

**█ The Promise
█ of
█ Crime
█ Prevention**



**Australian Institute of Criminology
Research and Public Policy Series**

*edited by
Peter Grabosky &
Marianne James*

The Promise of Crime Prevention

**Australian Institute of Criminology
Research and Public Policy Series**

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The Promise of Crime Prevention

Leading crime
prevention programs

*edited by
Peter Grabosky &
Marianne James*



AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

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Foreword

The Australian Institute of Criminology has long been a champion of crime prevention and a leader in the field. When there was little interest in the subject elsewhere in Australia or indeed, internationally, some of the Institute's earliest publications were devoted to crime prevention. The Institute's first permanent Director, William Clifford, was one of the earliest exponents of crime prevention as an essential element of planning (Clifford 1974; 1976).

The Institute's crime prevention monograph series, introduced in the late 1980s, helped communicate the value of crime prevention across Australia. By the end of that decade, Australian police services and governments generally began to embrace crime prevention as an important strategy to combat criminal activity. It is now generally recognised that crime prevention is the first line of defence against crime.

This is in every sense a collective effort of the staff of the Australian Institute of Criminology. All research staff have made a contribution to this collection in some form or other which reflects the overall commitment of the Institute to crime prevention and to applied policy research.

This publication marks a renewal of the Institute's contribution to crime prevention in Australia. It describes a number of Australian initiatives which can justifiably be regarded as examples of international best practice. In addition, it illustrates a variety of overseas programs which commend themselves to Australia.

Adam Graycar

Director

Australian Institute of Criminology

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Contents

	Foreword	v
	Preface	ix
	Acknowledgments	xiii
PART 1	OPPORTUNITY REDUCTION	
1.	Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project	2
2.	Situational Prevention of Public Disorder	4
3.	Julalikari Night Patrol	6
4.	Reducing Violence, Crime and Fear of Crime in Gay and Lesbian Communities	8
5.	Reducing Burglary on a Public Housing Estate	10
6.	Preventing the Counterfeiting of Australian Currency	12
7.	Crime Prevention and Fear Reduction through Enhanced Street Lighting	14
8.	Reducing Telephone Vandalism	16
9.	Cash Reduction and Robbery Prevention in the Victorian TAB	18
10.	Random Breath Testing in New South Wales	20
11.	Retailer Prevention of Credit Card Fraud	22
12.	Public Transport Safety in Victoria	24
13.	Reducing Crime on Public Transport in The Netherlands	26
14.	Preventing Motor Vehicle Theft in New South Wales	28
PART 2	DEVELOPMENTAL INTERVENTIONS	
15.	The Elmira Prenatal/Early Infancy Project	32
16.	The Perry Preschool Project	34
17.	Family Intervention Program	36
18.	Controlling Disruptive Boys	38

19.	The Prevention of School Bullying in Norway	40
20.	The Job Corps	42
21.	Domestic Abuse Intervention Project	44
22.	Methadone Maintenance Treatment in the Management of Opioid Dependence	46

Preface

This publication presents some of the more promising examples of crime prevention in Australia and around the world. It is intended primarily for the consumption of those in Australia who may be in a position to foster crime prevention, whether in the public, private or non-profit sectors.

Australia can be justifiably proud of its standing as a world leader in crime prevention. Nearly half of the cases in this publication were “Australian Made”. We hope that some of these promising examples in Australia will be informative and useful elsewhere in the world.

It is also acknowledged that Australia has a great deal to learn from overseas. To that end, a number of cases are included which have been internationally recognised as successful, and which may merit introduction in Australia.

In selecting cases for inclusion in this volume, a wide variety of examples of crime prevention were sought. These include examples of situational crime prevention, where the immediate environment is restructured in order to reduce the opportunity for crime. A classic example of situational crime prevention is the modification of public telephone boxes by Telecom Australia in order to reduce the incidence of vandalism.

Also included are programs where social conditions have been modified in order to reduce the risk of crime. The Julalikari Night Patrol, where community members come to the assistance of public inebriates, is one of Australia’s best illustrations.

Crime prevention programs of a developmental nature are included. These target the developmental processes of individuals with a view towards modifying risk factors which may contribute to offending. The Perry preschool enrichment program, aimed at reducing the educational disadvantage of low income children, is a noted example from the United States.

Some programs described in the following pages combine elements of situational, social and developmental methods. For example, the internationally acclaimed anti-bullying programs developed in Norway include elements of playground design and supervision, the encouragement of cooperative, prosocial classroom interaction, and counselling for children at risk of bullying and of victimisation.

Apart from considerations of origin and method, examples of prevention methods directed towards different types of crime were also sought. Australia’s world leadership in the prevention of

counterfeiting is illustrated by the case which describes the new plastic banknotes.

Because of the important role which the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) plays with regard to violence prevention in Australia, a number of programs have been included which have been recognised by Australian Violence Prevention Awards. There are also examples of programs aimed specifically at preventing violence against women, such as the Duluth program from the United States.

Given the incidence of burglary in Australia and overseas, examples of successful programs for the prevention of property crime are described, such as the Kirkholt program from the United Kingdom.

Recognising that crime prevention is by no means the monopoly of a particular agency, it will be observed that these programs are implemented under a wide range of auspices. These include law enforcement, education, welfare, employment and training, transport, telecommunications, retail sales, and grass-roots community groups.

Readers will note that not all of the innovations described in the following pages were conceived and introduced to prevent crime. That is, their crime prevention impact was secondary. The Job Corps, for example, was designed to enhance the economic opportunity of disadvantaged youth; it nevertheless achieved considerable crime prevention benefits. The lesson here is that public programs of varying kinds can be so designed as to have an impact on the incidence of crime and crime prevention.

One of the more important criteria for selection was whether or not the program in question had been subject to systematic evaluation. It was considered essential that there be a degree of objective evidence of the program's success in preventing crime. This is of more than intellectual interest, since some crime prevention programs, devised and implemented with the best of intentions, may not only fail to have their intended effect, but may also "backfire" and produce adverse unintended consequences.

One should even exercise caution in adopting crime prevention programs which have been proven to be successful. What works in Wollongong may fail in Washington or vice versa. In some cases, this may reflect cultural differences between the setting in which a program was introduced successfully, and the location in which it was replicated. Indeed, one of the most significant contributions which criminologists can make to the policy making process is in the rigorous analysis and scientific evaluation of crime prevention programs.

The cases in this book are by no means exhaustive. There are many other worthy examples of successful crime prevention programs. It is anticipated that additional compilations of exemplary crime prevention programs, from Australia and around the world will be published by the AIC. To this end, suggestions are invited for

inclusion in future publications of this kind. Evidence of success as demonstrated in the results of scientific evaluation is a prerequisite for inclusion.

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April 1995

Acknowledgments

We would like to acknowledge an intellectual debt to Professor Ronald Clarke, Dean of the School of Criminal Justice, Rutgers University, whose guidance and encouragement have contributed to the Australian Institute of Criminology's commitment to crime prevention. Readers interested in additional examples of successful crime prevention are encouraged to consult the important work of Professor Clarke (Clarke 1992), successive editions of *Crime Prevention Studies*, and the work of Graham and Bennett (1995).

We wish to thank Professor David Farrington of Cambridge University, whose insights on programs designed to control aggressive behaviour (1994) were most helpful.

We wish to commend the work of The Netherlands Ministry of Justice (de Waard 1995) and the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, Montreal, Canada for advancing the cause of crime prevention internationally.

Thanks are due to Professors Ross Homel, Jan van Dijk and Irvin Waller, for general advice and guidance; and to Dr Gloria Laycock, for suggestions relating to the role of the police in crime prevention.

Finally, the editors would like to acknowledge the International Institute for Sustainable Development (Canada), whose publication, *Making Budgets Green: Leading Practices in Taxation and Subsidy Reform* (1994) served as a model for the present work.

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Part 1

Opportunity Reduction

1 Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

The introduction of responsible hospitality practices in licensed premises to reduce the level of violence and fear of violence, using community development principles.

PROBLEM

In Australia, most assaults outside the home occur in or around licensed premises. It is not just intoxication which leads to violence, but the management of intoxicated persons and the conditions in which violence occurs, including patron boredom and "bouncer" behaviour.

GOAL

To reduce alcohol-related violence and disorder around Cavill Mall, the major nightclub and entertainment area, thereby improving the image of Surfers Paradise as a tourist destination and reducing the fear of crime victimisation by patrons, tourists and local businesses.

DESCRIPTION

The project design was based on three major strategies:

- The creation of a Community Forum, and community-based Task Groups, and the implementation of a safety audit;
- The development and implementation of risk assessments in licensed premises by the Project Officer and Queensland Health, and the introduction of a Code of Practice by nightclub managers;
- Improvements in the external regulation of licensed premises by police and liquor licensing inspectors, with a particular emphasis on preventive rather than

reactive strategies and a focus on the prevention of assaults by bouncers and compliance with provisions of the *Liquor Act* prohibiting the serving of intoxicated persons.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Gold Coast City Council.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Gold Coast City Council; Queensland Department of Health; nightclub owners and managers; nightclub patrons; police; Liquor Licensing Division enforcement officers; other business owners and managers in the vicinity of targeted nightclubs and their patrons.

AN OVERVIEW

The project sought to develop a multi-faceted community-based response to problems of violence associated with licensed premises in the Cavill Mall/Orchid Avenue area of Surfers Paradise. The strategies adopted included the development of a Code of Practice for the management of licensed premises. Included in the Code was reduced use of promotional activities which encouraged binge drinking and high levels of intoxication; more visible warnings about underage drinking, house policies and patron care. A Monitoring Committee set up by the Venue Management Task Force gave the community the opportunity to have an input into the regulation of licensed premises.

The evaluation of the project was based on

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ Jan.-Mar. 1993 Preliminary work on project prior to appointment of Project Officer.
- ▶ April 1993 Appointment of Project Officer. Introduction of community-based response to problems of violence associated with licensed premises in the Cavill Mall/Orchid Avenue area of Surfers Paradise.
- ▶ Aug. 1993 Development of Code of Practice for the management of licensed premises.
- ▶ July 1994 Evaluation reveals large decrease in rate of physical violence and reduced levels of intoxication.

interviews with licensees (risk assessments), direct observation of licensed premises, incidents recorded by security companies, and official police records. A structured, systematic observation technique was used to measure quantitative changes in patron behaviour, operations of venues, and levels of aggression and violence. The instrument consisted of hundreds of items covering details of the physical and social environments, patron characteristics, barstaff and security staff, drinking patterns, serving practices and aggression and violence. Evaluation indicated that the Project had produced major improvements in the management of licensed venues, as well as very significant reductions in aggression, and various street offences.

SOME FURTHER READING

Homel, R. et al. 1994, *The Impact of the Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project; Key Findings of the Evaluation*, Centre for Crime Policy and Public Safety, School of Justice Administration, Griffith University.

POLICY ISSUES

The Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project demonstrates that through a coordinated and multi-faceted approach, problems of violence associated with licensed premises in popular city neighbourhoods can be minimised. Such an approach need not reduce the profitability of such enterprises and can dramatically improve the safety and enjoyment of patrons.

Results: • The interview data showed marked shifts after the project toward more responsible management practices (e.g. strategies for dealing with problem patrons; restrictions on size of glasses and on drink strengths; more responsible promotions).

The rate of physical violence dropped by 52 per cent from 9.8 per 100 hours in 1993 to 4.7 per 100 hours in 1994. The level of observed aggressive incidents also declined over this period.

There were clear trends towards lower rates of drinking and drunkenness in 1994 compared with 1993, especially for men and for more extreme levels of drinking. There was a marked increase in visible warnings about underage drinking, notices about house policies, patron care notices and other forms of publicity.

The security and police data also showed strong evidence of a decline in violence and street offences. The declines were more marked after the Code of Practice was introduced.

Lessons: • A strategic and well-coordinated program which involves all stakeholders can effect a reduction of levels of intoxication and violent behaviour in the vicinity of licensed premises.

2 Situational Prevention of Public Disorder

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

A situational plan for violence prevention and crowd control at the Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix.

PROBLEM

Chronic conflict between police and spectators at an annual motorcycle event frequently escalated into riots.

GOAL

To reduce public disorder at an annual gathering of large numbers of young males.

DESCRIPTION

The project involved development through consultation of a policing strategy and management plan for a large public gathering which increased spectators' sense of responsibility and control, provided improved facilities, and discouraged sensationalistic media coverage.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Victoria Police; motorcycle enthusiasts; researchers from Monash University, Gippsland Campus.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Motorcycle enthusiasts; police.

AN OVERVIEW

The annual Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix at Bathurst, NSW was characterised by chronic tensions between motorcycle enthusiasts and police.

The standard policing model was that of management by force; the basic policing strategy at Bathurst entailed an increased presence of uniformed officers, heavy investment in riot control equipment, and rigid restrictions on crowd movement and use of alcohol. Motorcyclists were stopped frequently on the journey to Bathurst; many were searched and were issued with minor traffic citations. Strict rule setting and access control reduced the number of spectators coming to the races, and alienated many of those who did. This alienation was manifested in acts of vandalism, general displays of antagonism to police, and occasional rioting. In addition, sensational media coverage of confrontations may well have attracted persons for the purpose of participation in conflict rather than for motorcycle racing. In 1988 the Bathurst City Council cancelled motorcycle racing, and the venue of the Grand Prix was changed to Phillip Island, Victoria.

