

Crime Prevention: The Universal Challenge*

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Over the last few decades, cities have been experiencing very rapid change and development. This urban growth has been commensurate with the economic transformation of our societies. To meet this demand, many countries have initiated major suburban housing and construction programs. However, housing capacity has often been the sole consideration and, as a result, public estates have been created which fail to take into account both social issues and appropriate infrastructure and facilities. These urban developments have ignored the social needs of those living in them and overlooked other resources essential for harmonious social development.

In 1991, this oversight has created real and major problems and has exacerbated the rise in crime and violence. The urban ghettos, which these housing estates in big cities have become, can be seen as 'dumping grounds' where a whole gamut of social problems -particularly high levels of youth unemployment -are concentrated.

Exclusion from school, exclusion from the community, and exclusion from the political arena can lead to a lack of respect and dignity which is deeply resented. Inhabitants of these zones often feel very strongly that there is a general lack of control over their lives and an arbitrariness in the events to which they are subjected. This feeling pervades both relationships between individuals and the relationship between society and the individual. Even more importantly, sections of society come to be treated differently and -depending on the social category to which they belong -for individuals caught up in this situation, the concept of a full and equal citizenship seems very remote.

So how can the inhabitant, the citizen or the resident, respect the laws which express the underlying values of the community in which they live? There is a major problem if these individuals do not consider themselves to be full and equal members of their community: that is, if they feel rejected and excluded or that society is not doing its utmost to find ways of preventing their alienation from the mainstream community. These feelings, whether they are groundless or not, lead to strong tensions within society -tensions which are further exacerbated when, through sheer irresponsibility and stupidity, some elements begin to give vent to notions of racism and discrimination.

Social cohesion becomes increasingly difficult to achieve in communities and, as a result, safety and security is increasingly a major problem. In confronting this problem, what should be our attitude? How should we respond?

Ensuring safety and security, both for the individual and for property, is one of the major challenges facing the developed world and an imperative for all governments. Individuals are particularly sensitive to safety and security issues, although the way these issues are perceived varies greatly according to environment, culture, education and social standing. In this context it is worth noting that the fear of crime experienced by many people does not always correspond to the local reality of crime problems. This factor is well-known. What we tend to be less sensitive about are psychological issues that are probably just as decisive but are less quantifiable and more difficult to understand.

Particularly important among these psychological issues are the nature and quality of an individual's social relationships, the moral values which prevail in these relationships, the reality of a person's ability to participate in democratic life, and his or her state of empowerment within society. This is as true for the individual -the potential victim -as it is true for the delinquent or the criminal. All these factors strongly influence the way people see themselves within society.

Drop-outs and criminals are also consumers of the media. They do not always reflect on, or distance themselves from, the fiction or news which is presented. The creation of youth gangs in our suburbs is a clear manifestation of this. Programs of action against crime must, therefore, not be restricted simply to defining norms or formulating policies which attempt to control or prevent. The fight against crime is also, and above all, a fight for citizenship and for civic rights. This issue concerns the state as much as the individual, and government as much as the citizen.

Common, if not universal, values that can transcend the specific character of the fragmented groups (particularly socioeconomic groups) that increasingly make up our communities today, need to be identified and developed. Police forces, judicial systems and prisons must also be developed and supported in ways that ensure strict respect for the rights of the individual and for fundamental liberties. Only a conscious awareness of this dimension -which affects the very core of our communities -will enable us to confront the most important issues in the fight against delinquency and crime.

The rise in urban crime affects all nations. The richest, as well as the poorest, have to confront it. For many years now, the most developed

countries have made very substantial and costly investments in the fight against crime, particularly in what might be termed repression through the criminal justice system. But resources that have gone into this area have not always been matched with results. Policies which are solely dependent on the criminal justice system lead to a stalemate. Therefore, France has initiated a different approach and some positive results have already been achieved. In 1986, a definite decline in crime rates was evident. However, more recently there have been increases as a result of the social developments noted earlier. This must convince us that it is absolutely essential to strengthen the preventative approach.

Firstly, the underlying causes of crime must be identified by means of appropriate social policies: policies which offer everyone at least a chance to become integrated within the community and policies which will allow social interaction and cohesion to flourish. Next, prevention and repression through the criminal justice system must be linked very closely in a balanced way.

More generally, the multiplicity of factors which have been identified as leading to crime and its many manifestations demand answers that are also necessarily very diverse. Prevention programs which are implemented and take effect locally must be at the centre of crime prevention strategies. National policies, however suitable they may be, cannot solve the crime problem if they are developed in isolation from local efforts.

Governmental institutions such as the police and the judicial system cannot provide solutions on their own -particularly if they operate in isolation, without adequate coordination and cooperation, and with their only focus being repression, law enforcement and punishment. These agencies must also have ideas about, and must put into effect, strategies for the prevention of criminal behaviour and its recurrence.

Before elaborating on the methods adopted in France, the role of imprisonment as a preventive measure will be discussed. In this better balance between 'prevention and repression', the purpose of the penal sanction must be redefined so that it can be of real value to society. To that end, and as soon as a sentence is given, the offender's re-integration and action to indemnify the victim also should be addressed. Due to a lack of imagination, imprisonment has tended to remain the main response.

Imprisonment is not an efficient sanction in the fight against large-scale crime. This is illustrated by the very high incidence of recidivism. In fact, after an offender has been imprisoned, there tends to be an increase in the seriousness of his or her subsequent offences. In effect, prison often represents an additional, albeit temporary, exclusion from the community. Imprisonment should therefore be reserved only for the most serious crimes.

Other sanctions must be applied and enforced: sanctions which ensure a systematic response and sanctions whose aim should be well-understood by the person concerned. Re-integration into the community and prevention of a recurrence of offending behaviour should be the primary emphasis.

The prevention policy which France has been implementing for a number of years prior to 1991 hinges on three essential principles:

- emphasis on the local dimension;
- partnership; and
- contracting

Each program of intervention implemented as part of a prevention strategy must be integrated within a defined territory. The selected level in France is the municipality or the neighbourhood and this first principle is based on the particular role that locally-elected representatives must play in the field of prevention. This choice was linked to a large scale program of decentralisation which occurred in the early 1980s. Emphasis on the municipality also is related to the necessary coordination that must take place between prevention policies -narrowly defined -and all the other measures to be combined with them, such as improvement in housing, physical environment and socio-cultural infrastructures. More recently, it has been found useful to add selected groupings of several municipalities to this basic structure because the crime problem is similar across urban areas and knows no geographical boundaries. The state, however, must have a key role of facilitating research and development of these local approaches -it is not a transfer of responsibilities.

The second important principle involves partnership at both the local and the national level. Municipal councils for the prevention of crime bring together all the parties concerned: elected representatives, government agencies and the community. Locally-elected representatives are the driving force in these councils, but these representatives do not take on the task by themselves. It is important to be aware of the role played by representatives of residents' action groups, managers of urban services -such as housing, public transport, social welfare, doctors, teachers (who play a fundamental and underrated role in the field of prevention amongst young people) -and the private sector. The third component in this partnership are the government agencies whose primary responsibility is the fight against crime -namely the police and the judicial system. France's crime prevention policy is developed and implemented by all these participants. This coordination engenders a better knowledge of the nature of problems and an improvement of each participant's role and action.

