therefore necessary to establish appropriate consultation mechanisms at the commencement of the project to seek input from members of the community, business operators and local service providers (and others) into the development of strategies that are likely to require their involvement (or at least compliance) and that will impact upon them.

Community readiness was also identified by focus group participants as a factor in crime reduction strategy success. This was identified as a critical factor at an individual level, where programs that did not take this into account could struggle:

They're forced to go to these mandatory programs. We're trying to assist them in being rehabilitated then in three months you're down the street and they're stumbling into our office going 'yeah, just got out of Venndale'...Their money has been spent because they spent the money on going and getting drunk.

Also discussed was the readiness of community members as a whole to play a part in crime reduction:

...whatever interventions we place around licensed premises, there are going to be people who are upset and who say that we are putting rules that aren't apparent or in places anywhere else in Australia...

or to support crime reduction initiatives;

We spoke with the town council about this exact issue and they said they're in the public eye every day and there's 1,000 people in Alice Springs who as soon as they see one Aboriginal guy sitting down and not working [in a diversion program] or is seen to be, there'll be hundreds of people who get criticised without even participating in that work. Public prejudice is still one of the obstacles.

Given the underrepresentation of Indigenous groups and organisations, the readiness of local Aboriginal groups to participate in crime reduction initiatives was particularly challenged:

I'm just wondering how you collect the perceptions of public safety of Indigenous people because I feel they might be more at risk than us.

As another participant expressed:

The people themselves have to be the ones who say 'we're ready', not to say well you've got this dysfunction, there's drinking, there's all this sort of stuff, there's kids not being fed, kids are being neglected. Let's all jump in on top of that, to be able to sit down with families themselves and say what do you need to be a family and help support that?

Past research has shown that the capacity and readiness of the community in which a program is to be implemented are important in maintaining program fidelity (Elliot & Mihalic 2004). Crow et al. (2004) undertook a process and outcome evaluation of Communities that Care, a social-developmental approach to crime prevention that incorporates assessment and capacity building activities to support interventions directed at risk and protective factors. The evaluation highlighted several factors that contributed to the successful implementation of Communities that Care, including the importance of detailed assessments of community readiness; specifically, the presence of existing partnerships and management structures, leadership stability, community engagement and support for and commitment to prevention (Crow et al. 2004).

Similarly, community support, control and awareness of restrictions have been identified as important success factors for alcohol restrictions targeting Indigenous communities (NDRI 2007).

Partnership arrangements

There are a range of stakeholders who make a valuable contribution to the development, implementation and evaluation of crime prevention initiatives. The prevention of crime requires individuals, communities, businesses, non-government organisations and all levels of government to work together in a coordinated way to develop and implement effective strategies to address the short and longer term causes of crime (AIC 2012).

Partnerships are an effective mechanism for the delivery of integrated solutions, comprising closely linked and coordinated interventions that can achieve shared outcomes. However, experience has shown that establishing and maintaining effective partnerships is challenging (Morgan 2011; Morgan & Homel 2011), and that while partnerships offer numerous benefits, they also present significant operational challenges (Knutsson & Clarke 2006; Laycock & Tilley 1995).

There was a good deal of discussion during the focus groups about partnerships to address crime and its causes, including some concerns over groups not involved:

Following on from a couple of points that have been raised here is the lack of engagement of other stakeholders that really need to be there. The ones that don't necessarily do their role in the things we're doing...

Let's have a look at [four potential partnership agencies named]...none of those, none of them are here and none of them are out there being active.

A number of barriers were identified to agencies working together to achieve crime reduction goals:

...We just don't have that conversation across agencies. It's even harder across levels of government. Everyone wants an MOU in place. It's sort of like we put up blockages. I understand

some but...if you're looking for quicker ways of doing things, you could look at who's got what in resourcing and we could make it better.

...a place-based cross government and cross levels of government so we can say we know where the places are, we did it in Victoria with various places we knew there were particular issues. A bit like we've got today [at the focus group], we sit around and say what can we all contribute to this area to reducing the problems on a range of different fronts that makes the performance and the outcomes in this area improve. That's the initiative that is needed, I agree with you...[but] if you've got limited funding and a lot of work to do, it's easy to stay in your silo.

However, there were also positive examples cited, including a growing use of the term 'collective impact', and a number of examples of collaborative programs were given, including Supportlink. One program discussed in some depth was the Integrated Response to Family and Domestic Violence project:

...there are about 15 partners in that. Obviously, the police are a key one and there's a range of different initiatives that sit side by side and interweave with each other...a common risk assessment tool...over the last 12 months, we've trained 230 frontline workers in town from a whole lot of different sectors and the idea is that then they all have the same understanding using the same language when they are talking to the police...once the frontline workers see that someone is at extreme risk, then the referral is made into the police DV unit...about a dozen agencies...basically do a search on their files to identify if there is any relevant information...The idea is to basically put that jigsaw puzzle together... and then a safety plan is put in place and different agencies then have responsibility of x, y and z to ensure that, whatever is put into place...It's a lot of that information sharing and it's very action based...

As one participant said:

I think it needs to become a culture, a cultural shift across the community about working together. I've lived here for 10 years and I've

worked in community services, health, education, whatever that whole time. I do see a bit of a shift...if we work together collaboratively, we also we need to take that responsibility to ensure the people we work for and the organisations we work for have that mindset, that cultural shift in collaboration to all work together.