Following discussions with university researchers who had observed circumstances at Bathurst, Victoria Police adopted a strategy of cooperation and negotiation with bikers. Motorcyclists who could be regarded as responsible for the event were identified and appropriately designated, thus devolving

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ 1939 Motorcycle races introduced in the small country town of Bathurst, NSW.
- ◆ 1975 Police station located in the central public camping area of the Grand Prix site.
- ◆ 1980-85 Periodic riots; frequent vandalism and anti-police activity.
- ◆ 1986-87 Decline in attendance, attributed to rigorous public order policing.
- ◆ 1988 Bathurst City Council cancels motorcycle races; Australian Motorcycle Grand Prix relocated to Phillip Island, Victoria.
- ◆ 1989 Management strategy developed to prevent violence at 1989 Grand Prix.
- ◆ 1989 Significantly lower arrest rate observed.

“ownership” of public order matters to the motorcyclist community.

Police sought to facilitate traffic flow to the Grand Prix site. To do so, they assisted motorcyclists in organising a rally, leading from central Melbourne to the site. The rally of 10000 cyclists was led by police motorcycles with flashing lights; police blocked off intersections to give the motorcyclists the right of way. This served greatly to enhance mutual trust and respect between police and motorcyclists, whose relationship might otherwise be adversarial.

At the site, a marshal system was established by representatives of motorcycle riders, with the basic “policing” done by motorcyclists themselves. Victoria Police were available in the event that official intervention was necessary.

Planners sought to attract a broader demographic mix of spectators, including family groups, to dilute the concentration of young males. Victoria Police public relations personnel assisted in publicising the event as peaceful, family oriented, and good for business.

POLICY ISSUES

The risk of public disorder is increased when confrontational policing styles are used in a context of crowd frustration and provocative media coverage. By contrast, participatory planning and “co-production” of order maintenance, based on devolution of responsibility for crowd control, may succeed in keeping the peace and producing harmony between interests which might otherwise be antagonistic.

SOME FURTHER READING

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| <p>Results:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Arrest statistics and attendance figures were compared over the period prior to and during which the organisational changes took place. A dramatic decrease in arrest rates was observed. During the three years prior to the intervention, the average arrest rate was approximately 10 per 1000 spectators. The 1989 arrest rate was approximately 0.14 per 1000 spectators. Opinion surveys of spectators and local residents revealed more positive attitudes following introduction of the consultative policing model. <p>Lessons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Policing solutions based on the display of force may suppress public disorder, but they may actually engender violence. By contrast, strategies grounded in consultation and negotiation can reduce incivilities without alienating the target group. Devolving responsibility for self-policing to relevant target groups can achieve better control of behaviour and more positive police-community relations. |
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3 Julalikari Night Patrol

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Voluntary community-based patrols to break the cycle of violence associated with alcohol consumption in Aboriginal communities.

PROBLEM

The remote Northern Territory town of Tennant Creek was experiencing considerable social problems, including fights, paybacks and bashings, the majority of which were associated with excessive consumption of alcohol by its Aboriginal community.

GOAL

To resolve any problems within the town camps and special purpose leases, to settle disputes when they begin, and to remove to a safe place people incapacitated by drink or otherwise likely to become involved in trouble.

DESCRIPTION

The scheme is staffed mainly by volunteers with seniority in the Aboriginal community, who patrol the town between 4 pm and 4 am on most nights, defuse incidents at the time and follow up with a community meeting next day to mediate the dispute and admonish perpetrators in a culturally appropriate way.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Aboriginal community of Tennant Creek, supported by the Julalikari Council; local police.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

The community at large; the Council; police; community welfare agencies.

AN OVERVIEW

The Julalikari Night Patrol is a community-operated system of community policing that strives to break the cycle of violence associated with excessive alcohol consumption.

Tennant Creek is geographically, socially and psychologically an isolated and marginal town, in which excessive alcohol consumption is the most common, if not the only, form of social relaxation for the majority of the population. One study found that the proportion of expenditure on alcoholic drinks as a proportion of total expenditure ranged from 27 per cent to 55 per cent in some Aboriginal communities, compared with a proportion for Australia as a whole of 6.37 per cent. Aboriginal people in Tennant Creek tended to drink until the supply of liquor and money ran out, to drink until drunk and in many cases to drink with the intention of getting drunk. The impact on those living in traditional Aboriginal communities was the more devastating because the whole community usually was affected, and because the drinking often was of the most dangerous type—binge drinking, frequently on fortified wine. Even where communities prohibited the importation of alcohol and tried to establish "dry zones", "sly grog" arrangements and the availability of alcohol in nearby centres and communities reduced the effectiveness of these moves.

The Julalikari Night Patrol assists in the resolution of behavioural problems such as fighting, paybacks, bashings, anger and guilt. The program is unique in that it addresses major Aboriginal concerns in a culturally

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ 1977 Commonwealth Parliamentary Report on Aboriginal drinking.
- ▶ 1985 Julalikari Council formed.
- ▶ mid-1980s Program initiated by Julalikari Council.
- ▶ 1989 Night patrol officially started.
- ▶ 1992 Police report no marked increase in number of reports from the night patrol for the previous three years and alcohol-related crime had decreased significantly.
- ▶ 1992 Main winner of inaugural Australian Violence Prevention Award.

acceptable way, yet is able to operate in tandem with modern law enforcement.

The patrols are staffed largely by volunteer community elders, usually women, who work in conjunction with local police. Night patrol vehicles pick up people who are intoxicated and causing a disturbance, those involved in disputes or incapacity by drink, and others who request a lift to the "sobering up" shelter. At the shelter they are looked after without the need for police intervention, and the number of people apprehended for creating disturbances and lodged in police cells has declined significantly. The vehicles are fitted with radio telephones to enable communication with the police where necessary.

The key to the effectiveness of the patrols is the way in which a community meeting is called next morning to mediate the dispute and admonish the offender. The "punishment" is usually a verbal dressing down; and the embarrassment of being chastised before the whole community is usually enough to deter the offender from re-offending. An important function of these community meetings has been the informal establishment of community rules, which developed in response to particular problems, and situations, defining unacceptable behaviour.

POLICY ISSUES

The problems of leaving law and order in the community exclusively to police management have long been recognised. The fear that

relatively untrained community "police aide" action could lead to vigilante-type operations, however, has meant that police in the past have not encouraged community support groups.

The night patrol model is one way of overcoming these problems. It is simple, effective and easily replicated in communities as long as they have sufficient cohesion to accept its authority. It has now been replicated in several other areas. The model has also been translated from isolated rural areas to Aboriginal communities in main cities.

On the broader question of alcohol-related violence, the results of the patrols and other server intervention programs have shown that whether or not a causal relationship exists between alcohol consumption and violence, programs which prevent uncontrolled alcohol consumption can result in significant reductions in street and venue violence, and may have an effect on domestic violence.

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Northern Territory Police 1992, *Night Patrols in the Northern Territory: An innovative approach to reducing violence and alcohol-related problems in Aboriginal communities*, Northern Territory Police, Darwin.

Results: • By late 1992 police in Tennant Creek reported that there had been no marked increase in the number of reports from the night patrol for the previous three years. They attributed this to a substantial increase in the number of disputes and disturbances being resolved without reference to the police.

They also reported that alcohol-related crime had decreased significantly. For the year 1 July 1991 to 30 June 1992 alcohol-related crimes were down by 43 per cent (from 352 alcohol-related crimes in the previous year to 201 crimes in 1991-92). For the year from 1 October 1991 to 30 September 1992 the sobering up centre reported that 505 people, or 30 per cent of its cases, were placed with it by the night patrol, all on a voluntary basis. Protective custody figures were reduced by half within 2 years.

Lessons: • The effectiveness of the Julalikari patrols turns on two features of the system: the willingness of respected members of the community to become involved in policing and in resolving community difficulties, and the willingness of transgressors to accept their chastisement.

Where circumstances are appropriate, intervention programs of this nature can reduce problems of excessive violence dramatically within a relatively short time.

4 Reducing Violence, Crime and Fear of Crime in Gay and Lesbian Communities

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

To identify the nature, causes and extent of violence against gays and lesbians; to mobilise awareness, understanding, commitment and action on homophobic violence; and to develop, implement, monitor and evaluate programs, policies, procedures and operations towards improved safety and feelings of safety for gays and lesbians.

PROBLEM

Harassment and physical assault of lesbians and gays because of their sexual preference.

GOAL

To reduce violence and harassment against gays and lesbians through awareness raising and improved policing.

DESCRIPTION

The multi-faceted project is organised by the NSW Police Service, and is designed to increase general awareness of and sensitivity to the issue of homophobic violence.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

New South Wales Police Service.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

The gay and lesbian community; NSW law enforcement agencies; NSW health agencies.

AN OVERVIEW

Violence against gays and lesbians combines the most terrifying and most widely feared aspects of violent crime: random and unpredictable attacks which can be of homicidal intensity.

The majority of victims of homophobic violence are alone when attacked and the majority of assailants are male, acting in groups of between two and five. One survey showed that in a 12-month period gay men were at least four times more likely than men from the general population to experience an assault, while lesbians were at least six times more likely than other women to experience an assault. Many cases were not reported, largely due to a belief that police were unable or unwilling to assist.

The project commenced operation in 1990 with the appointment of a Program Coordinator. Paralleling the project, and operating in many ways in tandem with it, was a program developed by the Gay and Lesbian Lobby in Sydney, also in 1990. This program, the Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, focussed primarily upon the ability of the gay and lesbian community to protect itself, and played a crucial role in the success of the police project through its research and analysis of the problem, dissemination of information and work with survivors.

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ 1990 NSW Police Service appoints coordinator to develop a program to reduce violence, crime and fear in the gay and lesbian communities; establishment of the Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project (AVP); marketing and education campaign by NSW Police Service; Streetwatch Implementation Advisory Committee established.
- ▶ 1991 The AVP receives its first funding from the NSW Department of Health.
- ▶ 1992 Police Working Party established to oversee police initiatives.
- ▶ 1993 On the Job Police Training Package completed. Anti Gay/Lesbian Violence Forum organised by the Police Service.
- ▶ 1994 Police Customer Assistance Unit established. Significant decrease in violence against gays and lesbians observed.
- ▶ 1995 Survey of Violence and Harassment Against Gay Men and Lesbians in Sydney to be released and launched. Police Policy and Strategic Plan to be published. One of the major winners of the 1994 Australian Violence Prevention Awards.

The two projects aimed to:

- encourage a joint community and police problem-solving approach;
- promote intolerance of anti-gay/lesbian violence and harassment;
- increase the access of gays and lesbians to sensitive and professional policing services which are responsive to this type of violence; and
- increase police accountability for preventing, reducing and responding to anti gay/lesbian violence.

The essential strategy was community liaison and consultation. The Police Service progressively appointed Police Gay/Lesbian Liaison Officers, until in 1994 more than half the State's police stations had liaison officers in attendance. Police Gay/Lesbian Anti-Violence Consultative Groups were also formed in critical locations.

The project mounted a wide-ranging information and community education campaign, promoting national and international awareness of the problem.

Following the involvement of school age boys in several murders of gay men, the project placed great emphasis on working with the Department of School Education and, later, the Catholic Education Office.

Police implemented a coordinated training strategy dealing with police relations with the homosexual community, for use in patrols.

The Department of School Education set up a working group to turn the school homophobia

project into a comprehensive package. A major survey on anti-lesbian violence was carried out, and changes to the Computerised Operational Policing System ensured more accurate collection of hate crimes data.

In 1994-95 the project was directed towards the production of a formal strategic plan, based on the available research and community consultation. This is due to be published in mid-1995.

POLICY ISSUES

Government agencies can achieve a reduction in violence through awareness-raising, maintaining the public visibility of an issue, and communicating useful information to those affected. This can reduce the opportunity for violence and increase the risk to potential perpetrators.

SOME FURTHER READING

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Cox, G. 1994, "The count and counter Report: A study into hate related violence against lesbians and gays", *The Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project: Third Report in the Streetwatch series*, University of Sydney Union Publications Dept., Sydney.

Herlihy, J. 1994, *The Australian Violence Prevention Award 1993*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Results: • Police research into the percentage of lesbians experiencing physical assault in the previous 12 months showed a drop from 18 per cent in 1990-91 to 12 per cent in 1993-94. The number of anti-gay assaults as a proportion of total street assaults declined from 60 per cent in 1990 to 46 per cent in 1991, though the total number of street assaults, at 150 and 149 respectively, remained almost the same.

Community research by the Gay and Lesbian Lobby between 1988 and 1993 showed a similar trend, with physical assaults reported to them dropping by more than 50 per cent between 1991-92 and 1992-93. A newspaper reader sample survey over 1993 and 1994 showed that the percentage of gays and lesbians as a whole who had experienced an assault in the previous 12 months had halved again, from 15 per cent in 1993 to 7.5 per cent in 1994.