The third important principle involves a process of contracting with the state. From the very beginning, all partners in crime prevention are brought together under the auspices of the municipal council and any preventative measure must originate from a local crime analysis. This analysis, which involves all partners, has as its first objective a precise and well-documented analysis of the conditions and the nature and the evolution of local crime. Its second objective is an assessment of the current situation and malfunctions accompanied by an assessment of incoherences or weaknesses for dealing with crime problems in the current system. This results in the implementation of a 'crime prevention audit' or strategy plan. Initially crime prevention audits were carried out annually but France has found it useful to reduce their frequency. Budgetary allocation from government is now every three years. This avoids the lack of continuity which sometimes can be noticeable in local prevention policies.

Crime prevention audits or strategy plans can be grouped into six major contracting categories, each aimed at meeting different specific objectives. The reason for the diversity in the elements of crime prevention contracting areas is the multiplicity of causes and types of urban crime. The six categories are as follows:

- Practical aspect of prevention: that is, all work concerning the methodology to be used, the method of implementation or the training of participants in prevention.
- Preventative measures of a social nature: that is, anything connected with the education, training, social and professional integration of young people, or assisting with access to culture and leisure for the most disadvantaged in an attempt to overcome feelings of rejection and alienation.
- Prevention by proximity: that is, a closer relationship between police and residents, particularly young people. The idea of foot patrols both as a form of deterrence and as a means of bringing police closer to the community is useful in this regard.
- Articulation of a clear policy to prevent the recurrence of an offence or recidivism by offenders: this approach combines both aid to victims and, when necessary, the implementation of alternative non-custodial sanctions as well as imprisonment.
- Contracts or funding agreements which contribute to the fight against drug abuse: with a reduction in drug peddling, suppression of trafficking and recycling of the money resulting from trafficking, the fight against a demand for drugs at a local level ensures the coherence of this policy. This is translated into providing information to the public, caring for the drug addict and establishing links and necessary cooperation with other health programs. These measures are in no way an alternative to the fight against drugs, minor local trafficking and the receiving and concealing associated with it -they are a necessary extension of it.
- Communication: that is, on the one hand, providing general information to the public and more specific information aimed at community groups, and on the other hand, a transfer of knowledge between councils by means of informal discussions, forums and meetings.

Before concluding, it is necessary to stress the particular importance of international cooperation in the area of prevention. When implementing national strategies, information is often lacking on overseas initiatives and on ways of comparing experiences. It seems advisable, if not essential, that comparative research be undertaken on crime, the effectiveness of prevention policies, training programs and issues of citizenship in today's society, which -in view of the internationalisation of the media -no longer can be seen within the narrow scope of a 'nation-state'. This perspective will be of importance to the future of society in the decades to come. Exchanges between states must be combined with increasingly numerous inter-city cooperative ventures which will leave us better equipped to meet the demands of our communities. If left unchecked, increases in crime rates inevitably will lead to a national loss of confidence in our institutions and our leaders.

No policy will ever achieve a total elimination of crime. Absolute safety and security is incompatible with human nature. While reflection and action in this area must be characterised by modesty and level-headedness, the concerns of citizens must be responded to. It is by looking into the fundamental basis of democracy -freedom and solidarity -that we shall be better equipped to confront violence and crime. This fight against crime is an absolute necessity for democracy and it is with democracy that it shall be won.

An Australian Perspective

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One of the underlying themes of this conference is 'crime prevention at the cross-roads' and the point made in the keynote address-that most western societies, including Australia, have reached a turning point in ways we must deal with crime-is to be strongly endorsed.

For many decades, Australia has tended to rely exclusively on what might be termed criminal justice reactions: more police, heavier sentences (particularly for more serious crimes), and expanded prison and correctional programs. Australia's current annual investment in law enforcement alone has been estimated at well over \$2 billion. Yet despite this, rates of crime-particularly property offences-have continued to escalate since World War II. These trends have been maintained in every state and territory and have had no regard for the ideologies of governments in power. Nor do these trends seem to have borne any relationship to amounts being expended on criminal justice.

South Australia, for example, boasts more police per capita than any other state and in recent years has consistently devoted more resources to police, courts of criminal jurisdiction, and corrections than the national grants commission standard. Yet crime rates have continued to climb in much the same way as other states. Clearly, Australians must (and in many instances have) become aware of the need to find new ways to deal with crime.

The purpose of this conference is to review new approaches and exchange information about progress already made along new paths. Perhaps Australia is already beginning to see elements emerging of a new national consensus on crime prevention: a consensus which does not ignore police and other criminal justice contributions but which sees the need to go further. Additional evidence of this consensus will, no doubt, emerge during proceedings themselves, when participants review state perspectives, and when the various workshops and papers explain and analyse practical ways crime prevention is being applied at local and regional levels.

As participants work through examples-from Gosnells in the West, to New South Wales' Waverly-Fairfield initiative, to Victoria's Good Neighbourhood Project and South Australia's plans for the Noarlunga region-many common themes will be discovered. Themes such as the need for more accurate analysis and mapping of crime and for better ways of

sharing such information with local communities to forge effective prevention partnerships. Hopefully, those at the forefront of crime prevention in this country will be reassured not just that their work is valuable but that when they do encounter problems they are not alone: others are moving in similar directions and may have already devised solutions.

Establishing contacts and exchanging information will be one of the great gains from this conference. Another will be knowledge about how our work compares with international trends. In this context, the Keynote Address (pp. 1-6 of this volume) and the address on New Zealand developments in crime prevention (pp. 15-27) are particularly significant.

In August 1990, the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders (United Nations 1991) passed a comprehensive resolution on preventing urban crime. In the preamble to that resolution, congress delegates from over 140 nations unanimously expressed their conviction:

That a successful program to reduce crime cannot be based solely on the police and criminal justice system and that it must be matched by an active prevention policy which includes means of reinforcing common values so that personal and community responsibility regarding crime is acknowledged, as well as social and community development (programs) and the reduction of opportunities for offending.

This reflects the importance of:

- traditional methods; and
- prevention policy: in particular, designing out crime and thereby reducing opportunity, and reinforcing common values of personal and community responsibility.

The resolution also went on to emphasise the importance of institutions in society and the role of citizens. It noted:

That it is the task of government and other sectors of society to facilitate the development of local and national prevention programs, that prevention must bring together those with responsibility for planning and development, for the family, health, employment and training, housing, social services, leisure activities, schools, the police and the justice system, in order to deal with the conditions that generate crime.

A number of countries with whom Australia would feel familiar-including England, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Canada, New Zealand, Belgium and Germany-as well as countries with whom we trade significantly-like Japan, and countries who were previously included in the Eastern Bloc-spoke with one voice in supporting this resolution. The sentiments which underline their unambiguous consensus support through this resolution on preventing urban crime, were that:

- the community has an important role to play;
- just spending money on the criminal justice system is not on its own going to be effective; and

- no matter how much is spent on law enforcement or how rapidly courts commit offenders to prison, crime will continue to grow unless complementary prevention policies are adopted.

All governments are developing similar programs, and leading legal thinkers, policy analysts, law makers and police are marching to the same tune.

An annex to one of the resolutions dealing with community crime prevention and urban crime was an inventory of crime prevention measures. It amounted to a comprehensive categorisation of crime prevention possibilities and gave examples of how crime prevention could become part and parcel of the way in which government and non-government agencies did their job. There were crime prevention measures that could be taken by the traditional criminal justice agencies and crime prevention measures that could be taken through existing government agencies dealing with schools, employment, health and urban planning. Crime prevention ideas which focussed on preventing opportunities for crime (situational crime prevention) were also included, as were community crime prevention ideas.