Research has identified several important qualities of effective crime prevention partnerships and governance arrangements that need to be present (to varying degrees, depending on the nature of the partnership) to enable partnerships to function effectively:

- a clear mission and agreement on the objectives of the partnership;
- good knowledge and understanding of one another's roles, responsibilities and motivation for being involved in the partnership;
- a high level of trust between partner agencies;
- members that work well together, respect one another and are committed to ensuring the partnership succeeds;
- strong leadership, including local 'champions';
- the capacity of agency representatives to commit resources to enable partnership to function and to address barriers to implementation as they arise;
- clear lines of accountability between the partnership and its parent agencies through performance management processes;
- division between strategic management and the management of operational and implementation issues, but with clear lines of communication and accountability;
- partnership structures that are relatively small, businesslike, with a clear process for making decisions and a focus on problem solving;
- adequate resourcing, including staff having enough time away from agency core business to provide input to the partnership;
- data sharing policies and protocols; and
- continuity in partner representation and participation and documentation of processes and decision-making (Gilling 2005; Homel 2006; Morgan & Homel 2011; Rosenbaum 2002).

These characteristics can act as a checklist against which policymakers and practitioners are able to assess whether the necessary conditions exist for a proposed solution involving multi-agency collaboration.

There are a number of practical lessons for developing and maintaining effective stakeholder partnerships. Where projects involve multiple interventions requiring input from a range of different stakeholders, a committee with representatives from the various parties should be established early to oversee the development, implementation and ongoing review of the project. This will help to ensure strong partnerships between key agencies and provides a process whereby all parties can be held accountable for delivering different aspects of the program. It is also a forum for sharing ideas regarding potential solutions to new problems as they arise. Ideally, this group should be led by a dedicated project coordinator. Membership stability among agency representatives involved in governance or management committees is also important (Anderson & Tresidder 2008; Morgan & Homel 2011).

Similarly, multi-component strategies should be supported by a comprehensive implementation plan that describes the key stages in project delivery and the interrelationships between different but complementary interventions. Experience has shown that having a clear strategy is important in ensuring that a project can be implemented as it was originally intended. It can also help to outline relevant roles and responsibilities. Progress against the plan can then be documented and monitored by the stakeholder committee to ensure that key information and lessons are passed on to new staff.

Practical suggestions were also made for more innovative partnerships in the Northern Territory during the focus groups:

People are around parking all over the place. [Council] guys drive past there at night probably five times. I'm just using the example I know, why can't they just stop, have the power to issue a fine and get people moved on and out of places? That's really just bad and seasonal but we know where the people that are causing crime are. We know where they are and we know who they are, but because we don't talk across agencies and I

think there's been some attempts in the past to do it, we just say I can't do anything. If I hear that one more time from an agency...

Another example is children's services. The mandatory reporting stuff is fine but that whole business around where it ends and finishes. Our [public housing] guys are out there, they know kids are at risk. Why couldn't we up-skill them to do some of your work?

There are some barriers to this:

We're gathering [intelligence] and we never share... because we're so tied up with the Information Act. That's realistically tied everybody down. We pick up drug activity. We know where it's occurring but actually passing that onto police is extremely difficult and yet you know it's occurring, you've heard from five or six people in a complex...

...there's a fear that if somebody comes to your agency and find that you've got a bit of information that comes from other agencies, god help you because you're going to end up in court over it...The Information Act has done some good changes but it has put some significant barriers for agencies to share information that is pertinent to making a change in people's lives.

However, another participant pointed out that such barriers could be overcome:

In terms of the Information Act, the barriers are there but they are definitely not insurmountable. There's an example in Alice Springs at the moment called the Family Safety Framework and that's part of the integrated response to domestic and family violence...There are 11 partner agencies sharing information in domestic violence cases. That's actually working well; police are leading that information.

Another issue raised in regard to partnerships was the downside of successful engagement, where demand could easily outrun capacity:

...all these things are pretty intensive. I've got one chap trying to manage it and then of course, once you start doing it, all the schools all want to get involved. So, you've really got to manage that closely because you don't want to overwhelm that small capacity you've got because it's pretty easy in Alice Springs for that to happen...

Even the Integrated Response to Family and Domestic Violence project had experienced the impact of resource stress in participating agencies.

Performance monitoring and evaluation

A final issue identified during the focus groups was lack of commitment to collecting evidence on the effectiveness of interventions:

...prevention...has to be targeted and evidence-based. That's why I asked if [initiative under discussion] had been evaluated. There's been lots of examples of programs that people think have worked but have never been evaluated...

and also committing to programs found to be successful in reducing crime and crime recidivism:

...some programs] have actually been evaluated, been seen as really constructive but not the flavour of the day for whatever reason...

Effective crime reduction involves ongoing monitoring and evaluation of strategies and programs, and the dissemination of findings to the broader sector. There are two basic approaches for measuring the effectiveness of crime reduction efforts:

- performance measurement, which involves the development of systems to regularly monitor performance information, review program performance and to inform decisions as to how to improve the operation and effectiveness of a strategy (Home Office 2007; Morgan & Homel 2011); and
- evaluation, which helps to determine how well a program has been implemented or whether a chosen strategy has achieved its stated objectives in order to build an understanding of what works in crime prevention, identify good practice and determine what can be done, and in what circumstances, to prevent crime (Eck 2005).

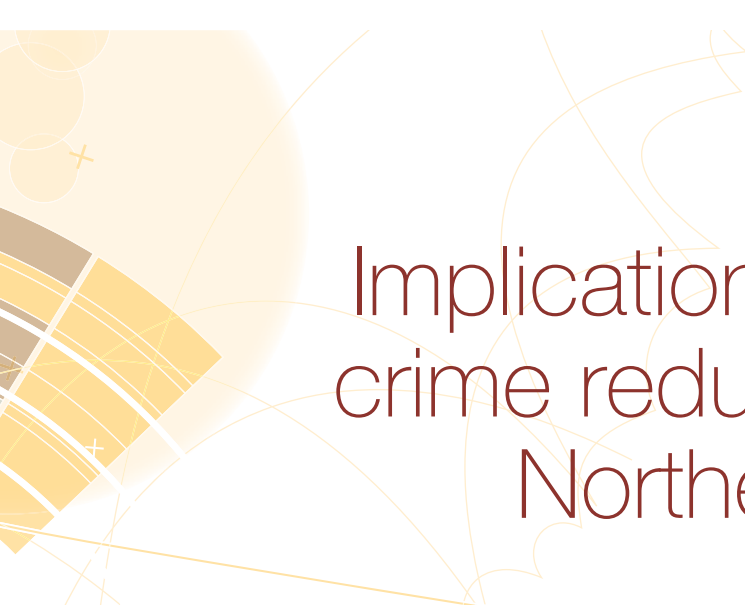
Experience shows that both approaches need to be considered during the initial planning and development stages of a project. Measuring and improving the effectiveness of crime prevention involves a combination of performance measurement and evaluation.