Lessons: • The ability to follow up and to maintain the momentum on programs of awareness raising is essential. One of the problems of voluntary community based programs is a tendency for participants either to lose interest as the number of incidents declines, or to burn out. Agencies such as the police, which are able to provide ongoing involvement and a focus for voluntary activities, can make a critical contribution to the success or failure of projects of this nature.

5 Reducing Burglary on a Public Housing Estate

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Concentrating efforts to prevent burglaries on previously victimised houses.

PROBLEM

Kirkholt housing near Rochdale, UK, comprising 2280 dwellings, had a high burglary rate; in 1985 about one in four dwellings were burglarised.

GOAL

To prevent burglary on a public housing estate.

DESCRIPTION

The project included target hardening, a change in billing practices, and "cocoon" Neighbourhood Watch, and was supported by the British Home Office.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

The Local Authority, the British Home Office, the police, the probation service, and university researchers.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

The Local Authority; police; residents of the housing estate.

AN OVERVIEW

In 1985 about one in four dwellings in the Kirkholt Housing Estate was burglarised; this was many times the national figure.

Systematic information was gathered through interviews with victims, their neighbours, and known burglars. Analysis revealed the chance of a second or subsequent burglary was four times as high as the first burglary. The data showed that the most common form of burglary was the taking of money from electricity and gas prepayment meters, which account for 49 per cent of the burglaries.

A number of strategies were used to contain the problem of repeat victimisation. These included security upgrading of homes by the town's Housing Department and setting up of a system of monitoring burglary techniques. The utility boards in Kirkholt agreed to replace meters after burglary and in some cases meters were removed by the boards and substituted with a billing system.

A thoroughly publicised element of the preventive measures was the initiation in 1987 of "cocoon" Neighbourhood Watch. Residents of five to six nearest flats or homes were asked to look out and report on suspicious situations around the victimised home. Community support was another element. Project workers visited the victims on the estate, offering support and in time took over the functions of establishing cocoons.

In phase II of the project, the elements included a school-based crime prevention program, facility for offenders from the area to attend groups to address their problem, a

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ 1985 Recorded burglary rate in Kirkholt Housing Estate reaches 25 per cent.
- ◆ March 1987 "Cocoon" Neighbourhood Watch introduced as part of an integrated crime prevention strategy.
- ◆ Feb. 1988 Burglary rate falls 58 per cent from previous year.
- ◆ Feb. 1989 Burglary rate falls 68 per cent from pre-program level.
- ◆ Feb. 1990 Burglary rate falls 75 per cent from pre-program level.

cheap saving and loan scheme for the estate residents, posting of informed probation officers and a better served court.

POLICY ISSUES

By participating in the project residents could increase their sense of security, and develop helpful relationships with immediate neighbours. The project demonstrates how the ownership of a program can be gradually transferred to the community, through actively seeking the participation of residents and sharing responsibilities from the outset. The program develops a complementary relationship between victim support and crime prevention. The combination of agencies to work in the pursuit of burglary prevention also appears to have a positive impact.

SOME FURTHER READING

Forrester, D., Chatterton, M. & Pease, K. 1988, *The Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project, Rochdale*, Crime Prevention Unit Paper 13, Home Office, London.

Forrester, D., Frenz, S. & O'Connell, M. 1990, *The Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project Phase II*, Crime Prevention Unit Paper 20, Home Office, London.

Pease, K. 1991, "The Kirkholt project: Preventing burglary on a British public housing estate", vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 73-7.

----- 1992, "Preventing burglary on a British public housing estate", in *Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies*, ed. R.V. Clarke, Harrow and Heston, New York, pp. 223-9.

Results: • Although the program was designed to concentrate preventive measures on previously victimised houses, the strategy achieved a 75 per cent reduction in burglary for the whole of the estate.

Lessons: • Dramatic results in crime prevention, with no evidence of displacement, can be achieved through an integrated strategy of victim support and opportunity reduction. A focus on households experiencing repeat victimisation may be particularly fruitful.

6 Preventing the counterfeiting of Australian Currency

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

To develop a more secure, yet durable and functional, banknote.

PROBLEM

Concern by the Reserve Bank of Australia about the risk that counterfeiting of Australia's currency note could escalate significantly in the future.

GOAL

To produce bank notes which are more difficult and costly to counterfeit.

DESCRIPTION

The technology uses a polymer (plastic) substrate in place of a paper substrate for currency notes. This allows the incorporation of security features (such as a clear window) which are not possible in paper notes.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Reserve Bank of Australia; Note Printing Australia (a division of the Reserve Bank of Australia responsible for printing Australia's currency notes).

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Australian government; Australian taxpayers.

AN OVERVIEW

It is estimated that millions of dollars in counterfeit currency are presently in circulation worldwide. The most often counterfeited currency is that of the USA because of its wide use around the world and limited security. The availability of high technology, from colour photocopying machines to scanners to colour laser printers have all added to the counterfeiting problems of many countries. New technology was therefore needed to counter these practices.

In Australia the biggest weapon in the fight to stamp out counterfeiting has proved to be plastic in the form of polymer notes. The technology used in the production of these notes was developed by the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) and Note Printing Australia. The currency is made by laminating two layers of polypropylene under heat and pressure to form a roll about 75 microns thick, similar to the old paper stock. The clear polymer goes through a four-step process which turns it opaque except for a window which is left clear to act as a security feature in its own right or allow other features such as hologram-like devices to be seen from either side of the note. The opacified substrate also includes a shadow mark similar to the watermark on paper notes.

Polymer

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ 1966 Major counterfeiting scare in Australia just after the release of the decimal series of notes.
- ◆ 1966 The Reserve Bank sought the help of the CSIRO to give it a sustainable edge over counterfeiters by utilising some of the rapid developments in technology. CSIRO believed the use of polymer substrate would facilitate the use of radically new security features.
- ◆ 1988 The first polymer note released in Australia.
- ◆ 1992 New Series Polymer notes released in July (A\$5).
- ◆ 1993 Release of A\$10 note in November.
- ◆ 1994 Release of A\$20 note in October.
- ◆ 1995 Release of A\$50 note expected.
- ◆ 1996 Release of A\$100 note expected.

notes handle a little differently to paper notes, but Australia now has three of these notes in circulation being widely used both manually and in machines such as ATMS. The technology will continue to be improved over time.

An additional security measure that is ideally suited to Polymer notes is one known as an Optically Variable Device (OVD). This is an image formed by tiny grooves in ultra-fine aluminium foil acting like multiple miniature prisms to scatter white light into colours. The effect is somewhat like the rainbow pattern of a credit card hologram. The image is clear, visible from either side of the note, and is far more difficult to counterfeit than a hologram. Due to its additional cost, the feature is intended for higher value notes only. At present, the polymer technology is proving to be a sufficient counterfeiting deterrent.

POLICY ISSUES

The Australian Government has achieved significant reductions in the counterfeiting of Australian banknotes which ultimately has a positive flow-on effect to the Australian taxpayer. By further refining the process and selling the technology overseas, additional gains are being achieved for the Australian economy.

SOME FURTHER READING

Michaelis, A.R. 1993, "OVD-The bank notes of the future", *International Bank Note Society Journal*, vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 5-14.

Reserve Bank of Australia 1994, *Notes of Caution*, July/August, Melbourne.

Sutton, James R. 1993, "Countering Icounterfeiters with high tech.", *Criminal Justice International*, vol. 9, no. 3, p. 19.

Results: • The main intention of the Polymer development was to improve security. To date there have been no instances of counterfeiting of polymer notes recorded in Australia since their introduction in 1988. This will lead to a saving of A\$20 million a year by the time all of Australia's paper currency is polymer printed.

There has been significant interest worldwide in the new technology. Some polymer notes have already been produced for Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa, Indonesia, Singapore and Kuwait. Treasury officials in Canada, Finland and Austria are already utilising diffraction foils on paper currency.

The plastic money circulates longer than paper money. The previous A\$5 note had to be replaced every five to six months. Old notes were taken in and burned or buried, while new notes were issued. The waste material from production and polymer notes no longer fit for use are granulated and provided to plastic recyclers, who use the material for a range of products such as compost bins, agricultural piping, and flower pots.

Lessons: • Creative use of technology can prevent counterfeiting

7 Crime Prevention and Fear Reduction through Enhanced Street Lighting

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Lighting improvements in poorly lit, crime-prone urban areas.

PROBLEM

Crime and fear of crime, aggravated by poor street lighting, detract from the quality of life in inner city neighbourhoods.

GOAL

To reduce crime and fear, and to encourage increased street activity after dark.

DESCRIPTION

Enhanced street lighting was introduced on poorly lighted streets in three relatively disadvantaged areas of London. Each of the three programs was evaluated under carefully controlled conditions to assess the impact of improved lighting on crime, incivility and fear of crime.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Local councils; Cambridge University.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Local government; inner city residents, merchants, and pedestrians.

AN OVERVIEW

Disadvantaged inner city neighbourhoods tend to experience higher crime rates; residents of these areas understandably tend to be fearful of crime. Perceptions of physical decline and social incivility in a neighbourhood contribute to fear. Disorder and decline, moreover, convey the impression of neglect and unconcern, and are thus implicit invitations to crime. Widespread reluctance to go out at night for fear of becoming the victim of crime has economic as well as social costs; avoidance of shopping areas after dark contributes to less commercial activity, less investment, and loss of jobs.

Problems of crime, disorder and fear are amenable to a variety of interventions, one of which is enhanced street lighting. A program to enhance street lighting and to test its effects was undertaken in the late 1980s/early 1990s in three disadvantaged areas of London: Edmonton, Tower Hamlets, and the Hammersmith/Fulham district. Police in the three areas were asked to identify streets characterised by poor lighting and high safety risk. Each of the settings chosen was illuminated with high-pressure sodium lamps producing an average illumination level of 10 lux and a minimum of 5 lux.

In each of the neighbourhoods, on-street pedestrian surveys were conducted initially before the new lighting was installed, and then six weeks following installation. Pedestrians were asked about criminal incidents which they may have experienced, and about their perceptions of safety. In

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ Late 1980s/early 1990s On-street pedestrian surveys conducted; pedestrian traffic monitored on selected streets in three council areas.
- ◆ Time T. Lighting enhancement introduced.
- ◆ T + 6 wks Post-intervention on-street pedestrian interviews conducted; pedestrian traffic monitored. Observed decrease in reported crime and fear; observed increase in street use.
- ◆ T+ 12 mths Follow-up survey in Hammersmith and Fulham; observed effects sustained.

addition, the number of pedestrians using the streets was monitored before and after the relighting.

In one of the neighbourhoods, residents living alongside the enhanced lighting street were surveyed before, and then 6 weeks and again 12 months after the intervention.

Painter, K. 1994, "The impact of street lighting on crime, fear, and pedestrian street use", *Security Journal*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 116-24.

Ramsay, M. & Newton, R. 1991, *The Effect of Better Street Lighting on Crime and Fear: A Review*, Crime Prevention Unit Paper 29, Home Office, London.

POLICY ISSUES

Street lighting can contribute to public safety by improving visibility, increasing the risk that offenders will be detected and recognised. In addition, enhanced lighting can invite increased street usage, thus facilitating informal surveillance. Public perception that improvements have been made to the environment convey the impression that authorities are concerned with enhancing neighbourhood amenities. This can foster public confidence.

SOME FURTHER READING

Ditton, J. & Nair, G. 1994, "Throwing light on crime: A case study of the relationship between street lighting and crime prevention", *Security Journal*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 125-32.

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| <p>Results: • A decrease in reported assault, theft of and from motor vehicles, and assault was observed in all three settings. In two of these, the percentage of respondents reporting criminal incidents declined from 10 per cent to 2 per cent and from 12 per cent to 3 per cent respectively. A significant decrease in fear of crime for both men and women was recorded in all three settings. Pedestrian presence increased in each setting by an average of approximately 50 per cent for both males and females. In the one setting where local household residents were surveyed, a significant reduction in disorder and incivility was reported. This reduction was sustained over the 12-month period under review.</p> <p>Lessons: • Carefully designed improvements in street lighting can contribute to reductions in crime, incivility and fear. Enhanced lighting can also encourage street activity after dark, which, in addition to economic benefits, can lead to further reductions in crime and fear. Enhanced lighting can be combined with other crime prevention initiatives, although in this instance, its independent preventive effects are demonstrable.</p> |
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8 Reducing Telephone Vandalism

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Refocussed management approach and practice to tackling telephone vandalism and the creation of a separate Payphones Division whose aim was to increase profit.

PROBLEM

Telecom Australia was experiencing significant losses from payphone vandalism, at one time costing Telecom A\$18 million.

GOAL

To reduce payphone vandalism and increase profit.

DESCRIPTION

Telecom Australia streamlined its public telephone management and created a separate Payphones Division whose objective was to improve public telephone servicing, eliminate losses, and promote the use of public telephones. In addition, target-hardening measures were introduced to reduce payphone vandalism.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Telecom Australia.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Telecom Australia; shopping centres and numerous service organisations; the public.