Among the matters dealt with under community crime prevention were programs for community development and multi-agency cooperation. This multi-agency cooperation would ensure that causes for crime are reduced; programs to ensure that opportunities for alternative activities are developed; that communities themselves are able to set priorities for what government agencies do; and that local communities clearly define their crime problems and their prevention priorities.

The final category, one which underlines all of the above measures, was the need for planning. This is obviously-indeed critically-important. It involves analysis of the crime problem, obtaining accurate information about where crime is occurring, and what crime is occurring ('mapping the crime problem') as well as being able to devise appropriate measures and ways of implementing them.

Differences in emphasis inevitably will occur. Britain, for example, has concentrated on personal security programs and inter-agency cooperation. The Netherlands has taken a more centralist approach: relying on a policy unit within the National Department of Justice to help both identify problems that need to be addressed and develop solutions. France has concentrated on local government with local participation. Canada has sponsored community councils. New Zealand has adopted a pilot project model and chosen four different locations throughout the country to test alternative and different ways of tackling the problem of increasing crime.

The approach in South Australia is an amalgam of a number of these. *Confronting Crime*, the South Australian Crime Prevention Strategy (Sutton & Fisher 1989) provides the starting point, or solid foundation, for the South Australian strategy, and a solid foundation is essential if progress in the complex field of crime prevention is to be made. In some respects, getting ideas right is the easy part. An even greater challenge is to develop and implement organisational structures which can provide particular expression of these philosophies. South Australia is going about this in at least three ways.

The first involves working through a network of regionally-based committees-similar to those in France-which will develop and implement comprehensive local crime prevention plans. So far, thirteen local committees have been established in regions ranging from Port Augusta, in South Australia's north, to Noarlunga, just south of Adelaide. Plans drawn up by these local committees will be based on analysis, undertaken by local resident and agency representatives, of local crime problems and issues. These plans will be implemented with funding assistance from the South Australian government's \$10 million, five-year crime prevention allocation.

The second arm of the strategy has involved establishing a forty member Coalition Against Crime, chaired by the Premier. The Coalition is the government's principal advisory group on crime prevention, and comprises representatives of peak resident and voluntary groups, key government agencies, the churches, and trade unions.

The key to the Coalition Against Crime's effectiveness is its series of expert working parties addressing topics such as violence-reduction, alcohol, drugs and crime, and crime prevention through improved urban and housing design. Each working party develops its own program of seminars, discussion papers and workshops to generate ideas about, and widespread involvement in, crime prevention. In addition, each identifies and recommends exemplary projects with statewide significance which can be fed into local initiatives. For example, the alcohol, drugs and crime group already has advocated support for a server responsibility program, developed in conjunction with the hotel industry and aimed at reducing alcohol-related violence in licensed venues, while the urban and housing design group actively is exploring ways for each major new urban development in South Australia to incorporate crime prevention planning and building standards.

None of these recommendations by expert groups can be expected to take effect without strong support at the state government level. This leads to the third major arm of the strategy: commitment by government ministers and departments. One of the first initiatives under the crime prevention strategy was to request that each government agency prepare a management plan which identified ways they could contribute to the 'Together Against Crime' program. These plans now have been prepared and a group of key ministers convened to ensure coordinated implementation. In developing these programs and plans, South Australia has been careful to adapt overseas concepts to local structures and conditions. Nonetheless, our general philosophies are similar, and almost all nations are now moving in the same direction.

The issue of crime prevention and the role of the community is very firmly and squarely on the criminal justice agenda and any country ignores it at its peril. It is essential that we possess not just a general commitment to crime prevention but clear ideas about, and objectives for, our activities. Citizens of any South Australian city would be justified in feeling that very little had been achieved by programs which simply displaced graffiti, vandalism or car theft from one suburb to another. Similarly, as a nation, Australia will have gained little if effective crime prevention in one state merely results in problems being shifted to other parts of Australia.

Australia needs a practical approach which comes to grips with local problems at the local level but at the same time recognises the common

interests of citizens and the nation. Australia's prevention programs must not merely be defensive and focussed on individual security but, like the programs in France, must also have a community basis and attack underlying social problems such as rejection and alienation. Crime prevention in this country must involve not just state and local authorities, but national government agencies. Finally, Australia must develop better measures regarding levels of crime and whether particular initiatives are successful.

New South Wales and South Australia have made a start by initiating annual statewide victimisation surveys, which will enable accurate and objective assessment of levels of crime in these jurisdictions to be made. It is imperative that every other jurisdiction in Australia follows suit. Accurate measures of crime and fear of crime are necessary to assess the success of new approaches.

Whatever one's political persuasions and whatever part of Australia one comes from-indeed one almost can say whatever the part of the western industrialised world-significant crime problems must be acknowledged and innovative solutions are a matter of urgency. Those who would ignore this reality and hope that exclusive reliance on traditional, reactive 'law and order' approaches somehow will 'rescue' us from the situation need look no further than the USA, which has tended to become the model for Australia in so many respects.

In 1990-91, the USA passed the landmark of having a standing population of 1,000,000 adults in prison at any one time. This amounts to an imprisonment rate per head of population six times higher than South Australia's. Penalties and sentences are becoming increasingly severe and (following the USA Supreme Court approval) at least thirty states have reintroduced the death penalty and are applying it with increasing frequency. Law enforcement technology has become more and more sophisticated and expensive. In the USA, sub-machine guns, high-tech computers, tanks and even submarines (in one or two instances) have been thrown into the war against crime. Despite this, crime rates in USA cities have continued to soar to a point where its capital, Washington-a city smaller than Adelaide-each year has about forty-five times our rate of murders.

Indeed, the USA is at a stage where law enforcement and other experts openly express concerns that problems are becoming so extreme, and policing so sophisticated and expensive, that some cities may have to acknowledge they no longer can provide security for the entire population. Already, private security in the USA is burgeoning, with few standards set or regulations applied. The situation which USA experts fear is that, before long, only the wealthy will be able to obtain adequate protection from crime. Given this situation, it is not surprising that many authorities in the USA are intensively reassessing old assumptions.

The USA was strongly represented at a 1990 international conference on crime prevention in Montreal, and in 1991 a major delegation of its mayors is in Paris, discussing and wanting to know more about the Bonnemaïson approach. It is likely that all parties to those discussions have agreed there will be no easy, 'instant' solutions. There are inadequacies in the simplistic argument that crime rates can be reversed merely by intensifying police and criminal justice reactions. Also, sweeping views that increases in welfare and social justice will provide the panacea must be rejected.

There is more than enough evidence that countries such as Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands-which have developed some of the most effective social welfare nets-have not been exempt from dramatic increases in crime since World War II. It is no longer acceptable to dismiss crime prevention merely as an unwarranted diversion from the more important task of social reform.

As programs such as Neighbourhood Watch attest, police and many sections of the community long ago made up their minds on the issue of crime prevention. The task now is for all levels of government and all types of organisations-including the private sector-to lend support to new approaches.