There is no single best approach to evaluation. There are a variety of different approaches, including experimental research designs (including randomised control trials, quasi-experimental designs and pre and post-test comparisons) and realist or theory-driven approaches. There is also a range of different quantitative and qualitative research methods that can be used. Selecting an appropriate evaluation model requires consideration of the characteristics of a program, the purpose of the evaluation study, the available options and the views of key stakeholders (English, Cummings & Straton 2002). It also needs to take into account the capacity of those conducting the evaluation. There is a need to find an appropriate balance between evaluations that seek to identify 'what works' in crime prevention through rigorous scientific methods and those that place greater emphasis on developing a more detailed understanding of good practice and what can be done and in what circumstances to prevent crime (Cherney & Sutton 2007; Tilley 2009, 2006).

Where possible, the evaluation of crime prevention strategies should incorporate both process and outcome evaluation. A process evaluation will aim to improve understanding of the activities that are delivered as part of a program. It is also focused on the implementation, operation and management of

these activities; assessing whether they were (or are being) delivered as planned and in accordance with the design of the program, determining how well they were delivered (ie to an acceptable standard and the satisfaction of various parties involved) and identifying any factors that may have impacted upon the delivery of these activities. An outcome evaluation is concerned with the overall effectiveness of the program, examining whether the stated objectives have been achieved and determining what outcomes (intended or unintended) have been delivered as a result (including the impact of the program on participants, stakeholders and the broader community).

Special challenges present in evaluating the impact of interventions which are not crime focused, but are likely to have a substantial impact on crime. While maternity support, family interventions, education and employment programs are cited as having an impact on crime, few are set up to identify and document their impact on participants' future criminal involvement.



Implications for future crime reduction in the Northern Territory

The NT Safe Streets Audit findings have important implications for the design and implementation of crime reduction strategies. The audit identified a number of crime and safety issues impacting on the urban communities of Darwin, Casuarina, Palmerston, Katherine and Alice Springs, attested in focus groups as well as demonstrated by police data. The findings indicate that improving perceptions of crime and safety as well as reducing alcohol-related violence, family and domestic violence and public disorder incidents should be the focus of Northern Territory crime reduction strategies in these communities.

The audit review process identified examples of crime reduction practice being delivered in the Northern Territory (this process was limited to identifying those responses involving NT Police; it was not intended to be exhaustive, ie there will be other responses that aim to address violence and/or public disorder in the Northern Territory which are the responsibility of other agencies).

Examples of crime reduction practice currently being delivered in the Northern Territory

To better understand which of these strategies are consistent with good practice and where there may be scope to better align crime reduction strategies with the available evidence base, the NT Safe Streets Audit compared current responses to violence (including alcohol-related violence and family and domestic violence) and public disorder with those responses supported by rigorous evidence (see Table 20).

Importantly, this is not intended as an evaluation of these responses—proper evaluation requires the collection and analysis of data on outcomes relevant to the strategy being evaluated. Rather, this section aims to identify existing strategies that are consistent with good practice, based on the findings from the rapid evidence assessment presented in the previous section.

As shown in Table 20, there are a number of strategies currently being delivered by NT Police that are consistent with the available evidence base. Gaps in this assessment highlight potential opportunities for future investment and action.

Table 20 Examples of crime reduction practice currently delivered in the Northern Territory

Evidence-based responses to improve perceptions of safety and reduce violence and public disorder	Examples of strategies currently being delivered in the Northern Territory
<p>Engaging and working closely with the community to identify and address local priorities (through local partnerships, beat policing and community policing) and increasing perceptions of police legitimacy through the application of procedural justice principles</p>	<p>NT Police has taken the lead on the development, implementation and ownership of Community Safety Action Plans across the Northern Territory. The plans will focus on four key goals—mutual respect and working partnerships, reduce domestic and family violence, reduce substance abuse and improve community amenity. The plans are due for promulgation in July 2013.</p> <p>Central to the plan is the involvement of community members in a Community Safety Committee and the opportunity for all sections of the community to be heard and involved. The plans will be promulgated throughout the respective locality with regular updates posted publicly on the outcomes of the Committee's actions. The plans will promote services available to community members and bring all interested parties together to keep people safe and enhance the amenity of the place in which they live</p>
<p>Target micro-locations that are identified as high-activity crime places through police enforcement strategies, such as directed patrol, heightened levels of traffic enforcement, aggressive disorder enforcement and problem-oriented policing</p>	<p>NT Police have implemented a number of operations targeting known hotspots in Darwin, Katherine, Tennant Creek and Alice Springs.</p> <p>For example, Operation Electra was a highly visible enforcement-oriented policing response to known public order hotspots around Darwin, Casuarina, Nightcliff and Palmerston. Operation Electra was aimed at reducing the level of alcohol-related public order issues and the consequential harms to the community. Resources from Darwin Metropolitan Command were supported by the Metropolitan Patrol Group, Police Mounted Unit, Darwin Traffic Operations and the Territory Intelligence Division to conduct foot, bicycle, mounted and vehicular patrols to target alcohol misuse, violence and public order offending. An intelligence-led approach was used to deploy police officers to hotspots where they could have the greatest impact.</p> <p>Police officers were supported by public housing safety officers, licensing inspectors and City of Darwin Council officers in a concerted effort to decrease public order offending</p>
<p>Adopting a problem solving approach, including detailed analysis of crime problems and developing and evaluating proactive responses that bring together a range of agencies to address the causes of crime</p>	<p>There have been moves in this direction, such as Operation Electra, but much more is possible here</p>
<p>Restrictions on the sale and supply of alcohol that aim to reduce the consumption of alcohol (eg restrictions on premise opening hours and on the sale of certain beverages)</p>	<p>As set out in the NT Government <i>Alcohol restrictions in the Northern Territory</i> document, there are takeaway restrictions in Katherine, Tennant Creek and Alice Springs which address when takeaway purchases can be made and what volume of alcohol can be purchased. There are also public consumption restrictions, which may be used to restrict supply to some purchasers. A number of police operations note how many thousands of litres have been poured out after people purchasing alcohol have been unable to prove that they are able to consume it in a non-restricted area. However, it should be noted that the evidence of good practice relates to restrictions on the supply/sale of alcohol, not on the post purchase consumption of alcohol, which have been the focus of attention in the Northern Territory. There are currently few examples of restrictions in licensed premises in NT urban areas</p>
<p>Targeted enforcement of existing liquor licensing legislation directed at licensed premises, particularly in entertainment precincts with high rates of assault</p>	<p>A media report in October quoted the Northern Territory Licensing Commission chairman stating that no liquor breaches in licensed had been reported in the 18 previous months</p>