AN OVERVIEW

Vandalism of public telephones is a common occurrence wherever such facilities are available. Telecom Australia experienced this problem and at one time it cost Telecom A\$18 million to rectify deliberate damage to public telephones. By the mid-1980s Telecom workers in some States had already recognised the problem and had begun addressing it. But a marked reduction in the cost of remedying vandalism and damage to payphones was achieved during the late 1980s and early 1990s. While some claim this positive outcome to be a result of target hardening, others indicate that Telecom's management initiatives also played a key role. It is important therefore to consider these two directions.

Target hardening: Following numerous oxyacetylene and other attacks, in 1985, Telecom staff in the State of New South Wales developed the "Kirk safe" to protect public telephone coin boxes. This device was mainly installed in places where coin box attacks had occurred.

In the neighbouring State of Victoria coin box attacks were not known to be a problem at that time. But when the target hardening device was installed in New South Wales, it appeared that the coin thieves of this State moved to Victoria. By mid-1986 six offenders were sentenced to prison terms for 353 attacks on public telephones. "Kirk safe", a relatively expensive device, was not installed widely in Victoria. The Victorians developed a much cheaper device, the angle iron attachment.

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ 1987 Management consultants observe that 16 separate sections of Telecom Australia were involved in public telephone management. Public telephone repair costs about A\$18m per year.
- ▶ 1988 Payphones Division established; "Target hardening" program commenced.
- ▶ 1991 Cost of repairing damaged public telephones reduced more than 60 per cent over a four-year period.

In early 1988, South Australia installed the "wave door" and the Northern Territory followed soon after.

Management initiatives: After Telecom was "privatised" the organisation reviewed its management processes and practices. In particular, the part of Telecom that dealt with vandalism and damage to public telephones underwent a major change. In 1987, it was pointed out that 16 separate sections of Telecom Australia were involved in public telephone management. In mid-1988 a separate Payphones Division was established to look after all aspects of public telephones. This change in management was introduced not as a crime prevention measure but rather to reduce loss, and to promote the use of public telephones through various methods. The management initiative also involved a more coordinated approach.

The new management implemented such activities as coordinated target hardening measures, replacement of bottom glass sections of telephone booths with steel mesh, formal surveillance, natural surveillance (locating telephones in busy public places), employee surveillance, rapid repair, etc. At the same time, other measures that involved direct public participation were also introduced. Additional strategies included media coverage, advertising, Adopt-A-Phone and financial rewards. And finally, Telecom Australia introduced phone cards which eliminated one of the major attractions for payphone vandalism—cash.

POLICY ISSUES

Having established the extent and nature of a problem, it is essential that the response involves a coordinated and clear management process. A coordinated approach implements reforms uniformly thereby eliminating the possibility of displacement effects to neighbouring areas. Furthermore, it can be futile to attack a problem using only one defined action. Such initiatives often show a temporary, short-term gain that dissipates rapidly. Telecom's approach to contain payphone vandalism reflects a multifaceted strategy which not only reduced loss from vandalism but made the payphones more attractive to the user and increased profits for the company.

Planning crime prevention requires consideration of broader issues and their impact. Evaluation of such strategies may be problematic, but careful planning can assist the process.

SOME FURTHER READING

Challinger, D. 1992, "Less telephone vandalism: How did it happen?" in *Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies*, ed. R.V. Clarke, Harrow and Heston, New York, pp 75-8.

Wilson, P. 1990, "Reduction of telephone vandalism: An Australian case study", *Security Journal* vol. 1, pp 149-54.

- Results:** • Organisational reform and target hardening achieved a 60 per cent reduction in the cost of vandalism to public telephones.
- Lessons:** • Loss control and profit enhancement measures brought about by privatisation can be a significant driving force behind crime prevention.

9 Cash Reduction and Robbery Prevention in the Victorian TAB

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Reduction of accessible cash to decrease the frequency of armed robbery of off-track betting facilities.

PROBLEM

Large amounts of readily accessible cash provide a tempting target for prospective robbers.

GOAL

To reduce the incidence of robbery and to decrease the average amount stolen per offence.

DESCRIPTION

Time locking cash boxes, cash limits on each selling draw, and time locks on main safes were introduced in order to limit the ready availability of cash in TAB facilities.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Victoria Totalisator Agency Board (TAB).

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

VicTAB, employees, the police.

AN OVERVIEW

The large sums of money handled by off-track betting facilities (referred to hereafter as TABs) are an attractive target for robbers. In North America, the development of methods to limit access to cash as a means of preventing robbery have met with considerable success in public transport systems and convenience stores. By limiting the amount of readily available cash, and by advertising this fact, prospective robbers may well come to regard the expected return to be not worth the risk.

Beginning in the early 1980s the Victorian TAB introduced a number of measures to limit the availability of cash in its 425 facilities throughout the state. In late 1980, they introduced time-locking cash boxes in most of their betting shops. The following year, cash limits of A\$500 were set on each selling draw. In late 1987, main safes in TAB shops were fitted with time locks.

Over the course of the decade, robberies of TABs in Victoria declined significantly. This decline did not reflect any general decrease in robbery; on the contrary, robberies of banks and other commercial premises in Victoria increased during the period. Moreover, the average amount stolen in TAB robberies declined following the introduction of the various cash handling measures. A cost-benefit analysis showed that the cost of introducing time-locking cash boxes was recovered after six years.

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ 1980 Time locking cash boxes introduced in Victorian TABs.
- ▶ 1981 57 per cent decrease in the incidence of TAB robberies.
- ▶ 1981 Cash limit of A\$500 set on each selling draw.
- ▶ 1982 Further 20 per cent decrease in the incidence of TAB robberies.
- ▶ 1987 Main safes fitted with time locks.

POLICY ISSUES

Commercial operations vulnerable to robbery would do well to consider the introduction of measures designed to restrict the ready availability of cash. Managers should be mindful of cost/benefit considerations, as well as any possible inconvenience to customers which such measures might entail. It is also possible that cash reduction measures might produce displacement, when prospective robbers direct their attention to "softer" more vulnerable targets.

SOME FURTHER READING

Clarke, R.V. & McGrath, G. 1990, "Cash reduction and robbery prevention in Australian betting shops", *Security Journal*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 160-3.

Clarke, R.V., Field, S. & McGrath, G. 1991, "Target hardening of banks in Australia and displacement of robberies", *Security Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 84-90.

Results: • The introduction of time locking cash boxes in Victorian TABs was followed by a 57 per cent reduction in the yearly total of robberies. This contrasts with a 9 per cent decrease in bank robberies and a 20 per cent reduction in commercial robberies during the period. The setting of a cash limit on each selling draw was followed by a further 20 per cent decrease in TAB robberies, in contrast to an increase in the incidence of robberies of banks and commercial premises. The introduction of time lock main safes in 1987 was followed by a decrease in TAB robberies, although similar decreases were also observed in the incidence of bank and commercial robberies. The average amount stolen in the course of TAB robberies also declined following the introduction of cash reduction procedures.

Lessons: • The introduction of cash handling measures to limit the ready availability of cash can be an effective strategy in the prevention of robbery. Prominent advertising of the existence of these measures on the premises will discourage prospective robbers.

10 Random Breath Testing in New South Wales

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Unannounced but highly visible and apparently ubiquitous police checkpoints for the purpose of enforcing the law against driving under the influence of alcohol.

PROBLEM

Alcohol related driving accidents contribute significantly to death, injury and property damage. At the beginning of the 1980s over 3 000 deaths and 30 000 injuries each year in Australia were attributable to road traffic accidents. Road traffic accidents are the leading cause of death of Australians aged 15-24.

GOAL

To reduce death and injury arising from road traffic accidents by deterring driving under the influence of alcohol.

DESCRIPTION

Police set up unannounced checkpoints to test passing motorists for alcohol consumption. A program of highly visible and sustained enforcement succeeded in enhancing perceived probability of detection.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

New South Wales Police Service; NSW Traffic Authority.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Motorists; taxpayers; insurers; general public.

AN OVERVIEW

In 1982, New South Wales Police introduced a system of testing motorists for alcohol consumption. Highly visible checkpoints were established on main thoroughfares, and passing drivers were chosen arbitrarily and directed to stop for a breath test. Tests were administered to all drivers stopped at a checkpoint, regardless of their manner of driving, the nature of their vehicle, or police judgment regarding the likelihood of whether they had been drinking. Drivers whose test indicated a blood alcohol level in excess of a prescribed threshold (.05 per cent) were subjected to an additional test for evidentiary purposes. Verification of the offence was followed by formal charges at a police station.

Implementation of the program was intensive. Two hundred additional police were recruited for highway patrol duties at the introduction of the program. Approximately one million tests were administered each year, to a driving population of about three million. By the fifth year of operation, more than 50 per cent of motorists in Sydney had been tested at least once, and more than 80 per cent reported having seen the program in operation.

Extensive publicity was given to the program from the time of its introduction, and sustained over a number of years. This included paid advertising, as well as extensive news media coverage, encouraged

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ Dec. 1982 Random breath testing introduced in New South Wales, followed immediately by a marked decline in fatal road traffic accidents.
- ◆ May 1983 26 per cent of motorists surveyed reported that their chances of arrest were 'much higher' now that random breath testing was in force.
- ◆ July-Aug. 1984 46 per cent of motorists surveyed reported that their chances of arrest were much higher.
- ◆ 1987 Follow-up study observed sustained reduction in road traffic fatalities.
- ◆ Aug. 1987 Mobile Random Breath Testing introduced.
- ◆ 1987 Large increase in volume of police enforcement (number of tests conducted).
(end of year)

and facilitated by police. The campaign was accompanied by a catchy jingle, with the accompanying lyrics, "How will you go when you sit for the test, will you be under .05 or under arrest?"

The program was based on the theory of deterrence—specifically, that aspect of the theory which specifies that a perceived increase in the probability of detection will discourage a prospective drinking driver from committing the offence.

POLICY ISSUES

Significant reductions in the rate of road traffic accidents can be achieved by an intensive and sustained program of random breath testing. Ongoing, high visibility enforcement is necessary to prevent decay of the deterrent effect over time. Legal interventions should be very specific with regard to the strategy in question—the perceived risk of arrest for drinking and driving.

SOME FURTHER READING

Homel, Ross 1988, *Policing and Punishing the Drinking Driver: A Study of General and Specific Deterrence*, Springer-Verlag, New York.

----- 1994, "Drink driving law enforcement and the legal blood alcohol limit in New South Wales", *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, vol. 26, pp. 147-55.

Homel, R. Carseldine, D. & Kearns, I. 1988, "Drink driving countermeasures in Australia", *Alcohol, Drugs and Driving*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 113-44.

Ross, H. Laurence 1992, *Confronting Drunk Driving: Social Policy for Saving Lives*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

- Results:**
- Random breath testing achieved an immediate 22 per cent reduction in total fatal crashes, and a decline of about 36 per cent in alcohol related fatal crashes, from the previous three years.
- Results were sustained over time, with only a minor increase toward earlier levels. Single vehicle night time accidents, the most accurate measure of alcohol-related accidents, showed less evidence of a move toward earlier levels, and the impact of random breath testing was found to intensify after 1987, when total tests conducted increased markedly. Statistical analysis revealed that this decrease in the road toll was attributable to random breath testing and not to the effects of economic or other factors.
- Random Breath Testing also provided regular drinkers with a face saving excuse not to drink to excess in group drinking situations.
- Lessons:**
- Random breath testing can achieve a significant and sustained decrease in fatal automobile crashes, but it must be implemented with care and precision. A key to success is to reinforce informal sanctions against drinking and driving, by strengthening moral commitments and undermining peer pressure to drink to excess. Simply increasing penalties, and/or decreasing permissible blood alcohol levels, is unlikely to achieve significant and lasting results. On the other hand, increasing the likelihood of punishment for drunk drivers can produce a deterrent effect. Programs must be sustained, well publicised and highly visible.

11 Retailer Prevention of Credit Card Fraud

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Staff training to recognise attempted credit card fraud, combined with point-of-sale scrutiny of suspect transactions.

PROBLEM

Tops Appliance City, a New Jersey retailer, was experiencing losses from credit card fraud in excess of US\$1 million per year.

GOAL

To reduce credit card fraud in a retail setting.

DESCRIPTION

A multifaceted strategy including personnel training, risk profiling, procedural safeguards, networking, rewarding employees for fraud detection, and prosecution of offenders.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Tops Appliance City, a New Jersey consumer electronics and appliance retailer.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

The retailer; banks; other credit lenders; consumers.

AN OVERVIEW

Tops Appliance City, a New Jersey consumer electronics and appliance retailer, was experiencing losses of over US\$1 million per year resulting from credit card fraud. The vast majority (95 per cent) of losses arose from the use of credit cards stolen directly from individuals, or cards intercepted in transit between the issuer and the account holder. The remainder of losses arose from the fraudulent use of account numbers in telephone or mail orders, and from the use of counterfeit cards. The problem was compounded by the failure of banks and law enforcement agencies to disclose to retailers the stolen credit card numbers in circulation, or the general modus operandi of frauds known to them.

In an attempt to reduce losses, the company analysed the problem and concluded that the basic challenge was to differentiate between legitimate and illegitimate customers at the point of sale. It examined all credit card incidents detected during 1991 with a view towards identifying common patterns. In particular, it became apparent that fraud suspects tended to purchase specific products in multiples, and were unable to provide motor vehicle registration or insurance identification matching the name appearing on the credit card.