Traditional enforcement and up-front, broad-based community prevention are essential methods of fighting crime. If the traditional adversarial role in the community remains, this will probably fail. Crime has been no respecter of political ideology. Social democratic governments and conservative governments throughout the world have had to confront the same problem. In the final analysis, crime is a community concern for which community solutions must be found. This conference will be another step in building a national consensus on the need to confront crime on a bipartisan political basis through both enforcement and prevention. Much of the challenge may still be ahead, but a promising start has been made.

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Developments in Crime Prevention in New Zealand: An Overview

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In a number of ways New Zealand has undergone a revolution in recent years. The impetus for change has been centred on the need to address long-term structural problems and perceived defects in the economy. By and large, the changes that have occurred have been effected swiftly and with determination. The changes have included a radical restructuring of the state sector, the corporatisation and privatisation of some state agencies, a general deregulation of the economy and the labour market, a reorganisation of local government, and a reorganisation of the funding and delivery of social services. Add to this the changes in foreign policy, the nuclear free stance, and the development of closer economic relations (CER) between Australia and New Zealand, and the enormity of the change process may begin to be realised.

At the central government level these (changes) included the corporatisation and subsequent privatisation of state trading activities, the introduction of a new financial management regime, major changes to the machinery of government, a new system of appointing and remunerating senior public servants, substantial cuts in various government programs, significant changes to public sector industrial relations practices, a growing emphasis upon biculturalism and employment equity, and a much greater concern with accountability and performance assessment. At the local government level, too, major reforms were initiated, many of them paralleling those in the core public sector (for example, commercialisation, corporatisation, the contracting-out of services, the decoupling of advisory, regulatory and delivery functions, and new accountability mechanisms (Boston 1991).

The reforms that were undertaken by the fourth Labor Government (1984-90) were massive by any standards and were achieved in a relatively

short period of time. It was often difficult, even for persons close to the government of the day or the most keen observer, to appreciate all the changes that were being made during those hectic six years. It is only now, with the benefit of hindsight and the assistance of analytic and detached commentaries and accounts of the events, that the full implications of the revolution are being realised.

Although New Zealand has often laid claim to taking a leading role in the development of social policies (Easton 1980), there has been a relative lack of progressive development in the past decade. The reforms of earlier administrations, the works of the architects of the welfare state, have been eroded.¹ The reasons become clear when the wider economic and political realities are taken into consideration. New Zealand has been losing ground in relative terms with other Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in respect to those measures that are accepted as indicators of general prosperity. (In 1991, New Zealand was 19th of 24 OECD member countries, as measured by Gross Domestic Product per head of population.) The crisis of the 'welfare state' of the 1970s and 1980s, and changes to economic management, have affected social policy development. The notion of a welfare state that provides universal, accessible, and affordable support and services from taxation funding has been sorely challenged. Part of the reason for this may be found in the ageing population.

The 1991 administration, a national government elected in October 1990, set the agenda for redefining the welfare state. According to this Government, the approach to social policy will be guided by four key principles, namely:

- Fairness: It is essential that adequate access to government assistance be available to those in genuine need, but those who can make greater provision for their own needs should be encouraged to do so.
- Self-reliance: The design of government programs should not foster dependency on state provision, but increase the ability of and incentives to individuals to take care of themselves.
- Efficiency: Social services should be provided in a manner that ensures that quality and quantity of service represents the highest possible value for each tax dollar spent.
- Greater personal choice: Alternative providers of health, education, housing, and welfare services will provide people with a wide choice to meet their needs.

Against this background of change there has been another dimension that impacts on the character of New Zealand life and future directions. This relates to the re-emergence of the issues of the Treaty of Waitangi and the recognition that the *tangata whenua* (the people of the land) not only have

legitimate grievances from the past that need to be resolved, but also a right to be recognised as parties to the Treaty and as original inhabitants. In those respects it is important that any actions of the Crown, and of all its instruments, should be consistent with the spirit and intent of the Treaty and its various interpretations. As an example, all chief executives of government agencies are charged with maintaining personnel policies which contain provisions that recognise the aspirations, employment requirements, and the need for greater involvement of the Maori people in the public service (State Sector Act 1988, s. 56) and to:

promote decision making in the machinery of government, in areas of importance to Maori communities, which provide opportunities for Maori people to actively participate, on jointly agreed terms, in such policy formulation and service delivery (New Zealand 1988).

The need for a concerted approach to crime prevention in New Zealand has been apparent for some time. New Zealand's crime rate has been increasing over the past decade, and offences against the person have risen disproportionately against all other offences. In addition, the average daily muster of sentenced inmates has grown alarmingly in recent years (Norris & MacPherson 1990). Domestic and family violence have become the focus for urgent attention, and the needs of victims of offences have also acquired a priority status in terms of policy development. Two organisations^{3/4}the Family Violence Protection Coordinating Committee and the Victims Task Force^{3/4}have been established by the Government to provide special advice and direction in these areas of concern.

In terms of central government expenditure, the picture is equally discouraging. For the year ended June 1990, it cost the taxpayers of New Zealand \$505 million to maintain the police enforcement role, \$26 million to run the courts (criminal only), \$150 million to administer sentences, and there was approximately \$348 million devoted to community development funding. In terms of total government expenditure, this means that 3.6 cents of each dollar was spent on law and order or crime prevention measures.²

One of the problems in discussing crime prevention is definitional: what constitutes crime prevention? In the New Zealand context crime prevention is problematic and at this stage no clear definition exists. The police rightly claim that much of their work is concerned with crime prevention, and that their specific crime prevention programs^{3/4}including Neighbourhood Watch and/or Neighbourhood Support, public education and media campaigns, and security services^{3/4}are directly contributing to the prevention of offending behaviour and the reduction of opportunities for crime to occur.

The police hold an important position within the wider criminal justice or law and order system. They are an organisation with a considerable degree of autonomy, and in all matters are free from political interference. For instance, the decisions to investigate crimes and prosecute suspected persons is almost

entirely in the hands of the constabulary. They also have the responsibility for providing a prosecution service in the courts.

From about 1989, with changes to the police management systems and the appointment of a new commissioner, the police have shifted the emphasis from enforcement alone, towards including a community-oriented approach to their work. This has meant that resources are being increasingly employed to develop community-specific approaches to policing. Police Community Councils are a common feature in most towns and cities in New Zealand, and community constables are becoming a common feature of suburban New Zealand.

The need for communities to 'help themselves' and be more self-sufficient has been brought about not only by the fiscal considerations of central government, but also by the general movement sometimes referred to as devolution. The passage of the Criminal Justice Act 1985 (NZ) was indicative of this trend. A greater focus on community sentences and dealing with people outside the prison walls was stressed. At the same time, the value of community development skills in the Probation Service was elevated and, in relative terms, the value of other social work skills were reduced.

Similarly, there have been reforms instituted within the prison service. The accent on habilitation and case management reflect the thinking that prisons are part of the community, and the community has a responsibility to play a part in determining how the prisons ought to be administered and what services are required to best assist those persons committed to the care of these institutions for the time being. In that respect there is an implicit recognition that crime prevention, incorporating as it does both security and habilitation, is a primary objective of the administration of the sentence of imprisonment.

Of course, the central government agencies are not the only organisations delivering social services that can be broadly defined as 'crime prevention' in nature. There are a considerable number of voluntary welfare agencies, community and some profit-making bodies that contribute directly to social objectives and which offer a wide range of services (such as the NZ Prisoners' Aid and Rehabilitation Society, outdoor pursuits organisations, security firms, insurance companies, and the work of sporting clubs). It is recognised, however, that not many organisations have directed their activities at crime prevention as a specific objective. Some notable, but not always welcome exceptions, have been the ad hoc vigilante groups that have periodically surfaced.