<p>Supply reduction strategies specifically targeting Indigenous communities, including mandatory alcohol restrictions imposed by licensing authorities in regional and remote towns and dry community declarations (decided by the local community)</p>	<p>There are significant alcohol restrictions in remote communities. Prior to the 2007 Commonwealth intervention, many remote communities—particularly in central Australia—had declared themselves dry communities. However, as noted above in the report, some types of supply reduction can lead to displacement, ie where drinkers move to areas offering easier access to alcohol and NT urban areas may be experiencing the impact of this phenomenon</p>
<p>Community-based responses to violence that address the causes of offending, intervene at key intervention points and are consistent with best practice in terms of their design and implementation. Indigenous communities are a special priority</p>	<p>The development of community safety plans is consistent with this objective. The successful implementation and impact of the safety plans have not yet been observed and police-led plans appear to be limited currently to remote communities rather than to urban communities such as town camps. Public housing safety plans would also be consistent with this objective.</p> <p>The SupportLink model of electronic referrals by police to social support agencies, with 32 engaged to date in the Alice Springs pilot, also goes some way toward addressing this objective</p>
<p>Integrated responses to family and domestic violence, involving criminal justice responses (proactive arrest, second responder programs, domestic violence courts, perpetrator programs etc) but also bringing together agencies alongside criminal justice, such as child protection, corrections, housing, advocacy and diverse sectors of the health system</p>	<p>The Family Safety Framework (FSF) is part of the Alice Springs Integrated Response to Family and Domestic Violence Project (ASIRFDVP). The FSF was introduced in Alice Springs in July 2012. The purpose of the FSF is to provide an action-based, integrated service response to individuals and families experiencing family or domestic violence that are at high risk of injury or death.</p> <p>The FSF is a coordinated effort between key agencies in Alice Springs and is led by the NTPF through its Alice Springs Domestic Violence Unit. Over the reporting period, 71 cases were referred into the Framework. As at 30 June 2013, there were seven active cases being considered by the Framework</p>

Future directions

Areas that offer opportunities for enhanced good practice in future include a place-based approach to crime and safety issues, evidence-supported alcohol strategies community-based, cause-focused violence solutions, integrated domestic/family violence approaches, strategies to improve community perceptions of safety, building and using an enhanced evidence base, and enabling a more integrated approach to Northern Territory crime reduction.

A place-based approach to crime and safety problems

The evidence reviewed in this report supports the adoption of a more focused place-based approach to crime reduction, going beyond hotspot policing to working with partners in developing small-scale solutions to local crime problems in places (ie micro-locations) identified as having a disproportionate level of violence and public disorder. This might include targeting entertainment precincts, public

housing estates, Aboriginal camps and communities, institutions (eg custodial institutions and hospitals) and commercial premises that are identified hotspots. While certain regulatory strategies (such as restrictions on alcohol supply) may apply to entire populations, many of the strategies presented in this report that are supported by evidence are more effective when they are targeted at high-risk locations.

This may include some of the suburbs, streets and places identified in this report as accounting for a disproportionate number of violence and public disorder incidents. Reducing the level of violence and public disorder in these hotspots will have the greatest impact on overall rates of crime.

Policing strategies targeting these hotspots should draw on principles of community policing and problem-oriented policing—with an emphasis on analysing and understanding the local problem, community engagement and mobilisation, multi-agency and multi-component responses that address the causes of crime, and efforts to improve the perceived legitimacy of police.

Alcohol supply and demand reduction strategies should be supported by evidence

The evidence of the relationship between alcohol and violence and public disorder in the Northern Territory is overwhelming. Reducing the harmful consumption of alcohol, particularly among problem drinkers, will almost certainly lead to a reduction in alcohol-related crime.

To achieve this goal it will be necessary to implement effective supply and demand reduction strategies that have been shown to reduce alcohol consumption and related harms. This will include restrictions on the availability of alcohol (including trading hours and restrictions on certain types of alcohol), targeted and proactive enforcement of licensed premises breaching liquor licensing legislation and improving access to treatment (especially brief interventions) for problem drinkers. The type and combination of responses will depend on the characteristics of the location and problem being addressed.

Reviewing recent interventions to reduce problematic alcohol consumption within NT Indigenous communities was beyond the scope of this report. However, the evidence presented as part of the rapid evidence assessment has shown that certain responses to alcohol-related harms within Indigenous communities are more effective than others and it would be worth trialling approaches demonstrated as highly effective. The Community Safety Plans almost invariably contain alcohol-related measures and it will be interesting to evaluate the impact of these approaches.