The company established a fraud countermeasures program based upon six strategies:

Training: With the assistance of relevant law enforcement agencies, the company conducted a training program for all cashiers and sales personnel. This entailed material on fraud generally, on the identification of physical discrepancies in credit cards, and on the behaviour of fraud perpetrators.

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ 1991 Credit card losses exceed US\$1.1 million. Attempted Frauds detected: 47.
- ▶ 1991 Comprehensive fraud countermeasures program introduced.
- ▶ 1992 Credit card losses reduced to US\$200 000. Attempted Frauds detected: 118.

Profiling: The company sought to identify behavioural characteristics associated with fraud. These included lack of cost consideration; unusual impatience, multiple purchases of same product, avoidance of items requiring delivery, and selection of items which could be readily re-sold for cash, such as VCRs and videocameras.

Safeguards: For obvious reasons retail merchants like to present themselves as customer-friendly. Visibly suspicious scrutiny of customers makes for a less than ideal shopping environment. Unobtrusive but close surveillance of suspicious customers was conducted, including video surveillance and recording of other identifying data.

Networking: Close liaison was maintained with local law enforcement agencies, including the multi-way exchange of information with relevant authorities.

Rewards: The company also developed an incentive program for employees, who received cash rewards for every detected incident of card misuse. Rewards of up to US\$1 000 were payable for action leading to the seizure of a stolen card and the arrest of a fraud perpetrator.

Prosecution: The company affirmed its commitment to the prosecution of all detected fraudsters. It developed a uniform prosecution strategy, managed by loss prevention specialists. This required the establishment of witness contact procedures, and good liaison with local police and prosecuting authorities.

The program succeeded in more than doubling the identification of fraudulent transactions, and in reducing losses from credit card fraud by more than 90 per cent in the first year.

POLICY ISSUES

Retailers can achieve significant reductions in attempted credit card fraud by developing a systematic understanding of how such frauds are accomplished, and designing a fraud prevention program accordingly. Collaboration with government authorities, especially in the sharing of information, is highly desirable if not essential.

Opportunity reduction can be further enhanced by online access at point of sale which can permit prompt identification of lost or stolen cards at the time of use, and of procedures which require or permit authorisation for suspect transactions or transactions over a specified threshold.

SOME FURTHER READING

Masuda, B. 1993, "Credit card fraud prevention: A successful retail strategy", in *Crime Prevention Studies*, ed. R.V. Clarke, vol. 1, Criminal Justice Press, Monsey, New York, pp. 121-34.

Levi, M., Bissell, P. & Richardson, T. 1991, *The Prevention of Cheque and Credit Card Fraud*, Home Office Crime Prevention Unit Paper 26, HMSO, London.

Results:

- Significant increase in the detection of attempted credit card frauds from 47 in 1991 to 118 in 1992.
- Over 80 per cent reduction in credit card losses.
- Over 100 successful prosecutions.
- No evidence of displacement to the wider retail environment.

Lessons:

- A comprehensive program of credit card fraud prevention can be effective in a controlled setting. Such a program should be based on a systematic understanding of how the frauds are actually committed, and on a knowledge base which can differentiate between fraudulent and non-fraudulent transactions. It will also require commitment from within the organisation and good liaison with relevant external institutions.
- Additional strategies, however, may be needed to increase potential fraudsters' perceptions of the risk of detection.
- No apparent benefit beyond the controlled environment.
- The first bastion of defence against credit card fraud is with retailers themselves.

12 Public Transport Safety in Victoria

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

An integrated program to enhance passenger safety, and reduce vandalism and graffiti on the train, tram and bus systems of Victoria.

PROBLEM

Public fear of crime on public transport contributed to declining use of transport facilities, which in turn encouraged incivility and crime.

GOAL

To enhance safety of public transport passengers, and reduce their fear of crime.

DESCRIPTION

A new safety program was introduced, based on information collection and analysis, forums for community consultation, and improved procedures for removing graffiti, repairing vandalism, and collecting litter. Additional elements included better lighting and closed circuit television surveillance, and the installation of more public telephones.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Public Transport Corporation, Victoria.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Public Transport Corporation; passengers.

AN OVERVIEW

Increasing public perceptions of crime on public transport systems in the late 1980s, reinforced by media coverage, prompted the Victoria Public Transport Corporation to introduce a program called "Travel Safe", incorporating a range of new initiatives relating to passenger safety and security.

The first stage of the program was to develop management information systems to improve the quality of data for analysis of the problem in its various dimensions, including prevalence, time and location. In addition, the formation of a consultative community forum enabled public transport officials to consider community views and interests. The Corporation also established links with researchers on graffiti and vandalism, to keep abreast of new developments in prevention and control.

Operational strategies included a railway station cleanup program, in which all 206 metropolitan train stations were cleaned of graffiti during 1991, and all new graffiti removed upon discovery. Community involvement in the improvement of stations was also encouraged, for example, to remove graffiti and undertake landscaping. Vehicle cleaning programs were enhanced, with emphasis on immediate removal of graffiti, and more frequent cleaning of cars. Public telephones were installed at all metropolitan stations, and lighting improvements introduced. Selected stations were upgraded to significantly enhance passenger amenities, and partnerships were forged with the private sector to install illuminated bus and tram shelters throughout the metropolitan area.

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ 1989 Increased incidence of crimes against persons, vandalism, and graffiti on the public transport system of Victoria.
- ▶ 1990 Travel Safe Program introduced.
- ▶ 1992 Significant reduction in the incidence of crimes against persons and vandalism achieved.

In addition, patrols were enhanced, with specific attention accorded high risk locations and times. Closed circuit television cameras and recorders were installed at stations and on trains and buses. Not only were significant reductions in graffiti, vandalism, and crimes against the person achieved, but considerable maintenance costs were also avoided.

Easteal. P. 1991, *Preventing Crime on Transport: Rail, Buses, Taxis, Planes*, Crime Prevention series, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Brantingham, P.J. 1991, "How public transit feeds private crime: Notes on the Vancouver "Skytrain" experience", *Security Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 91-5.

POLICY ISSUES

Fear of crime on public transport can lead to a reduction in the number of people travelling. This in turn reduces the effect of "safety in numbers" and contributes to an increase in the actual risk of becoming the victim of crime.

Public perceptions of insecurity are strongly influenced by such manifestations of incivility as vandalism, graffiti, litter, and rowdy, offensive conduct. Programs which address these problems can reduce fear of crime and instil confidence in the travelling public, which in turn can help reduce crime and incivility.

SOME FURTHER READING

Carr, K. & Spring, G. 1993, "Public transport safety: A community right and a communal responsibility", in *Crime Prevention Studies*, ed. R.V. Clarke, vol. 1, Criminal Justice Press, Monsey, New York, pp. 147-55.

Results: • Crimes against persons on Victoria's public transport system decreased by 42 per cent over two years, from an average of about 57 incidents per month in 1989-90, to about 33 per month in 1991-92. Significant reductions in vandalism and graffiti were also noted. Window breakage declined from an average of 700 per week to about 120 per week. As a result of reductions in vandalism, significantly fewer cars were out of service. Savings of about A\$5 million per year were achieved in vehicle window replacement costs alone.

Lessons: • An integrated program of crime prevention can contribute significantly to the enhancement of public safety amongst public transport passengers. Such a program should be based on sound management information, prompt removal of graffiti and remediation of vandalism, and improved lighting and communications at stations. Constructive use of surveillance technology can also enhance security.

13 Reducing Crime on Public Transport in The Netherlands

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

The employment of individuals to serve as "safety, information and control" officers on public transport, to reduce fare evasion and vandalism.

PROBLEM

Conductors on buses, tram and metro systems were abandoned in 1963 as an economic measure. It is claimed that the absence of conductors led to crime and vandalism on public transport.

GOAL

To reduce the incidence of fare-dodging, vandalism and aggression on tram and metro systems.

DESCRIPTION

The public transport companies in Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam were authorised to employ about 1200 unemployed young people to tackle the problem and at the same time improve the service to the passengers.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Public transport companies.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

The Government; public transport systems; the public.

AN OVERVIEW

As a cost cutting measure in many Western countries the position of conductors on public transport was abolished in the 1960s. In their place the public transport authorities introduced a number of initiatives. In some circles it is claimed that these changes have resulted in an increase in the incidents of fare-dodging, vandalism, aggression and also increased the feeling of insecurity among passengers. In The Netherlands, the new government elected in 1983 took the view that although the incidents on the public transport were minor in nature, they placed enormous demands on the police and courts. Following the report of a special committee in 1984, the Minister of Transport and Public Works introduced two measures—one for the tram and metro system and one for the bus system. For the tram and metro system the government authorised the public transport authorities in the three cities to employ about 1200 unemployed young people to serve as VIC (Veiligheid, Informatie, Controle—safety, information and control). The measures introduced for buses changed certain procedures and all passengers were required to pass by the driver who checks as well as sells tickets.

The recruitment campaign for the position of VICs was aimed at employing unemployed young people in the age group 19-28. The requirements were low and special care was taken to attract women and people from various ethnic groups. Of those selected, 50 per cent were previously unemployed, 30 per

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ 1963 Conductors phased out for economic reasons.
- ◆ Dec. 1984 Netherlands Government subsidises employment of 1200 unemployed young people to work on public transport systems.
- ◆ March 1985 Random checks on train passengers to quantify extent of fare dodging (repeated November 1985, March 1986, November 1986).
- ◆ Nov. 1985 Representative sample of public transport users surveyed (repeated September 1986).
- ◆ Nov. 1987 Significant reduction in fare evasion, vandalism and violence.

cent were women, and 25 per cent were from ethnic minority groups. The VICs received short (2-3 month) training comprising courses in criminal law and practical exercises in ticket inspection. The VICs were deployed in different ways; some worked in groups of two to four, some were authorised to impose fines to defaulters, some used random checkings, and some manned metro stations. The role of those manning metro stations was to provide information and not to check passengers. Passengers caught without a valid ticket could either buy one from the driver or leave the train. In case of problems the VICs could rely on support from a special team or the police.

The changed procedure for boarding buses limited the sale and scrutiny of tickets to the driver and automatic machines were introduced to stamping tickets.

POLICY ISSUES

The measures introduced were not cost effective but prove that a visible staffing presence can reduce crime on public transport. The employment of unemployed young people, especially women and members of minority groups, to provide a useful community service, was socially beneficial.

SOME FURTHER READING

Hesseling, R.B.P. 1995, "Functional surveillance in The Netherlands : Exemplary projects", *Security Journal*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 1-25.

van Anel, H. 1989, "Crime prevention that works: The case of public transport in The Netherlands", *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 29, pp. 47-56.

----- 1992, "The care of public transport in The Netherlands", in *Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies*, ed. R.V. Clarke, Harrow and Heston, Albany, New York.

Results: • Based on a quasi-experimental design, evaluation results indicated considerable crime prevention achievements. There were substantial declines in the number of fare dodgers in all the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Hague following the implementation of the schemes. This decline was markedly noticeable during peak hours. Savings were estimated at between 12 and 14 million guilders.

The number of violent incidents also fell. The percentage of passengers reported having witnessed assault or harassment during the three previous months declined from 11.7 per cent to 3.7 per cent. Passengers reporting that they themselves had been the victim of such an attack declined from 5 per cent to 2 per cent.

Incidents of vandalism, which were on the rise before the new measures, declined. Passengers' feelings of insecurity remained unchanged.

Lessons: • Visible public transport staff perform a significant crime prevention role. While full staffing may not be cost effective, the deployment of unemployed young people can fulfil important social benefits.

14 Preventing Motor Vehicle Theft in New South Wales

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

The application of problem oriented policing to the control of motor vehicle theft.

PROBLEM

The incidence of motor vehicle theft in the State of New South Wales had reached approximately 5800 per month, a level regarded as unacceptably high.

GOAL

To reduce automobile theft.

DESCRIPTION

A program based on strategic analysis and planning, coordination with a variety of relevant institutions, and carefully managed publicity.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTION

New South Wales Police Service.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Motorists; insurance companies; law enforcement agencies; taxpayers.

AN OVERVIEW

By the early 1990s, Sydney was being described as the car theft capital of the world. New South Wales, a State with a population under 6 million, was experiencing nearly 6000 motor vehicle thefts per month. The State Premier requested that police reduce the incidence of motor vehicle theft within existing budgets and without additional resources.

Systematic analysis of the problem by the State police service revealed a number of alternative motives for motor vehicle theft. These include:

Insurance fraud. It was estimated that between 10 per cent and 15 per cent of vehicles reported as stolen were intentionally disposed of by their owners with a view towards claiming insurance.

Spare parts. Vehicles were stolen and dismantled, either totally or partially, for spare parts. It was estimated that approximately 40 per cent of vehicles were stolen for this purpose, primarily by "professional" thieves.

Transport for criminal, recreational or general purposes. Cars were stolen for use in the commission of a crime, as a "getaway car" not traceable to the perpetrator once abandoned. Alternatively, they can be stolen for fun, or "joy riding", or simply to get "from point A to point B".