Although crime prevention has long been considered one of the main objectives of criminal justice policy, it remains a rather ill-defined concept (Tuck 1987). Crime prevention has been seen mostly in terms of other elements of the system^{3/4}such as policing, sentencing, and the administration of sentences that have crime prevention as a goal. Crime prevention has tended to be thought of as those activities that are directed toward 'at risk' young people and those persons who are already within the 'system', or as situational crime prevention as practised by the police.

It is tempting to employ the much-borrowed health model when analysing approaches to crime prevention (Brantingham & Faust 1976). The difficulty with using the primary, secondary and tertiary

classifications for crime prevention is that, while they fit neatly for the secondary and tertiary types, the boundaries for the primary level are less easily defined.³ In the New Zealand context this is especially so. It could be argued that the community development activities, for instance, are likely to have a positive crime reducing effect, whether they have specific crime prevention objectives or not.

The Establishment of Crime Prevention Initiatives in New Zealand

The development of crime prevention needs to be seen as a distinct but complementary process within the general criminal justice system. As central government withdraws further from the delivery of social services, the onus on local government for providing resources, and in turn the communities themselves, grows accordingly. The job of central government agencies is to help develop policies and facilitate their application at a local level⁴not to be the providers. It is important to instil the feeling that the ownership and control of the various approaches is located at local level. Any attempt, in the New Zealand context, to impose crime prevention on communities is going to be met with hostility.

The idea of promoting a broader approach to crime prevention than had hitherto prevailed was first examined seriously by an Interdepartmental Officials Committee on Crime Prevention (New Zealand 1989) which was charged with analysing the French crime prevention initiative and to apply the key principles to the New Zealand situation. The committee was concerned with establishing criteria for projects, liaison with local government authorities, and for considering funding issues.

Five major objectives for a New Zealand crime prevention initiative were identified:

- to foster recognition that crime and crime prevention are issues that concern all the community and that the control or prevention of crime cannot be the responsibility of the various agencies of social control and law enforcement alone;
- to provide a forum at the local community level to identify crime problems affecting that community and coordinate the resources and expertise of local government, government departments, Iwi⁴ authorities, private organisations, educational institutions, individuals, and where appropriate, relevant cultural authorities and other organisations to address the problems identified;

- to facilitate and promote local initiatives focusing on crime, its prevention, and the context in which crime occurs;
- to promote the development of effective crime prevention initiatives which are suited to New Zealand; in particular, taking account of the status of the Maori people; and
- to promote and support worthwhile crime prevention projects.

Many of the perceptions underlying the development of crime prevention initiatives in France and other countries were seen to have their parallels in the New Zealand context. New Zealand had not only seen a significant rate of increase in offending rates at all levels, but this had been matched by an increase in the concern about crime and the fear of becoming a victim of crime.

The interest of the Department of Justice in crime prevention derived from its concern to 'protect the community and to promote social order.' Traditionally, these goals had been pursued through the corrections system, including the provision of rehabilitative services. These are all reactive measures, that is, they take place after a crime has occurred. The Department continues to believe that proactive measures are also required, particularly to divert young people from entering what is seen as 'the cycle of crime.'

In the sense that crime prevention is designed to contribute to community protection and community stability, it is integral to community well-being and community development. Crime prevention is therefore related to the responsibilities of most governmental agencies. Certainly no one agency has a monopoly on crime prevention and, except in certain respects, this responsibility is not the sole prerogative of centralised bureaucracies. Efforts to make communities safe or healthy, and to promote productive and cooperative activities within communities need to be made by central government in partnership with local communities.

The prevention of urban crime was a focus of the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (United Nations 1991). The Congress emphasised that prevention is the concern of all³/₄that is, citizens, communities, and governmental organisations³/₄and that it is the task of governments and other institutions to promote the development of national and local prevention programs. Another notable aspect of the Congress resolution was the recognition that prevention must bring together those with responsibility for family, health, housing, social services, leisure activities, schools, the police and the justice system in order to deal with the conditions that generate crime.

In 1991 there are considerable resources directed to the promotion of safe and healthy communities and thus crime prevention in its broadest sense. In the narrower sense of the concept, the police have traditionally played an important preventive role, as have elements of the correctional services, such as probation and psychological services, through their treatment programs.

In line with international developments, the approach to crime prevention favoured by the Department of Justice has been one which is centred on the partnership of central and local government, and between Iwi authorities and local government. The Department recognises that these partnerships must be supported by adequate resources and appropriate

educational and informational strategies. Above all, effective crime prevention projects must be attuned to the cultural and social setting in which they are applied, with the aim of fostering diversity and avoiding uniformity for its own sake. It is crucial that each community decides for itself what crime prevention approaches are to be adopted.

Another essential element is that leadership should be provided at the local level which transcends narrow sectional interests. Communities need to know that their concerns and fears about crime and the ill-effects of crime are shared by their elected leaders. In this respect, effective leadership assumes a bipartisan approach, both at the local and the national levels.

With regard to funding, it should be noted that the wide involvement of government agencies in crime prevention, in the broadest sense, means that there are already considerable resources going into programs which are of general social value. In view of this it was felt that a crime prevention strategy aimed principally at greater coordination and more precise targeting of such services could be achieved within relatively modest resource limits. The Department of Justice and the police worked together on the development of a crime prevention strategy based on this approach. This led to the formation of the Safer Communities Program.

The Safer Communities Program plan has drawn on the models pioneered in France and the United Kingdom and adapts these models to the New Zealand situation. A peak council headed by the Prime Minister of the day, and including representatives of local government, provides the basis for political leadership and commitment to the idea that through partnerships, and the recognition that the prevention of crime is not just a central government responsibility, reliance on traditional enforcement and corrections agencies can be reduced.

In July 1990, the Labor government convened an inaugural meeting of the Prime Ministerial Safer Communities Council, a body consisting of key ministers of the Crown, and mayors of four municipalities to preside over the development of a pilot program, for an initial period of two years. This program would promote safer communities and a strategic approach to crime prevention. The impetus for this development on the part of the government of the day had arisen when several ministers of state returned either from France or the United Kingdom and had been impressed with what they had seen. In addition, the Department of Justice had been keen to see some progress made in this area.

A Crime Prevention Administrative Unit, located within the Department of Justice (Policy and Research Division) at Wellington, services the Prime Ministerial Safer Communities Council and provides a link in the relationship between central and local government. The Unit is also concerned with facilitating the development, monitoring, and evaluation of the pilot programs.

Four pilot program areas are operating under the auspices of the relevant local government body. Each of the mayors in these four localities has set up a Safer Community

Council to promote crime prevention initiatives and to encourage the development of projects that best suit the communities they serve. The membership of the Safer Community Councils is drawn from the community and representatives of key public service agencies operating in the Safer Community Council areas. The mayor chairs the Safer Community Council and generally provides the political leadership and commitment necessary at the local level. The police also play an active role on each Safer Community Council.

Each Safer Community Council has the services of a full-time coordinator, employed by the local city or district council. Central government meets the greater part of the coordinator's salary from monies contributed by the police and the Department of Justice from their discretionary funds. In addition, modest seeding money has been distributed or is available to each Safer Community Council to be used to promote or foster safer community or crime prevention projects.