Invest in community-based responses to violence that address the causes of offending

Reducing alcohol consumption will do a great deal to reduce violence. However, it is also worthwhile to develop strategies specifically targeting violence. As focus group participants noted, violence occurs even in the absence of alcohol and violence typically stems from multiple factors. Although non-Indigenous Territorians perpetrate a significant proportion of recorded violence, Indigenous Territorians are overrepresented as perpetrators and

as victims of violence, so that an emphasis on Indigenous violence is warranted.

There is an evidence base for effective community development approaches to crime reduction, showing that these approaches are most effective where they are supported by broader social policy initiatives that provide infrastructure to address disadvantage, but also build on and strengthen the local sense of community.

The development of community safety action plans (eg NTPF 2013a, 2013b, 2013c) led by police in remote Indigenous NT communities is consistent with this approach. They take a holistic approach to public safety and involve elders, community members and service providers both in consultation and in actioning goals. For example, the Kulgera Community Safety Action Plan, recognising 'that there are a number of social disorder activities in our community such as fighting, carrying weapons...' (NTPF 2013a: 6) puts in place mechanisms such as conflict reconciliation within the community.

The successful implementation and impact of the safety plans have not yet been observed and police-led plans appear to be limited currently to remote communities rather than to urban communities such as town camps. Public housing safety plans would also be consistent with this objective.

Integrated responses to family and domestic violence

The evidence clearly indicates that integrated responses to family and domestic violence, involving multiple partners and complementary strategies, are most likely to succeed. The ASIRFDVP is a good model of such an approach, although it does not include every component identified in the literature as effective; for example, there is no domestic violence court component. Focusing on improving the safety and wellbeing of Indigenous women as a priority and using elements such as a common risk assessment tool used by multiple agencies, and with elements including police, women's shelters and perpetrator programs, ASIRFDVP offers a particularly useful model. Although there are many other approaches in the Northern Territory to reducing domestic/family violence (including child abuse), with these issues addressed in Community Safety Plans and in other

government strategies, it would be worthwhile when ASIRFDVP is evaluated to consider its viability for extension to other areas of the Northern Territory.

Dedicated strategies to improve perceptions of safety

There is a need for dedicated strategies to improve perceptions of safety among all NT residents. While strategies that are effective in reducing actual levels of crime may also bring about a reduction in the level of fear, research has shown a disconnect between actual and perceived risk of crime and levels of fear. As with strategies designed to reduce actual levels of crime, fear reduction strategies should be evidence based. Proactive enforcement and community policing strategies (eg beats policing, community meetings and partnerships) have been found to be particularly effective and they appear to be most effective when delivered in combination with other interventions.

There is also evidence that small-scale environmental design strategies, such as home security improvements, installation or improvement of street lighting and small-scale environmental improvements are effective in reducing fear of crime.

It may also be useful to work with media outlets to ensure crime problems and solutions are accurately portrayed and coverage is balanced with positive stories. Although the literature base is relatively slim on such strategies, there are examples of promising practice that could be trialled in the Northern Territory.

Commitment to building and using a strong evidence base

One of the issues highlighted in the literature (and also in the focus groups) is the importance of basing crime reduction strategies and investment on approaches with proven effectiveness. Indeed, building and using a strong evidence base of research and evaluation are critical aspects of crime reduction. It will be important to take the special context of the Northern Territory into account in developing and using research and evaluation.

In addition to standard criminological research and evaluation evidence, elements that would be useful for the Northern Territory to consider include:

- More research with Indigenous community members, particularly on their perceptions of safety, interactions with police and police effectiveness. Although Indigenous stakeholders are overrepresented as crime victims and perpetrators in the Northern Territory, they are underrepresented in research. Focus group participants highlighted this underrepresentation as a critical gap in community safety and crime reduction perspectives.
- Building in evaluations to crime reduction initiatives. The Community Safety Plans, for example, include a mix of output and process performance measures, but an effective evaluation would provide evidence for what works in crime reduction in remote communities.

Consideration should also be given to avoiding interventions where the available evidence suggests such approaches do not work, or where there is evidence that interventions cause harm. There may be benefit in reviewing all NT Police interventions and operations to ensure they are in line with available evidence of good practice.

A partnership approach to crime reduction in the Northern Territory

Crime reduction is not the sole responsibility of NT Police. Particularly when addressing the causes of violence and disorder, a range of government and non-government partners will need to be involved.

It may be worth considering establishing a high-level working group situated in the Chief Minister's Department that could take a crime-focused perspective to resource allocation and prioritisation of actions in multiple agencies, each with a role to play in crime reduction. Although there are some benefits in having this group led by police, there are also risks—as it may be seen as a task that can be devolved to police rather than a genuinely whole-of-government approach to crime reduction.

At the local level, interventions to address hot spot locations should be informed by the perspectives of various agencies working in those locales. Such interventions should draw on the expertise and abilities of different partners, which may assist in tackling a local problem from multiple perspectives.