Rebirthing. Cars were stolen, and resold under the identity of another vehicle, usually one which had previously been "written off" after an accident, or abandoned.

A mix of new initiatives was introduced, each of which was accompanied by publicity. The media were enlisted to assist in educating the public about practical countermeasures, such

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ July 1991 Motor vehicle theft prevention program commences.
- ◆ June 1992 25 per cent reduction in reported motor vehicle theft achieved.

as locking one's car, and about the desirability of design solutions, such as steering column locks and component part labelling. They also were encouraged to impress upon the public that insurance fraud is not a victimless crime; it impacts not only on insurance companies but also on the motoring public through increased insurance premiums.

Automobile manufacturers were visited by the Commissioner of Police, and encouraged to introduce measures to enhance vehicle security. It was estimated that more readily identifiable parts achieved by vehicle component part labelling could achieve a 25 per cent overall reduction in vehicle theft.

Insurers were encouraged to improve liaison with police and manufacturers, to report suspected frauds, to invite more attention to the design of security mechanisms, and to take steps to discourage over-valuing insured vehicles, thereby removing an incentive to fraud.

Repairers were encouraged to verify the legitimacy of spare parts used in repairs, and to keep detailed records of parts purchases.

Local governments and developers were encouraged to design more secure facilities for cars, such as restricted access car parks and boom gates.

The Road Traffic Authority was encouraged to develop a register of wrecked and "written off" vehicles to enable detection of rebirthing.

motor vehicle theft lie beyond the control of police. On the other hand, cooperation with the private sector and with other government agencies can achieve much more, at no additional cost.

Carefully orchestrated publicity can be effective; police in NSW observed a decrease in reported vehicle thefts after each new initiative was announced. Concerted leadership at the highest levels of state government is required to achieve program success.

SOME FURTHER READING

Jarratt J. 1994, "Crime prevention and car theft in NSW: A case study", in *Criminal Justice Planning and Coordination*, eds. D. Biles & S. McKillop, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, pp. 133-41.

Mayhew, P., Clarke, R. & Hough, M. 1992, "Steering column locks and car theft", in *Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies*, ed. R.V. Clarke, Harrow and Heston, New York, pp. 52-65.

Webb, B. 1993, "Steering column locks and motor vehicle theft: Evaluations from three countries", in *Crime Prevention Studies*, vol. 2., ed. R.V. Clarke, Criminal Justice Press, Monsey, New York, pp. 71-90.

POLICY ISSUES

Strategic assessment and concerted planning can make a significant contribution to the reduction of motor vehicle theft. Traditional reactive policing can have at best a limited impact, because many factors contributing to

Results: • Between July 1991 and June 1992 the incidence of motor vehicle theft declined by over 25 per cent. Estimated savings of A\$50 million.

Lessons: • Motor vehicle theft can be reduced by the introduction of new countermeasures, accompanied by publicity, and backed by the commitment of the chief executives of government and the police service. Law enforcement agencies can increase their capabilities by enlisting the support of other governmental and private sector institutions.

Proactive, problem-oriented policing can achieve results that lie beyond the capacity of traditional police methods.

Part 2
Developmental
Interventions

15 The Elmira Prenatal/Early Infancy Project

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

To systematically address the behavioural and psychosocial conditions which lead to poor maternal and child outcomes for disadvantaged "first-time" mothers.

PROBLEM

The high rate of child abuse and neglect among families at greater risk for problems due to poverty and lack of personal and social resources.

GOAL

To identify and help change factors in the family environment which affect maternal health, infant care-giving, employment, education and family planning.

DESCRIPTION

The program is designed to begin during pregnancy and continue until the child is two-years-old. Nurse home visitors are employed. The home visits centre on three major activities: providing parent education, enhancing social support by family and friends, and linking the family with other health and human services.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

US Department of Health and Human Services; National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

"At-risk" families; community and health care workers; US taxpayers.

AN OVERVIEW

The Elmira Prenatal/Early Infancy Program is based on the premise that many of the most pervasive, intractable and costly health problems faced by high-risk women and young children are a consequence of poor maternal health, dysfunctional infant care-giving and stressful environmental conditions which interfere with individual and family functioning. These include: pre-term delivery and low-birthweight which are the leading determinants of infant mortality in the United States; child abuse and neglect; unintended and closely spaced subsequent pregnancies which can reduce child health and lead to increased poverty; and low educational and occupational achievements on the part of parents which can reduce family economic resources and self-sufficiency.

Personal resources, social support, and stresses in the home, family and community which either facilitate or interfere with pregnancy and the subsequent care of the child were identified. The nurse home visitors also educated the mothers about health-related behaviours such as smoking, consuming alcohol, using non-prescription drugs, and managing the complications of pregnancy. An attempt was also made to enhance social support for the mother by involving other family members and friends in the program.

A scientific evaluation was undertaken based on a random sample of 400 mothers, some of whom received home visits from nurses on an average of once every two weeks for approximately one hour (during pregnancy and for the first two years of the child's life) and some of whom received no visits.

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ 1970 Acknowledgment of the increasing incidence of child abuse and neglect in the United States and the cost of its consequences to government, as well as the lack of adequate support for "at-risk" parents.
- ◆ Late 1970s to early 1980s Implementation of proposal by the US Department of Health and Human Services to evaluate the Elmira Prenatal/Early Infancy Project to determine its efficacy.
- ◆ 1985 to the present Similar parent support programs replicated in other areas of the United States.

POLICY ISSUES

Well-designed parenting programs incorporating nurse home visitation, when focused on low-income families, can pay for themselves through improved maternal and child functioning. This would be achieved by targeting and making services available to all women having first children in lower socio-economic areas.

SOME FURTHER READING

Lally, J.R., Mangione, P.L. Honig, A.S. & Wittner, D.S. 1988, "More pride, less delinquency: Findings from the ten year follow-up study of the Syracuse University Family Development Research Program", *Zero-to-three*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 13-18.

Olds, D.L. 1990, "Can home visitation improve the health of women and children at risk?" in *Improving the Life Chances of Children At Risk*, eds D.L. Rogers & E. Ginzberg, Westview Press, Boulder, USA, pp. 79-103.

----- 1992, *What Do We Know About Home-Visitation as a Means of Preventing Child Abuse and Neglect?*, Department of Pediatrics, University of Rochester School of Medicine and Dentistry, Rochester, New York.

Olds, D.L., Henderson, C.R., Tatelbaum, R., & Chamberlin, R. 1988, "Improving the life-course development of socially disadvantaged mothers: A randomized trial of nurse home visitation", *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. 78, pp. 1436-45.

Widom, C.S., 1989, "The cycle of violence", *Science*, vol. 244, pp. 160-6.

Results: • Home visited mothers showed: an 82 per cent increase in the number of months they were employed; a reduction of 43 per cent in subsequent pregnancies during the four years after the delivery of the first child; an improvement in diet as well as a reduction in cigarette smoking; less restriction and punishment of their children; less child emergency medical care during the first two years of life; and increased levels of social support and use of community services.

Four per cent of home-visited mothers physically abused or neglected their children during the first two years of the children's lives, compared with 19 per cent of the group who did not receive any visits. The entire incidence of verified cases of child abuse and neglect during the first two years of the child's life was 5 per cent among the nurse-visited group compared with 10 per cent for the non-visited group, a reduction of 50 per cent.

Lessons: • Early intervention with "at-risk" families leads to improved health, better employment opportunities and more positive parent-child interaction. This subsequently reduces the incidence of child abuse and neglect which can, in turn, result in a reduction of future juvenile offending. Considerable future government savings in the area of health and community services are therefore achieved.

16 The Perry Preschool Project

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Early intervention with children from disadvantaged backgrounds, including one or two years of preschool education and weekly home visits.

PROBLEM

Low intelligence and poor school performance are associated with later offending. Intervention can prevent education failure in a population judged to be at risk for high rates of early placement in special education and later school dropout.

GOAL

To provide intellectual stimulation to increase cognitive abilities and to improve later school achievement with the explicit objective of reducing the risk of future delinquency.

DESCRIPTION

The project was initially based on a "Head Start" program involving disadvantaged black children at ages 3 and 4 in a preschool curriculum which promoted their intellectual and social developments. This was backed up by weekly home visits lasting just over an hour. The long-term effects of the program on these young people has been analysed regularly.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

US Office of Education; US Administration for Children; youth and families.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Parents; children; US Government; US taxpayers.

AN OVERVIEW

The Perry Preschool study examined 123 children from families of low socioeconomic status and who were at risk of failing in school. Drawn from a single school attendance area, these children were matched on selected variables, with matched pair members assigned either to an experimental group which received a good preschool program or to a control group which received no preschool program. Regular analyses of the children's social and intellectual development was undertaken. This included backgrounds, abilities, attitudes, scholastic achievements, employment, involvement in the welfare system, and delinquent behaviour both self-reported and police-reported.

Parents of the children who participated in the project had undertaken a median value of 9.4 years of schooling, more than 2.5 years less than the overall national value across all ethnic groups, and fewer than one in five had completed high school, compared to one in two nationally. About half of the families were headed by a single parent, compared with one in seven nationally. In two out of five families, no parent was employed. Among employed parents, jobs usually could be classified as unskilled labour. Half of the families received welfare assistance, compared to only one in twenty families nationally. Residences were typical of local urban areas in size, but were crowded with more than twice the number of people in the typical household as indicated in the United States census.

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ 1962 The Perry Preschool Project began in Ypsilanti, Michigan with the selection of a first wave of 4-year-olds and a second wave of 3-year-olds.
- ▶ 1962-1965 The sample completed over the next three years by the selection each year of an additional wave of 3-year-olds.
- ▶ 1977 Oldest wave reached 19 years of age.
- ▶ 1981 Youngest wave reached 19 years of age.
- ▶ 1981-1986 Adult criminal records examined.
- ▶ 1987 Analysis of data at age 19.
- ▶ 1993 Analyses of data relating to participants in the project at age 27.

POLICY ISSUES

Cultural disadvantage or learning disabilities can mean that some children commence their formal education without the intellectual skills and facilities of their peers. They risk experiencing failure for the duration of their schooling. Educational programs can act on long-term outcomes by helping to ensure successful early schooling experiences, which in turn lead to greater educational attainment and wider social skills. In both human and economic terms, the value of successful preventative efforts is much greater than that of remedial therapies, if the populations at risk can be accurately targeted.

Canadian Council on Children and Youth 1989, *Safer Tomorrows Begin Today: Promoting Safer, Healthier Communities through Early Involvement in Children*, Canadian Council on Children and Youth 1989, Ottawa.

Schweinhart, L.J. 1987, "Can preschool programs help prevent delinquency?" in *From Children to Citizens*, vol. 3, eds J. Wilson & G. Loury, Springer-Verlag, New York.

Schweinhart, L. J., Barnes, H.V. & Weikart, D.P. 1993, *Significant Benefits*, Ypsilanti, High/Scope, Michigan.

SOME FURTHER READING

Berretta-Clement, J., Schweinhart, L., Barnett, W. & Weikart, D. 1987, "The effects of early educational intervention on crime and delinquency", in *Prevention of Delinquent Behaviour*, eds. J. Burchard, S. Burchard, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, pp. 220-40.

Results: • Children who attended the program performed better in school and adult education. They were more likely to complete high school and obtain employment and less likely to have received any form of welfare assistance. Teenage pregnancies were about half the number in the control group, and at age 19 arrest rates were 40 per cent lower. By age 27, one in three of the control group had been arrested five or more times compared with one in 14 of those who had attended the preschool program. Program attendees at this age also had significantly higher earnings, they were more likely to be home owners and more of the women were married with fewer children born outside marriage. The low attrition rate which characterised the Perry PreSchool Project has reinforced the rigour of this evaluation.

Lessons: • Early childhood intervention in the form of preschool enrichment programs for disadvantaged children can produce significant educational, economic and crime prevention benefits. The Perry Preschool Program reduced the proportion of children when they became adults with five arrests to 7 per cent, compared to 35 per cent of adults with similar starts in their lives. This represents a saving of US\$7.00 in welfare and policing costs for every US\$1.00 invested. Total benefits have been estimated at three times the program cost.

17 Family Intervention Program

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

To educate parents of pre-adolescent, anti-social children in effective child rearing.

PROBLEM

Aggression in children may be fostered by failure of parents to communicate to their children how they are expected to behave; failure to monitor behaviour; and failure to enforce rules promptly and unambiguously with appropriate rewards and penalties.

GOAL

To train parents to train their own problem children so that anti-social behaviour does not continue into adulthood.

DESCRIPTION

Parents are trained to use positive, non-coercive methods of discipline and to deal consistently and decisively with anti-social behaviour through the Oregon Social Learning Centre Program. This method encourages parents to monitor behaviour over long periods, clearly state house rules, make rewards and punishments contingent on behaviour, and to negotiate acceptable standards of behaviour with their children rather than imposing such standards without consulting them. Problem solving skills which improve communication and interaction within the family so that conflicts and crises do not escalate are also encouraged.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

National Institute of Mental Health; The Oregon Social Learning Center

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Parents; children; US Department of Health and Human Services; US taxpayer.