Although central government has provided limited funding (for the employment of the coordinators and for some project work), local government councils have had to meet some costs themselves and devise ways of raising additional funds for specific projects and promotions. Sponsorship from commercial and charitable organisations have been used to acquire funding for the Safer Community Councils.

The position of the coordinator is pivotal to the exercise of the pilot programs. Coordinators not only maintain a network of community contacts and a database of local resources, but also have the responsibility to make things happen at a project level. In addition, the coordinator maintains liaison with the Crime Prevention Administrative Unit and helps to monitor and provide information for the evaluation of projects.

Proposals for specific crime prevention projects are usually submitted in the first instance to the coordinator for presentation to the Safer Community Council. The type of project suitable for support and funding will depend on the perceived or known local needs. The Crime Prevention Administrative Unit does not assume a role for vetting project proposals, although proposals will often be referred to the manager of the Unit for independent comment and for assessment as to suitability for monitoring and evaluation.

The point that should be stressed in the selection of suitable projects for sponsorship or promotion at local level is that the initiatives should arise within the communities. It is not for central government to determine what constitutes an appropriate crime prevention project or whether the objectives of a particular project are crime preventing. In a real sense, the responsibility for determining what constitutes crime prevention, and how crime prevention might be defined, is a community responsibility. For its part, central government needs to determine whether it wishes to support or provide resources for local initiatives, according to its own definitions. In the New Zealand context that will be determined through the Prime Ministerial Safer Communities Council (and the Crime Prevention Administrative Unit), consistent with current public policy.

Considering that most projects were not initiated until late 1990 or early 1991, there has been some pleasing progress in the type and range of projects being developed (see Appendix I for a list of projects). It is too early to draw conclusions from the information available to date. The monitoring and evaluation process is still to be developed, and what comments that can be made must be tentative and subjective. However, the early signs are very encouraging.

The Changing Role of the State: Issues Confronting Policy Developers in New Zealand

There are several possible reasons why the development of a concerted and comprehensive approach to crime prevention has been slow to emerge. The economic situation has been depressed in recent years, and the onus on governments to trim their spending has been intense. Yet, the demand for protections and services provided by central government persists. A news media preoccupation with crime and crime related issues in the past ten years has helped to create a climate of opinion and belief that what is needed is a 'harder line' toward criminals and criminal behaviour. For the politician, the realities of the three-year term of parliament tend to make law and order issues one of the platforms for electioneering that is attractive. The possibilities of making law and order issues bipartisan are thus reduced, and the likelihood of developing comprehensive strategies in the field of criminal justice are inhibited. In any event, crime prevention is no quick fix. Politicians have to be committed to it for the long haul. And, because the criminal justice system is not centrally administered, the chances of integrated approaches being advanced are further diminished.

Another reason for the slow development of crime prevention in the New Zealand context is the traditional mind-set that persists when the role of the state is considered. There is a marked tendency for people to look to central government for action, instead of providing it themselves. This attitude of dependency toward the state has been referred to as the 'superannuation effect'.

But, as daunting as these hurdles to progress are, the logic of developing a strategic approach to the development and administration of criminal justice that is inclusive of a strong and complementary crime prevention component is apparent. The formation of the Prime Ministerial Safer Communities Council has provided the focus for at least a crime prevention strategy to be born. The Safer Communities Program will undoubtedly add weight to the argument that new directions and new solutions are possible.

A number of policy considerations need to be addressed. For instance, what costs the community is prepared to bear to create 'safer communities'. New Zealanders have enjoyed lifestyles characterised by relative personal liberty and freedom from fear of being victimised. High density, urban living is almost unknown. Safety achieved at the expense of some of these freedoms and living conditions is likely to be unacceptable. A comprehensive police advertising campaign sponsored by commercial interests is highlighting the problems of crime in our communities. Ironically, the campaign is probably contributing to a distorted perception about the incidence of crime and heightening feelings that personal safety is at grave risk. While this may generate a strong motivation among sections of a community to want to participate in crime prevention activities, it could also be counter-productive in the longer term. An innovative and imaginative communications policy needs to be developed as part of a wider crime prevention strategy.

The term 'crime prevention' indeed the whole language associated with crime prevention needs to be more precisely defined. The Safer Community Program has been predicated largely on the belief that communities should take a greater responsibility for preventing crime and, to some extent, that

'community crime prevention' is a preferred approach. Crime prevention can mean all things to some people and be interpreted to embrace a wide range of activities. It would not be difficult to imagine that crime prevention could not only be a meaningless catch-phrase, but also a substitute for basic social policy development. In the New Zealand context, the worry is that crime prevention could become a rationale for allowing central governments to minimise their traditional and responsible approach to social policy development, and to shift the onus to local government to provide safety-net measures, of which crime prevention might be one.

If the definition of crime prevention embraces what is now thought of in the literature as 'social crime prevention' (Graham 1990) it could be argued that policy makers were more concerned with preventing crime than with promoting social cohesion, organisation, and integration. While crime in our communities is an important problem area, it should be viewed in a balanced manner. The primary motivation for good social policy development should not be crime or the concern to somehow rid our communities of crime. Instead, crime prevention policies should support, and not lead, wider social policy developments.

It is going to be extremely important in the development of crime prevention strategies in New Zealand that policy decisions are made on the basis of contributions and views of Maori and non-Maori alike. It is not just an ideal but a necessity if the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi is to be honoured and if a bicultural harmony is to be achieved in the future. The process of developing bicultural policy has never been simple, and local governments and Iwi authorities will need to be given an opportunity to play their parts.

There are signs that the Government is inclined to entertain approaches to social policy development that seek to make resource investments that might make positive returns in the medium to long-term. (For instance, during the last general election campaign (October 1990), the National Party promised 900 more police over the next three years.) The Prime Minister has taken a personal interest in the Safer Community Program and is briefed on progress.

It will be important, in policy development terms, that keen attention is shown to the developments in other social policy areas. If the formation of social policy is to proceed on the basis of the key principles enunciated by the government (fairness, self-reliance, efficiency, and greater personal choice) and the constraints of fiscal direction are to be honoured, then it is clear the case for crime prevention will need to be well-argued, and well-presented to make an impression.

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Appendix I

The following list is indicative of the range and type of projects initiated as a result of the Safer Communities Program. Space has not allowed for a more detailed description of each project. It is hoped that such descriptions will be available when evaluations have been completed.

- a pilot scheme to assist children with deficient reading skills;
- a short-term campaign aimed at reducing the fear of crime;
- seminars on shop thefts;
- drug and alcohol information;
- policing of 'dog nuisance' in one community;
- a trade show on home security;
- school programs about crime prevention;
- promotion of an Age Concern Program;
- support for Maori Wardens;
- the employment of 'grey power' community support constables for the elderly;
- working with gangs;
- revival of Neighbourhood Support programs in specific areas;
- provision of programs for 'at risk' children;
- assistance with the provision of indoor sporting facilities;
- a program for the elderly;
- the promotion of ethnic tribunals;
- a variety of youth programs, including a poster competition, song contest, theatre promotions, a forum for secondary school students, organising a 'Krypton' competition, and safer community awareness programs;
- an anti-graffiti campaign, coupled with a targeted confidence/leadership program;
- the development of a youth-ethnic program^{3/4}associated with a truancy program;
- the organisation of a 'safety week';
- a youth incentives program;
- a concerted approach to environmental design;
- patrols of a town centre (ravaged by vandalism) by Samoan community, backed by local business association;
- ensuring that the target groups have a say on the Safer Community Councils;
- developing networks, and maintaining communication;
- profiling a district to better target crime prevention programs;
- incentive weekends for 'at risk' youth;
- targeting rugby and rugby league clubs regarding excessive use of alcohol at clubrooms.