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Appendix A: Review of
crime prevention
approaches

Table A1 Approaches to crime prevention and evidence in support of their effectiveness

Approach	Description	Evidence of effectiveness	Important considerations in the implementation of this approach	Prominent examples
Urban planning and design	<p>Includes Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED).</p> <p>CPTED or urban renewal projects aim to reduce the opportunities for crime through the design and management of the built and landscaped environments. This includes strategies that involve modifying the built environment to create safer places that are less crime prone, or to make people feel safer (Cozens, Saville & Hillier 2005)</p>	<p>Less evidence that demonstrates the effectiveness of CPTED than there is with situational crime prevention.</p> <p>Fewer attempts to systematically evaluate the impact of CPTED (Shaftoe & Read 2005).</p> <p>Recent review suggests that there is some evidence that suggests CPTED is a promising approach, although evidence is not definitive and has attracted criticism (Cozens, Saville & Hillier 2005).</p> <p>Review of local crime prevention suggests that CPTED can be effective in reducing property crime when delivered alongside other interventions as part of a multi-component strategy (Morgan et al. 2012)</p>	<p>Crime prevention is an important component of broader urban regeneration programs (Schneider & Kitchen 2007).</p> <p>Experience has shown that CPTED:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • needs to be integrated as part of a broader crime prevention strategy targeting other risk factors and neighbourhood problems, which requires community involvement, partnerships and the coordination of activities; • is underpinned by a number of important principles such as natural surveillance, territoriality, sustainability and vulnerability of public spaces, and these principles should drive design decisions; • should be focused at both the macro (overall design of the built environment) and micro level (finer details); • should be applied to both public initiatives and private developments, and involves careful management of the relationship between public and private space; • requires a balance between competing interests, such as between privacy and security; • requires the involvement of different design-related professional disciplines (Queensland Government 2007; NZ Ministry of Justice 2005) 	<p>A number of state, territory and local governments now have specific planning policies that incorporate CPTED principles or guidelines</p>

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Approach	Description	Evidence of effectiveness	Important considerations in the implementation of this approach	Prominent examples
Situational crime prevention	<p>Based upon the premise that crime is often opportunistic and aims to modify contextual factors to limit the opportunities for offenders to engage in criminal behaviour (Tonry & Farrington 1995).</p> <p>Comprises a range of measures geared towards reducing the opportunities for crime to occur, and highlights the importance of targeting very specific forms of crime in certain circumstances (Clarke 1997)</p>	<p>Considerable evidence of the effectiveness of situational crime prevention in reducing crime, both in Australia and overseas (Clarke 2005; Gant & Grabosky 2000; Grabosky & James 1995; Marshall, Smith & Tilley 2004; Welsh & Farrington 2007a; Welsh, Farrington & O'Dell 2010).</p> <p>Despite some limitations with the research, systematic reviews have shown that opportunity reduction measures can reduce crime in many circumstances with little evidence of displacement (Eck 2006; Welsh, Farrington & Sherman 2001)</p>	<p>Underlying the situational approach are four key elements, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • three key opportunity theories—routine activity, crime pattern and rational choice theory • an action research methodology that involves analysing of specific crime problems and contributing factors, identifying possible responses, selecting and implementing of the most appropriate or promising response and evaluating and disseminating the results • a classification of 25 situational prevention techniques • a growing body of evaluated case studies which helps to inform the selection and design of specific interventions (Clarke 2005) 	<p>Evaluation of the UK Reducing Burglary Initiative found that areas in which more money had been invested in situational prevention rather than offender focused prevention, and those that were flexible in their delivery, were generally more successful in reducing burglary (Hope et al. 2004)</p> <p>A recent systemic review concluded that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CCTV has a modest but significant desirable effect on crime
Situational crime prevention cont.	Involves identifying, manipulating and controlling the situational or environmental factors associated with certain types of crime (Cornish & Clarke 2003)	While there isn't the evidence to determine the most cost effective approach in modifying environmental conditions to prevent crime, sufficient evidence that situational crime prevention is an economically efficient strategy in reducing crime (Welsh, Farrington & Sherman 2001)	<p>Important lessons from situational crime prevention projects include that it:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • works most effectively when it is targeted at a specific crime problem in a specific context; • involves a thorough and systematic analysis of current and emerging crime problems, their causes and risk factors, which relies on accurate and wide-ranging sources of information and analysts with the capacity to interpret the data; • requires appropriate consultation mechanisms to seek input from the community into the development of strategies that are likely to require their action, involvement or cooperation; and • requires strong project management skills, a comprehensive implementation plan that describes the key stages in project delivery and the interrelationships between different but complementary interventions, and a committee with representatives from key stakeholder groups to oversee project development, implementation and review (Marshall, Smith & Tilley 2004) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is most effective in reducing crime in car parks and when targeted at vehicle crimes (Welsh & Farrington 2007b). <p>These results lend support for the continued use of CCTV to prevent crime in public space, but suggest that it be more narrowly targeted than its present use would indicate (Welsh & Farrington 2007b).</p> <p>Evidence that if targeted at a high-crime area, improved street lighting can be an effective and inexpensive approach to increase community pride, informal social control perceptions of safety and use of public space and reduce crime (Welsh & Farrington 2007a)</p>

Table A1 Approaches to crime prevention and evidence in support of their effectiveness

Approach	Description	Evidence of effectiveness	Important considerations in the implementation of this approach	Prominent examples
Developmental crime prevention and early intervention	The focus is on intervening early in critical transition points in a (typically young) person's development that can lead them on a pathway to future offending (or not) (Homel et al. 1999)	Effective in the longer term in achieving significant reductions in participant's involvement in crime, as well as improvements in areas such as educational performance, child maltreatment, workforce participation, child and youth behaviour, income and substance abuse (Homel R 2005; Piquero et al. 2008)	Considerable investment in early intervention programs in Australia, not all of which have explicit crime prevention objectives (Homel et al. 1999; Weatherburn 2004)	The Pathways to Prevention Project (Homel et al. 2006) represents the most comprehensive analysis of the effectiveness of an early intervention project in Australia. Using cost comparison analysis, it demonstrated that preventative interventions that take place early in the developmental pathway are far more cost effective than remedial interventions later in life and investing funding in this 'front end' can produce significant savings in future operational costs (Homel et al. 2006)

Table A1 Approaches to crime prevention and evidence in support of their effectiveness