AN OVERVIEW

A comparative evaluation of parent-training procedures designed for families of pre-adolescent, anti-social children, analysed the specifics of problem children who were observed in their homes by health workers to be high-rate social aggressors. Cases were randomly assigned to the parent-training procedures or to a waiting-list comparison group. After an average of 4 weeks of parent training, the cases in the experimental group were terminated. Post treatment observation data was then collected in the homes of both the experimental and the comparison groups. The program was conducted by professional staff, each of whom had received intensive training and participated in weekly clinical staff meetings.

A subsequent longitudinal study conducted over ten years (1983-1993) through the Oregon Centre has examined the relation between child adjustment outcomes and contextual factors such as poverty, divorce and maternal depression and the effect these have on parents' ability to successfully socialise their children. Even though this study has suggested that antisocial children are most likely to come from families in which the parents are socially disadvantaged, antisocial, divorced or separated, or experiencing high levels of stress, it was demonstrated that these variables only contribute to antisocial behaviour if they disrupt the parents' family management skills. The implication is that contextual variables could be used to define samples of at-risk families, which would then be targeted for prevention programs. This coercion model shows that prevention programs should focus

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ 1980 Pilot studies of treatment programs summarised.
- ▶ 1982 First systematic outcome study of parent training programs.
- ▶ 1984 Additional analysis of pre-adolescent, anti-social boys.
- ▶ 1986 Training in family management procedures introduced which involved the contribution of siblings.
- ▶ 1992 Analysis includes all aspects of family intervention.

on helping these parents specifically to reduce the risk of future child adjustment problems. Another important contributing factor for anti-social activity in children is peer rejection and academic difficulties. However, the child's abrasive style of reacting to the social environment can actually produce these problems.

POLICY ISSUES

By utilising the services of fully trained professional staff (in lieu of leaderless parent groups for instance) outcomes for parent training and hence carry-over benefits for anti-social children are significant. The savings in terms of deflecting future involvement in health and community services as well as the criminal justice system are an important concern for governments and taxpayers.

SOME FURTHER READING

Dishion, T.J., Patterson, G.R. & Kavanagh, K.A. 1992, "An experimental test of the coercion model: Linking theory, measurement and intervention" in *Preventing Anti-Social Behaviour*, eds J. McCord & R. Tremblay, Guilford, New York, pp. 253-82.

Patterson, G.R., Chamberlain, P. & Reid, J.B. 1982, *Behaviour Therapy*, vol. 13, pp. 638-50.

Patterson, G.R., Reid J.B. & Dishion, T.J. 1992, *Antisocial Boys*, Castalia, Eugene, Oregon.

Snyder, J. & Patterson, G.R. 1987, "Family interaction and delinquent behaviour" in *Handbook of Juvenile Delinquency*, ed. Herbert C. Quay, John Wiley & Sons, New York.

Results: • The Oregon Social Learning Program, which is one of the most meticulously evaluated parent training initiatives for parents of aggressive and delinquent children, showed the treatment to be effective in reducing theft and other anti-social behaviour by children. However, the effects were only short-lived. The subsequent longitudinal study has revealed that contextual factors do not necessarily influence antisocial behaviour if family management skills are maintained.

Lessons: • Anti-social behaviour does not just simply arise. Rather, it is the end-product of inadequate socialisation, the beginnings of which can be observed in childhood. Anti-social and aggressive behaviour, especially in extreme forms, is quite stable over time. Children who engage in high-frequency fighting, stealing and lying, and who do so in many settings, also tend to engage in antisocial behaviour as adolescents and adults.

Anti-social children who lack interactive skills are more likely to move into the second stage of antisocial behaviour. They are placed at risk for rejection by peers and adults, and for academic and work failure as well as future involvement in the criminal justice system.

18 Controlling Disruptive Boys

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Parent and child training to prevent early onset of delinquency.

PROBLEM

Conduct disorder during childhood impairs educational achievement, social adjustment, and significantly increases the risk of criminal offending as an adolescent and as an adult.

GOAL

To reduce disruptive behaviour by young boys, leading to long-term improvement in their social and academic competence.

DESCRIPTION

Training for children to develop social skills, engage in healthy fantasy play, and improve television viewing habits, combined with training for parents in appropriate techniques for child management.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

University of Montréal; Canadian Ministry of Health and Welfare; Conseil Québécois de la Recherche Sociale; Conseil de la Santé et des Services Sociaux Régional du Montréal Métropolitain; Fondation Cité des Prairies; Institut de la Recherche en Psycho-Education de Montréal; Centre d'Accueil le Mainbourg.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Children, parents and school staff.

AN OVERVIEW

Aggressiveness and impulsivity in young boys can lead to delinquency in adolescence, which in turn can be predictive of adult criminality. Approximately 250 disruptive boys of kindergarten age from a low socioeconomic area of Montréal were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. Boys in the experimental group were given training designed to foster social skills and self-control. The treatment program took place over two years, beginning when the boys averaged 7 years of age, and ending when they were about 9. In the first year, training included small group sessions on such themes as "how to make contact" and "how to help". During the second year, training focused on self-control and included such topics as "how to react to teasing" and "what to do when I am angry". Training sessions included coaching, role playing, peer modeling, and rewards. Television training included such topics as "types of television content", "how to make choices" and "special effects".

Parents were given a reading program, training to enable monitoring of children's behaviour, to reward good behaviour by children, and to punish children effectively without being abusive. Family training was provided by specially trained case workers, who met with each family an average of 17 times over the two-year period.

By the end of the training program, boys in the experimental group were significantly less likely to engage in bullying. By the age of 11, they were lower on self-reported measures of fighting. By age 12, they were lower on teacher-rated measures of fighting, and were less likely to be involved in theft,

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ Sept. 1985 Treatment designed to foster social skills and self-control begins.
- ◆ June 1987 Treatment completed.
- ◆ 1987 First follow-up.
- ◆ 1988 Second follow-up.
- ◆ 1989 Third follow-up.

burglary or alcohol abuse. Differences in measures of anti-social behaviour between treatment and control groups actually increased over time.

POLICY ISSUES

A child's social development reflects the interaction of parenting skills with the child's own behavioural disposition. That is, parents and children influence each other. Parent training combined with social skills training for children can achieve greater reduction in disruptive behaviour than can either component operating singly. Such programs can be scientifically designed and evaluated.

SOME FURTHER READING

Tremblay, R., McCord, J., Boileau, H., Charlebois, P., Gagnon, C., LeBlanc, M. & Larivee, S. 1991, "Can disruptive boys be helped to become competent?", *Psychiatry*, vol. 54, pp. 148-61.

Tremblay, R., Vitaro, F., Bertrand, L., LeBlanc, M., Beauchesne, H., Boisleau, H. & David, L. 1992, "Parent and child training to prevent early onset of delinquency: The Montréal longitudinal-experimental study" in *Preventing Antisocial Behavior*, eds J. McCord & R. Tremblay, Guilford Press, New York, pp. 17-138.

Results: • Boys in the experimental group were compared with controls at the end of a two-year program, and annually for the following three years. Three years after treatment, boys in the experimental group demonstrated higher school achievement, fewer school adjustment problems, and reported less fighting and theft than did boys in the control group. Specifically, 40 per cent of the treatment group reported trespassing at age 12, compared with 62 per cent of the control group; 7 per cent of the treatment group reported having taken objects worth over C\$10, compared with 20 per cent of the control group; and 5 per cent of the treatment group reported having stolen a bicycle, compared with 19 per cent of the controls.

Lessons: • By training disruptive boys to improve their social skills, and by helping their parents improve their parenting skills, programs can reduce the likelihood that disruptive childhood behaviour will develop into antisocial and delinquent adolescent behaviour. Moreover, intervention programs can be combined in a complementary manner. In Montréal, the Patterson family intervention techniques (see pages 36-37 of this volume) were combined with special training for children.

19 The Prevention of School Bullying in Norway

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

A national school-based information and awareness program designed to reduce bullying.

PROBLEM

Aggressive behaviour by schoolboys was disrupting the educational process.

GOAL

To reduce bullying by schoolboys and restore a productive educational environment.

DESCRIPTION

An information and awareness program incorporating the distribution of a booklet and video to all schools with pupils aged 8-16; the distribution of an information brochure to parents; the administration of self-report questionnaires by students; and the development of explicit rules relating to bullying and school supervision.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Norwegian Ministry of Education.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Children; parents; school staff.

AN OVERVIEW

School bullying, a problem which detracts from a healthy learning environment, can be reduced by carefully designed prevention policies. Following the suicides of three young boys in 1982 as an apparent consequence of their having been bullied, the Norwegian Ministry of Education launched a nationwide anti-bullying intervention program.

The program operated at three levels. Initially, students completed an anonymous self-report questionnaire to provide baseline data for assessment of program impact. At the school level, a 32-page publication was distributed to schools throughout Norway in 1983. The publication described what bullying was, and suggested means by which schools and teachers could reduce it. In addition, a 25-minute video about bullying was made available and shown to students. Schools held a conference day on the problem of bullying, and provided for enhanced monitoring and surveillance of students' activities. Policies were established providing for quick, decisive interventions in bullying situations. Teachers formed social milieu development groups to discuss how their school's physical and social milieu could be made less conducive to bullying.

At the class level, rules against bullying were devised in order to provide firm limits to unacceptable behaviour. Pro-social behaviour was encouraged and rewarded with generous praise, while non-hostile, non-physical sanctions were consistently applied in response to undesirable conduct. Regular class meetings, role playing, and joint meetings with parents and children were held. Children were encouraged to help their fellow students who were bullied, and to include in

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ 1982 Suicides of three young boys in Northern Norway focus public attention on the problem of school bullying.
- ◆ 1983 Anti-bullying program for grades 1-9 introduced in Norwegian schools.
- ◆ 1984-5 Prevalence of bullies and victims observed to decrease by 50 per cent.

their activities those relatively withdrawn and weaker children who tended to be left out. Cooperative learning projects were introduced, where students work together in small groups on a common task. Each member of a group is made responsible for the others' learning. Strategic assignment of children to groups involved placing bullies in the company of strong and secure students, rather than with potential victims.

At the individual level, counselling was provided for bullies, victims, and their parents. Talks were initiated with observed bullies, to convey the firm message that such conduct is unacceptable. Victims were assured that they would be accorded protection against further harassment. Parents of bullies were encouraged to take appropriate steps to discourage their children's antisocial behaviour, while parents of victims were encouraged to enhance their children's self-esteem. Special informational materials were provided to parents for this purpose.

The program was evaluated in 42 schools in Bergen. Baseline measurement was taken in May 1983. The program was introduced in early October of that year. New data were collected in May 1984 and May 1985. Measures of bullying were seen to decrease by at least 50 per cent during the two years following the introduction of the program. The observed effects of the program increased from year 1 to year 2. A reduction was also observed in such other undesirable behaviour as truancy, vandalism, fighting, and theft. More positive attitudes towards schoolwork and school were also noted.

POLICY ISSUES

School bullies are at risk of becoming persistent criminal offenders. The prevention of bullying in school may also reduce violent offending in later adolescence and early adulthood.

SOME FURTHER READING

Farrington, D. 1991, "Understanding and preventing bullying" in *Crime and Justice: Annual Review of Research*, ed. M. Tonry, vol. 17, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Olweus, D. 1980, "Bullying among school children" in *Health Hazards in Adolescence*, eds K. Hurrelmann & F. Losel, De Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 260-97.

----- 1991, "Bully/victim problems among schoolchildren: Basic facts and effects of a school based intervention program", in *The Development and Treatment of Childhood Aggression*, eds D.J. Pepler & K.H. Rubin, Erlbaum, Hillsdale, NJ, pp. 411-48.

----- 1993, *Bullying at School: What We Know and What We Can Do*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Results: • Before and after measures of bullying and victimisation indicated that the program reduced the prevalence of victimisation by about 50 per cent, and significantly reduced the number of offenders.

Lessons: • Bullying is not an inevitable part of children's lives. A well designed and well implemented program can significantly reduce the incidence of bullying in schools, within a relatively short period. Adult involvement and supervision are important ingredients of bullying prevention programs. Clear signals that bullying is unacceptable should also be part of the program.

20 The Job Corps

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Remedial education, vocational training and job placement for disadvantaged youth.

PROBLEM

Youth unemployment can have serious economic consequences, adverse health effects, and may lead to self-destructive and anti-social behaviour.

GOAL

To provide education and training for disadvantaged youth to improve their employability.

DESCRIPTION

Residential facilities operated by private, public and non-profit sector organisations provide remedial education, vocational training and job placement for educationally disadvantaged youth.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

US Department of Labor.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Educationally disadvantaged youth; US taxpayers.

AN OVERVIEW

The Job Corps was established in 1965 as part of President Johnson's War on Poverty Program. It provides an intensive, primarily residential training program for disadvantaged young people aged 16 to 21. Participants receive basic education, vocational training and additional services such as food, housing, medical care and counselling. In addition, participants receive assistance in job placement upon completion of the program.

The program operated from over 100 centres across the United States, and enrolls approximately 100 000 participants per year. About 40 per cent of new enrollees had prior arrest records. Average stay for a participant is approximately eight months.