Foot Notes:

- 1 It is recognised, however, that there have been some important advances in social policy development, in such areas as the Abolition of the Death Penalty Act 1989, the Domestic Protection Act 1982, the Homosexual Law Reform Act 1986, and the Victims of Offences Act 1987, to name just a few that are administered by the Department of Justice.
- 2 The figures quoted have been estimated from published accounts but must be treated with some caution. Government expenditures are not categorised in a way which enables the crime prevention component to be readily separated out. This is particularly so when trying to determine expenditures in the area of community development. (The police enforcement costs do not include the costs for the Serious Fraud Office.)
- 3 The classification is as follows: Primary = activities directed at modification of criminogenic conditions in the physical and social environment at large; Secondary = activities directed at early identification and intervention in the lives of individuals and groups in criminogenic circumstances ('at risk' groups, for instance); and Tertiary = activities directed at prevention of recidivism (for persons already 'in the system').
- 4 Iwi, or tribal authorities recognised as the descendants of the signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) and for all intents and purposes are the 'partners' with the Crown. Iwi authorities have a representative function, as well as providing services to their people.

Prevention or Displacement?

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To establish beyond doubt that crime has been prevented by some specific action is a perilously difficult exercise. While it might be able to be shown that there is less reported crime in a community where a broad community-based crime prevention strategy has been introduced, it cannot be said with certainty that strategy alone prevented some crime from occurring. The strategy may be one of a number of factors that help explain the drop in the crime rate. However, it may be that offenders in the area may have desisted at that time anyway for unknown reasons, or it may be that the strategy has simply displaced (or deflected) crime. This last possibility is a fundamental issue for crime prevention and is the subject of this paper.

The displacement, rather than prevention, of crime has been described as a frustrating unintended effect of crime control (Barr & Pease 1990) and cannot be ignored by crime prevention proponents. To do so is to play into the hands of those who believe the best that can be done in tackling crime is to displace it. In turn, this leads to what Cornish and Clark (1986) describe as 'a paralysing extreme-case pessimism' which could produce a climate in which attempts to prevent crime will be made more difficult. As Barr and Pease point out 'in one sense a crime displaced is a crime prevented' (1990, p. 282), but the extreme-case pessimist is really suggesting that there will always be a fixed amount of crime which, according to the situation, is displaced from time to time, or from place to place. There are numerous examples of crime prevention initiatives which, despite being apparently successful, can nevertheless be used to demonstrate the five broad types of displacement that are generally agreed upon by criminologists.

Temporal Displacement

Temporal displacement occurs when crime prevention action forces the offender to commit the intended offence at a later time. A most obvious

example of this is where a burglar arrives at the target premises to discover an impediment to his/her activity. For instance, the factory he/she intended burgling may be occupied by employees working overtime. If the burglar is determined to burgle that factory, he/she may then bide time until the workers leave, or the burglar may abandon his/her 'work' until another evening when he/she hopes the factory will be unoccupied.

It is exceedingly difficult, if not foolhardy, to claim that some preventive action will mean that a certain crime will not recur in the future. Temporal displacement is always a possibility and is often acknowledged as such. One USA campaign against pickpockets provides an example of this. The campaign, conducted in two shopping malls, comprised proactive and rigorous detection and apprehension of pickpockets. It involved the use of plain-clothes decoy police officers who moved into close proximity of persons whose behaviour was consistent with the known behaviour of pickpockets in that location. This approach led to a number of arrests that exceeded expectations and, after two months, pickpockets had effectively been displaced from the two malls. However, the police officer who devised the program acknowledges the probability that temporal displacement has occurred by stating that 'the word was out to avoid our two shopping malls' but that 'eventually, when [note, not if] the pickpockets do return . . . they will run up against a proven pickpocket program' (Bue 1991, p. 81).

Spatial Displacement

Spatial displacement occurs when crime prevention action forces the offender to commit the intended offence in a different location. In the burglary example, the burglar may be displaced (or diverted) to a different factory where he/she hopes preventive features (such as security guards) will not be present.

An area of anti-social behaviour that is a cause for concern in many countries and to which crime prevention attention has been directed is what one British study refers to as crime and nuisance in shopping centres (Phillips & Cochrane 1988). This reference includes such behaviour as loitering, driving recklessly or boldly around car parks, fighting, underage drinking, prostitution and petty theft. The British study found that real crime problems were actually far fewer in number than the retailers thought and the media portrayed. Nevertheless, a number of specific recommendations were made to reduce the potential for nuisance by congregating young people. These included such physical changes as replacing solid chrome barriers around cafes with space-defining ropes (to remove convenient leaning places for idle youth) and the installation of concealed panic buttons for all shops to enable shop staff to call security staff for assistance when harassed or when thieves had been detected.

In the USA, some 24-hour convenience stores have taken novel preventive action against threatening groups of youths gathering outside their premises. Using the store's public address system, bland music is broadcast (such as Mantovani or Perry Como) which the young people apparently find so distasteful that it literally repels them.

A more formal program to address problems at shopping malls in the USA is described by Kent (1990). The major problem at one mall was that the

mall parking area had become a popular spot for upwards of 500 youths and 150 vehicles to converge between 8.30 p.m. and 1.00 a.m. Displays of driving bravado, loud car radios, and haphazard parking were irritating but basically harmless. However, when driving mishaps, consumption of alcohol and illegal activities like fighting and drug use increased, retailers complained that customers were being driven away and something had to be done. Mall security staff and local police then devised a preventive strategy that comprised shutting off entry to the mall's car parks at 10 p.m. when most shops shut for business, thus cutting short the evening's activities for the youths. Gradually, the mall lost its focus as a cruising and gathering place. In these examples, the preventive strategies were geared to moving the problem on to somewhere else! That is classical spatial displacement and the lack of concern about it is encapsulated in Kent's final paragraph which reads:

what then, you may ask, did the youths do when the security situation forced them out of their long-recognised weekend night playground? They moved to another location, but that's another story and probably better grist for sociologists than security managers (Kent 1990, p. 55).

Tactical Displacement

Tactical displacement occurs when crime prevention action forces the offender to commit the intended offence using a different method. The burglar, on always finding the target premises occupied, might change his/her normal modus operandi of sneaking into premises and adopt a more confrontational approach of detaining and disabling the security guard before burgling the factory. An example of prevention that stopped the activities of particular offenders comes from the city of Santa Ana in California. Local retailers adopted a common approach to accepting customers' cheques, having suffered losses from fraudulent users of that practice who were stealing an estimated \$500,000 annually. The new procedure implemented by the retailers involved asking those customers paying by cheque to place an inkless thumbprint on the reverse of the cheque before it was accepted or cashed: the thumbprint could lead to the identification of offenders. The introduction of this procedure led to a decrease in forgeries reported to the police of 48 per cent. Interestingly:

banking establishments and some larger food store chains chose not to participate in the program because of what they believed to be adverse publicity. They indicated that they were willing to absorb the loss so as not to inconvenience their customers (Seleno 1989, p. 17).