Approach	Description	Evidence of effectiveness	Important considerations in the implementation of this approach	Prominent examples
Developmental crime prevention and early intervention cont.	<p>Aims to eliminate risk factors and enhance protective factors that impact upon the likelihood that a young person will engage in future offending behaviour (Hemel et al. 1999). Risk and protective factors can be categorised into child factors, family factors, school context, life events and community and cultural factors (Hemel et al. 1999).</p> <p>In practical terms, involves providing basic services or resources to individuals, families, schools or communities in such a way that the development of crime problems is avoided (Hemel R 2005). Most often these resources and services are directed towards disadvantaged families with young children.</p> <p>Can include family training and support, parent training, child skills training, preschool programs (Hemel et al. 1999; Piquero et al. 2008).</p> <p>Programs can also be focused on improving the operations of key institutions, such as schools, with a particular focus on meeting the needs of at risk populations (Cherney & Sutton 2003)</p>	<p>These outcomes are also associated with significant financial savings, both for the community and the participant. There is mounting evidence that early intervention is a cost-effective strategy when compared with traditional approaches to reducing crime (AIC 2007).</p> <p>The savings produced by early intervention programs include reductions in welfare assistance, decreased need for special education, increases in income tax revenue from the higher wages of participants (due to improved educational attainment), reduced operational costs to the criminal justice system and reduced costs to victims (Hemel et al. 2006)</p>	<p>Several important factors in successful developmental programs, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the importance of timing and intervening at critical junctures, such as times of stress or when people are open to external influences (which may not mean early in life); • the need to target multiple risk factors due to their cumulative impact, with bias towards some, and to target multiple offence types; • the need to be sensitive to the needs of the local area (including the need to be culturally sensitive), involve and empower the community (in decision making, as volunteers and as paid professionals) and identify local change agents; • the importance of detailed assessments of community readiness (the presence of existing partnerships and management structures, leadership stability, community engagement and support for and commitment to prevention) • the importance of strategies to make programs accessible, keep people involved and to avoid stigmatising at-risk young people or families; • the value of partnerships and coordination between new and existing service deliverers, where they rely on formal interagency structures or more simple arrangements; and • the requirement for longer term investment, as the benefits of developmental crime prevention are not immediate (Crow et al. 2004; Hemel et al. 1999). <p>To generate sustainable reductions in crime, the management and delivery of crime prevention programs and initiatives needs to support the implementation of long-term early intervention programs, which requires moving from specific short-term projects to embedded, long-term programs.</p> <p>The effectiveness of developmental crime prevention strategies can be improved through long-term initiatives that are integrated into broader social policy, as opposed to discrete geographically focused and short-term demonstration projects</p>	<p>Evidence that mentoring is a promising (and potentially cost effective) approach to reducing offending and targeting risk factors such as drug use and academic performance (Joliffe & Farrington 2008; Newburn & Souhami 2005; Welsh & Hoshi 2006).</p> <p>School-based crime prevention, particularly those focused on changing the school environment, effective in reducing crime, substance use, antisocial behaviour and aggression and improving school attendance (Gottfredson, Wilson & Najaka 2006)</p>

Table A1 Approaches to crime prevention and evidence in support of their effectiveness

Approach	Description	Evidence of effectiveness	Important considerations in the implementation of this approach	Prominent examples
Community development	<p>Community development is premised on the notion that changing the physical or social organisation of communities may influence the behaviour of individuals who live there and that crime in a particular community is the result of the coincidence of a series of structural determinants present within particular communities (eg differential rates of access to housing, employment, education and health services, among other factors; Hope 1995; Tonry & Farrington 1995).</p> <p>Social exclusion, including neighbourhood disadvantage, unemployment, intergenerational disadvantage, limited education prospects, poor child health and wellbeing and homelessness are important risk factors for criminal behaviour (Hayes, Gray & Edwards 2008).</p> <p>Practically speaking, this approach involves strengthening informal networks, building employment opportunities and enhancing community structures by increasing opportunities to participate (Cherney & Sutton 2003)</p>	<p>When compared with situational or developmental approaches, there is limited evidence of the effectiveness of efforts to modify community level factors to reduce crime (Bushway & Reuter 2006; Tonry & Farrington 1995).</p> <p>Positive outcomes for communities can include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased participation of diverse groups in decision making; • increased resources and economic opportunities for disadvantaged sections of the community; • increased availability of appropriate services for families and young people; • strengthened social networks and the growth of social capital; • greater participation in community driven activities, particularly among those groups who are frequently marginalised; and • positive changes in participants, including the development of skills and knowledge (Lane & Henry 2004) 	<p>Neighbourhoods that are active and have strong community participation and connections are safe communities (Cherney & Sutton 2007; Hughes & Edwards 2005; Tilley 2005).</p> <p>Implementation of community wide programs has proven difficult due to scale (Bushway & Reuter 2006).</p> <p>Cooperation and participation can be lacking in highly disorganised communities.</p> <p>Programs that aim to address social deprivation and cohesion are likely to be more successful when they incorporate the following elements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identify communities at need based on evidence and community consultation and analyse factors that may contribute to social disadvantage or exclusion; • take into consideration a community's capacity to implement change and level of social disorganisation; • increase opportunities to participate and promotes community involvement and consultation in program design and decision making, as well as in the management of activities that impact on, either directly or indirectly, those social conditions believed to sustain crime in residential settings; • encourage representation from diverse groups, particularly those community members most at risk of being marginalised; • coordinates efforts between agencies across government and non-government sectors to target multiple areas of disadvantage, supported by neighbourhood regeneration; • are provided with ongoing support (including human, financial and physical resources); and • regularly review progress to ensure that initiatives remain on track (Forrest, Myhill & Tilley 2005; Hayes, Gray & Edwards 2008; Johnson, Headey & Jensen 2005; SCRGSP 2009; Social Inclusion Unit 2009) 	<p>Some evidence that neighbourhood level interventions in deprived areas in the United Kingdom (as part of the New Deals for Communities Programme) to address issues related to economic and social regeneration resulted in reductions in crime and fear and increased satisfaction with local area, although not subject to rigorous testing (Pearson et al. 2008).</p> <p>Neighbourhood policing in the United Kingdom, which focused (initially in targeted areas) on increasing the visibility and presence of police within the community, community engagement and problem solving, generated significant reductions in crime and antisocial behaviour and improvements in perceptions of crime, feelings of safety and public confidence in police, although fewer benefits were observed when the program was rolled out nationwide (Quinton & Morris 2008).</p> <p>Some evidence that afterschool recreation programs can be effective in reducing crime among juvenile offenders, although impacted is limited in duration and to a defined area (Welsh & Hoshi 2006)</p>