More than half the centres are operated by private sector firms, major companies as well as smaller ones, under competitively awarded, cost reimbursable contracts with the US Department of Labor. Two centres are operated by Native American tribes. A group of about 30 small centres are operated by the US Forest Service and the US Department of the Interior.

The purpose of the program is to assist young people who would otherwise be at risk of being a welfare recipient, or a client of the criminal justice system, to become responsible taxpaying citizens.

A cost-benefit analysis conducted during the late 1970s reported that for every dollar invested in Job Corps, society received US\$1.46 in benefits, and for every Job Corps member enrolled, society saved over US\$2000 in costs which would otherwise have been attributable to crime and criminal justice.

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ 1965 Job Corps established.
- ▶ 1982 Rigorous independent evaluation reveals favourable cost-benefit ratio and significant crime prevention effects.
- ▶ 1992 New evaluation ongoing, to be completed in 1998.

In addition to the cost benefit analysis, the program was subjected to a rigorous evaluation. Compared to matched non-participants, Corps members were five times more likely to have obtained a high school diploma, experienced three weeks more employment and 15 per cent higher earnings per year, and had significantly less involvement in serious crime. Their health was also significantly better than that of non-participants.

Another large scale evaluation was scheduled for completion in 1998.

POLICY ISSUES

The educationally disadvantaged, and the unemployed, are at significantly greater risk of offending. Education and employment programs aimed specifically at disadvantaged youth can significantly improve their job prospects, and assist them to become productive taxpaying citizens rather than clients of welfare and criminal justice systems. Programs can be administered by public, private, and non-profit organisations, and can be designed for, and managed by, special groups such as indigenous peoples. Because it is a residential program, costs are significantly greater.

SOME FURTHER READING

Long, David A., Mallar, Charles D. & Thornton, Craig 1981, "Evaluating the benefits and Costs of the Job Corps", *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, vol. 1, pp. 55-76.

Maller, Charles et al. 1982, *Evaluation of the Economic Impact of the Job Corps Program: Third Follow-up Report*, Mathematica Policy Research, Princeton, NJ.

United States, House of Representatives, Committee on Government Operations 1985, *Job Corps Program: Its Benefits Outweigh the Costs*, US Government Printing Office, Washington.

Results: • Evaluation and cost-benefit analysis reveal significantly improved employment performance and less involvement in criminal activity for program participants. Crime and criminal justice cost savings were estimated at over US\$2 000 per participant. For every dollar invested in Job Corps, US\$1.46 in benefits were returned to society.

Lessons: • Programs designed to achieve more general objectives can have significant crime prevention payoffs. Investment in education and training can reduce crime.

21 Domestic Abuse Intervention Project

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Coordinated intervention of law enforcement, the criminal justice system and human services in cases of domestic assault to promote a comprehensive community response.

PROBLEM

Domestic violence incidents were not being dealt with consistently or effectively by the criminal justice system or social services working in isolation.

GOAL

To increase safety and improve quality of life for victims, increase coordination and consistency of response to domestic violence, and reduce new incidents of domestic abuse by known offenders.

DESCRIPTION

The Duluth model involves police, prosecution services and the courts, probation services, and both victim and offender services. A coordinated response by these agencies emphasises the criminal nature of domestic violence and employs the legal authority of the criminal justice system to place diversionary options upon offenders. At the same time, a holistic response ensures that support and advice is given to the victim.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTION

Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, Duluth, Minnesota.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Domestic violence victims; offenders; police; courts; correctional services; victim services; offender counselling services; hospitals; the community at large.

AN OVERVIEW

A key element of coordinated programs such as the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, Duluth (DAIP) is that offenders are required to take responsibility for their behaviour. DAIP has developed an educational curriculum for dealing with the behaviours of men who batter, which is designed to assist the participant to understand his acts of violence, to increase his willingness to change his violent behaviour, to increase his understanding of the causes of his violence, to provide him with practical information about how to change his behaviour, and to encourage him to become accountable to those he has hurt.

However, DAIP emphasises that educational groups are part of a larger intervention process. For example, where offenders do not comply with the educational program, they are returned to the courts to have more traditional penalties applied. Also, police and other participating agencies are trained to deal with domestic violence cases more proactively and consistently.

Evaluation revealed that the program was most successful in reducing violence, but after 5 years, other factors, such as chemical dependency of the offender, were more important in predicting recidivism than the form of intervention.

POLICY ISSUES

Important tests of the effectiveness of a criminal justice intervention include whether or not it reduces recidivism, and whether or not quality of life has increased as a result of the intervention. In the case of domestic violence, the behaviour has been criminalised

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ◆ 1981 DAIP, Duluth established.
- ◆ 1986 Educational curriculum developed and published by DAIP for use by others doing similar work.
- ◆ 1993 Duluth is stated as having the lowest domestic homicide rate of any city in the USA. Other benefits include increased safety for victims and improved coordination and consistency of criminal justice response to domestic violence.

for important reasons, yet it is also known that traditional penalties such as imprisonment do not generally have the desired effects either of reducing violence or improving quality of life for victims. It is for these reasons that policy makers have carefully watched the progress of coordinated interventions such as DAIP.

Pence, E. & Paymar, M. 1986, *Power and Control—Tactics of Men Who Batter: Men's Curriculum for Spouse Abuse Interventions*, Manual 3, Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, Duluth, Minnesota.

SOME FURTHER READING

Paymar, M. 1994, "Duluth—An integrated model: Working together to stop violence against women", *Challenging the Legal System's Response to Domestic Violence* Conference Papers, Brisbane, 23-26 March, organised by the Queensland and South Side Domestic Violence Action Group.

Results: • There were no domestic homicides during the first ten years that the model was employed in Duluth, and 80 per cent of women who had used the project reported that they were no longer battered. However, the study also showed a recidivism rate of 40 per cent after five years, and found that the characteristics of the batterer (chemical dependency including alcohol and drug abuse in particular) were more important in predicting recidivism than was the form of intervention.

Other coordinated programs have since been established elsewhere in the USA, as well as in Australia and New Zealand. One program in the USA reported after a seven-year evaluation that only 4 per cent of program participants were subsequently arrested for assault, compared with 18.5 per cent of those who had been prosecuted through the traditional court process.

An evaluation after one year of a New Zealand program showed significant achievements, including improved support for victims, an increase in the success of prosecutions of offenders and a higher level of consistency in sentencing of offenders, enhanced safety for victims, an increase in the number of women applying for protection orders, and preliminary evidence that offender counselling programs are at least as successful as most other programs for offenders.

Lessons: • The results of the DAIP and other projects are sufficient to suggest that coordinated programs should continue despite varying results with respect to recidivism levels, because they do appear to have tangible other benefits in terms of the safety and quality of life of victims and improved criminal justice intervention. However, coordinated programs need continuing evaluation, including thorough comparisons with other forms of intervention.

More research is needed on the role of chemical dependency in domestic violence and the consequent effectiveness of intervention programs for men with such dependencies.

In undertaking assessments of recidivism levels, particular attention should be paid to what types of offender participate in coordinated programs. That is, if first-time offenders only are permitted to participate, recidivism levels are likely to be lower than for programs where repeat offenders are included. This may account for some of the variations in recidivism noted above.

If the Duluth model is to be considered for implementation in a new setting, it is important for each community to adapt it for their own local conditions, in consultation with all relevant community groups.

22 Methadone Maintenance Treatment in the Management of Opioid Dependence

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

PROGRAM STRATEGY

The provision of daily doses of methadone to opioid (usually heroin) dependent people in order to eliminate or reduce their need to obtain the drug from illegal sources.

PROBLEM

People dependent on illegal supplies of heroin need substantial financial resources to pay for the drug. These funds frequently come from property crime, fraud and drug dealing committed by the user, as well as from lawful sources. In addition, the drug markets within which heroin is distributed involve a degree of corruption and violent crime.

GOAL

To reduce the extent and seriousness of criminal behaviour among people dependent on opioids.

DESCRIPTION

People dependent on opioids, predominantly heroin, receive a daily dose of methadone. This is prescribed by authorised medical practitioners.

Having access to methadone at an appropriate dosage means that people's craving for heroin is eliminated. Program participants have substantially reduced or no motivation for obtaining heroin illegally. Accordingly, they have a greatly reduced need to commit offences to obtain money to purchase heroin

or to commit the other offences which accompany drug market involvement.

ADMINISTERING INSTITUTIONS

Government health department clinics; private medical practitioners; government and community pharmacies; outreach services.

KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Heroin users, their families and significant others; the general community; police; courts; prisons; health practitioners including community pharmacists.

AN OVERVIEW

The aims of methadone maintenance treatment are: to enhance the physical and mental health of program participants, to reduce their illegal drug use, to minimise the spread of infectious diseases including HIV/AIDS and hepatitis B and C, to help program participants to break their links with the illegal drug markets, to improve their level of social functioning and to reduce their level of criminal behaviour.

Methadone has been used in this manner since the 1960s. In its earlier days in the USA, high doses of the drug were used and it was assumed that people would need to take the drug daily for many years (perhaps for a

PROGRAM HISTORY AT A GLANCE

- ▶ 1964 Dole and Nyswander (New York) first proposed and used methadone as a treatment for opioid dependence.
- ▶ 1969 Methadone introduced into Australia. Wisteria House, Sydney, first pilot use.
- ▶ 1985 The Special Premiers' Conference on Drugs established Australia's National Campaign Against Drug Abuse, with the minimisation of drug-related harm as its overarching aim. The Conference endorsed the expansion of methadone maintenance as a treatment option for heroin dependence. In February 1985 there were 2203 people on methadone programs in Australia.
- ▶ 1985 First Australian National Methadone Guidelines endorsed by the Australian Health Ministers' Conference.
- ▶ 1993 First Australian National Policy on Methadone endorsed by the Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy.
- ▶ 1994 As at 30 June, there were 14 996 people on methadone treatment programs in Australia.

lifetime), in much the same manner as diabetics take insulin on an ongoing basis. More recently, in Australia, lower doses are being used, ancillary services such as counselling and job training are tailored to the needs of individual participants (rather than being a compulsory part of a treatment package), and dosage levels and treatment goals are developed on a case by case basis. For some people, long-term maintenance is appropriate, whereas for others reducing doses leading to abstinence is the goal.

Methadone programs have been extensively researched. Clear evidence is available from both randomised controlled trials and quasi-experimental designs as to their effectiveness. As a crime prevention intervention, these programs result in markedly reduced illegal drug use and other forms of criminal behaviour among program participants. Levels of fraud and property crime fall dramatically when opioid dependent people enter methadone treatment programs, as they have a greatly reduced (or eliminated) need for funds to purchase heroin.

After ceasing prescribed methadone use many program participants return to illegal heroin use and its associated criminality. For this reason, programs which provide a milieu, doses and ancillary services well tailored to the needs of their clients have higher retention rates and are therefore most effective in drug crime prevention.

POLICY ISSUES

Expanding methadone programs is an element of Australia's National Drug Strategy. Since 1985, the number of people being treated in methadone programs has risen from approximately 2000 to 14996 at 30 June 1994. (This reflects expansion in treatment places, not increased heroin use.)

Research has demonstrated that methadone treatment for heroin users, is frequently far more cost-effective than imprisonment, therapeutic communities, drug-free therapies or no intervention strategies. However, it is not necessarily appropriate for all users and so it is important to maintain and selectively enhance the other services for those individuals best able to benefit from them.

SOME FURTHER READING

Anglin, M. Douglas & Hsr, Yih-Ing 1990, "Treatment of drug abuse", in *Drugs and Crime*, eds M. Tonry & J. Wilson, Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp. 393-460.

Ryan, C.F., White, J.M. & Ali, R.L. 1995, *Preliminary Report: Heroin Related Criminality of Methadone Maintenance Participants*, Department of Clinical and Experimental Pharmacology, University of Adelaide, South Australia.

Ward, J., Mattick, R.P. & Hall, W. 1992, *Key Issues in Methadone Maintenance Treatment*, NSW University Press, Sydney.

- Results:**
- 1. The first randomised controlled trial, undertaken in New York with heroin dependent people with extensive criminal records and a history of at least four years of heroin use, showed that the control group (people placed on the waiting list for methadone maintenance) returned to daily heroin use at a rate 92 times that of people on the program, and were reincarcerated at a rate 53 times that of people on the program.
 - 2. The largest controlled prospective study of drug treatment in the USA (the Treatment Outcome Prospective Study or TOPS) revealed that one-third of people on methadone maintenance treatment reported committing predatory crimes (e.g. break and enter or robbery) in the year prior to treatment. This dropped to 10 per cent in the first month of treatment which was maintained so long as the people continued on the program. After three months on the program fewer than 10 per cent were using heroin regularly.
 - 3. Preliminary results of a six-months follow-up of clients of the Adelaide, South Australia, methadone program show that among the clients on the low intervention program, the mean frequency of heroin dealing fell from 8.2 occasions in the month prior to entering the program to zero six months later. The mean monthly frequency of property crime among this group fell from 19.6 to 0.4.
- Lessons:**
- Providing methadone maintenance treatment for people dependent on heroin (and other opioids) in a manner carefully tailored to their individual needs is an effective method of reducing their level of criminal behaviour.