Table A1 Approaches to crime prevention and evidence in support of their effectiveness

Approach	Description	Evidence of effectiveness	Important considerations in the implementation of this approach	Prominent examples
Community development cont.	<p>Aims to build on the expertise, capacity and commitment of people or organisations operating at the community level to deliver interventions that aim to modify the conditions that promote or sustain crime (UN ECOSOC 2002).</p> <p>Involves empowering and mobilising communities, a collective approach to problem solving and decision making (Lane & Henry 2004).</p>			
Criminal justice approaches	<p>Includes interventions at all stages of the criminal justice system, including—police diversionary programs, court-based diversion and problem-solving courts, programs and services for offenders serving custodial and non-custodial sentences, and re-entry programs and support post release for prisoners.</p> <p>Police diversion, cautioning and conferencing recognise the role of police as gatekeepers to reduce risk of reoffending at the first point of contact with the criminal justice system (Joudo 2008; Wundersitz 2007)</p>	<p>Reduction in offending among participants in police-based drug diversion programs (Payne et al. 2008; Wundersitz 2007).</p> <p>Growing evidence that police cautions for juveniles and conferencing reduce reoffending (Allard et al. 2010; Daly & Hayes 2002; Vignaendra & Fitzgerald 2006).</p> <p>Evidence that specialty court programs are effective in reducing recidivism among certain groups of offenders, although findings are variable (Drabsch 2006; Fitzgerald 2008; MacKenzie 2006; Morgan & Louis 2010; Payne 2008</p>	<p>Programs that have been shown to be effective in reducing recidivism depend upon the close cooperation between agencies within the criminal justice system and those agencies outside it (Weatherburn 2004).</p> <p>Rehabilitation programs need to be carefully designed to address dynamic criminogenic factors that are directly associated with an offender's behaviour, be delivered as they were planned and designed (treatment fidelity), be implemented in a way that is appropriate for the participating offenders, provide for substantial contact between treatment personnel and participant, target high-risk offenders with the most intensive programs, use cognitive and behavioural treatment methods (MacKenzie 2006)</p> <p>Programs that aim to support the successful reintegration of offenders into the community need to involve:</p>	<p>An evaluation of the Queensland Murri Court and NSW Circle Sentencing Court for Indigenous offenders found no impact on reoffending, although there were a number of other benefits associated with the programs (Fitzgerald 2008; Morgan & Louis 2010)</p>

Table A1 Approaches to crime prevention and evidence in support of their effectiveness

Approach	Description	Evidence of effectiveness	Important considerations in the implementation of this approach	Prominent examples
Criminal justice approaches cont.	<p>Variety of intermediate court-based diversion programs and specialty court programs that target specific offender types and modify the criminal justice process to meet the needs of offenders and address those factors that increase the likelihood that they will reoffend (Morgan & Louis 2010; Payne 2008; Wundersitz 2007).</p> <p>A range of rehabilitative programs for offenders in custody and in non-custodial settings that aim to reduce reoffending and support the reintegration of offenders into the community. Focus is on targeting multiple criminogenic needs that contribute to offending behaviour and are amenable to change (ie dynamic risk factors including personal, lifestyle and post-release difficulties; Debidin & Lovbakke 2005)</p>	<p>Rehabilitation programs, including cognitive behavioural therapies (moral reasoning etc), non-prison sex offender programs and programs for violent offenders effective (Jolliffe & Farrington 2009; MacKenzie 2006).</p> <p>Employment programs, including vocational education programs provided in prison or residential settings and transitional programs that provide information and assistance on employment to offenders appear effective (MacKenzie 2006).</p> <p>Criminal justice treatment programs for drug offenders (such as court-based diversion, drug courts and therapeutic communities) appear to be effective in reducing criminal behaviour (Holloway, Bennett & Farrington 2008; MacKenzie 2006; Wundersitz 2007).</p> <p>While prison does have an incapacitation effect (especially for repeat offenders), there is no evidence that custodial sentences deter juvenile offenders from reoffending or that prison deters offenders convicted of burglary or non-aggravated assault (MacKenzie 2006; Weatherburn, Vignaendra & McGrath 2009; Wan et al. 2012)</p> <p>Meta-analyses of various alcohol and other drug treatment programs have shown that they are effective in reducing subsequent criminal behaviour (Holloway, Bennett & Farrington 2008, 2006; MacKenzie 2006)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • formal partnerships and effective coordination between a range of agencies (incl. but not limited to criminal justice); • interventions that are customised to match each offender's unique circumstances and needs; • multi-modal interventions to address the full range of problems likely to impact upon their successful reintegration; • improved support for offenders after they are released from prison; and • practical support and training in relation to accommodation, education and employment (Borzycki 2005; Elliot-Marshall, Ramsay & Stewart 2005; Harper et al. 2005) <p>There is a need to take steps to improve prison and post release programs and services for Indigenous offenders:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improve program development through a better understanding of Indigenous culture and society; • relate programs to the experiences of Indigenous people; • improve participation rates by addressing those issues that impact upon the involvement of Indigenous offenders; • involve Elders and Indigenous facilitators, and the community and families of offenders in program development and delivery; • build linkages with community sources; and • address issues of grief and loss (Willis & Moore 2008) 	

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