It is a pity that it is not known whether those locations were subject to greater victimisation as a result of their non-cooperation. Such a finding would have been consistent with spatial displacement.

What happened to those offenders whose source of income was effectively terminated by the thumbprint requirement? Many were apparently involved in drug use and consequently could be expected to be displaced to ensure the funds required to buy drugs. Unfortunately, one cannot say, but a

similar example from Canada does suggest that tactical displacement probably occurred. Tremblay (1986) describes how Canadian banks introduced procedures to allow people to cash cheques at branches using a credit card to establish their bona fides. Introduced as a convenience for customers, this led to considerable activity by criminals who, with stolen credit cards and stolen cheques, were able to make fairly substantial sums of money quickly moving from one branch to another cashing cheques. The banks had expected some level of fraudulent activity but, when the losses they suffered became substantial, they fixed the maximum withdrawal limit at \$100. This action effectively prevented more criminal activity as cashing fraudulent cheques became an unrewarding crime. According to Tremblay, it also caused some of the offenders to switch back to 'purchase credit card frauds' (1986, p. 247) indicating tactical displacement. In this case, the displacement was actually back to the sort of credit card frauds that were committed before the new opportunity was provided by the banks with their 'convenient' cheque cashing facility.

Target Displacement

Target displacement occurs when crime prevention action forces the offender to commit the intended offence on a different type of target. For example, a burglar may not be inclined to confront the security guard and decides to burgle empty office buildings instead. This form of displacement is well-reflected by the recent downward trend in armed robberies against Australian banks. The target hardening of many banks with pop-up screens and bullet-proof glass has led to a noticeable decrease in bank robberies. However, there has been an increase in the number of armed robberies of 24-hour convenience stores and service stations. Worse than that, the increased (preventive) security in those latter locations has now caused the Victoria Police to issue a 'warning of an increasing risk to the security of the suburban home as armed robbers go in search of softer targets' (The Age, 25 May 1991). In other words, armed robbers may be displaced into our homes. This is an announcement which will raise the fear of crime in the community and is not the sort of impact that a crime prevention initiative would seek.

Developments such as these follow from consideration of statistics of reported crime and might be thought to reflect the activities of different people rather than the same people moving from one offence to another. That may be true in part, and Barr and Pease (1990) write of it as 'perpetrator displacement', where other offenders take the place of offenders who have themselves been displaced for whatever reason. However, it is certainly true that there are resolute offenders who will change their offending activities when impediments are placed in their way. Some offenders are truly professional, but others are far from it. These unprofessional offenders are typified by the gang of four Victorian teenagers who went to the local railway station intending to hold-up and rob a passer-by. As there were no passers-by, they decided instead to go to the local taxi rank and rob a taxi driver but dropped that idea when they found six taxis in attendance. Having been functionally displaced twice, the offenders then broke into the local school canteen and ran amuck causing \$1,000 worth of

damage (Melbourne Sun, 28 June 1990). That last move is an example of the final sort of displacement.

Functional Displacement

Functional displacement occurs when some crime prevention action forces the offender to abandon the intended offence and commit a quite different offence instead. The burglar thwarted by increased security in commercial premises might therefore embark on a career as a shop thief, although he/she might also become an armed robber. In the latter case, by the offender being displaced to a more serious and more violent offence, it could be argued that the displacement is actually negative for the community as a whole. This illustrates another important dimension of displacement -the difference between what Barr and Pease (1990) call malign and benign displacement.

Malign displacement produces changes that are socially undesirable, notwithstanding the subjectivity of that term. It is self-evident that crime prevention activity should not cause the community to be placed in a more vulnerable or worse position. The aim of crime prevention is to make the commission of a crime so difficult, risky, or even impossible that offenders will desist from, or at least abate, their activities. It is very difficult to predict whether the displacement that might result from any crime prevention initiative will be malign or benign.

Consider the number of city office buildings which have been target-hardened through increased security such that access to them is now only allowed to workers with identification passes and visitors who have been screened. This initiative has made it more difficult for sneak thieves to enter a building and steal handbags, money and other personal possessions of workers. Interestingly, this sort of offence is one that the local community -in this case, office workers in the building -could help prevent themselves. The workers could do this by securing their own property and encouraging others to secure theirs', and also by questioning strangers they find in the building. While some of these stranger-thieves deliberately dress smartly some, according to police, are quite scruffy, yet are never approached by workers.

So what do city office thieves do when their easy access to a building is blocked and the opportunity for thieving is removed? Will they desist? Or will they convert (that is, be displaced) into some other sort of offending? The lack of firm data makes it impossible to do more than speculate, but bag-snatching on city streets does seem to have increased as city offices have become more secure. To the extent that bag-snatching brings with it greater risks and trauma for the victim, it could be said that this scenario provides an example of malign functional displacement.

Displacing Which Offenders?

It is important that reports of crime prevention initiatives, especially where success is claimed, include discussion of displacement. Laycock's (1984) study of burglary in chemists' shops provides a good example. This study found that chemists' shops whose physical security has been inspected and officially 'exempted' by police suffered fewer burglaries of controlled drugs than other

shops where the police's fairly rigorous security standards may not apply. In her discussion of displacement, Laycock indicates how robberies from chemists' shops, burglaries from hospitals or surgeries, and thefts from doctors' cars had all risen in the same period, and then acknowledges that 'these rises could reflect a displacement effect' (1984, p. 5). Laycock's provision of those facts effectively leaves readers to make their own judgements as to the likelihood of displacement being the case.

In another study, Mayhew, Clarke and Elliott (1988) attempted to deal with the displacement issue in their study of motorcycle theft in Germany. The reduction in this offence occurred following the introduction of compulsory helmet wearing for motorcyclists, which meant that an unhelmeted thief would quickly draw police attention and be detected committing the greater offence. After considering the various motives for stealing motorcycles, the researchers decided that the helmet wearing law would have had greatest impact on non-professional thieves who stole for fun (joy-riding) or temporary transport. Accordingly, they inspected the logical alternative offences of motorcar and bicycle theft which would both service those purposes and, having found no increase in those, concluded that the most likely sort of displacement had not occurred.

This raises an important distinction between amateur and professional criminals. In 1983, Clarke suggested that 'the more professional the crime or the criminal the greater the probability of displacement' (1983, p. 245), and this still seems to hold today. The more that is known about offenders and their practices, the easier it is to plan preventive approaches that will make offenders' jobs more difficult or more risky, especially if they are 'reasoning criminals' (Cornish & Clarke 1986), that is resolute offenders who will not act if the risks associated with the offending are too great.

It is possible to produce useful classifications of offenders such as that from Bennett and Wright (1984) who categorised burglars as planners, searchers or opportunists, but the careful collection of details relating to the offence and the situation in which it occurs is invaluable, in order to introduce preventive initiatives that will inhibit potential offenders. Poyner's (1986) analysis of pickpocketing in city bus-stop queues is an impressive example of such an analysis. He established that most offences were committed on middle-aged males who could be observed to place their wallets in their back pockets after buying tickets and were jostled as the queue moved onto the bus. Poyner's suggestion of a physical barrier to separate bus passengers from shoppers and pedestrians, and to allow orderly boarding of the bus would prevent the offence as he analysed it. Such a physical change would make life difficult for both the 'reasoning' or professional pickpocket and the amateur.

Addressing Displacement is Vital

This paper places the issue of displacement firmly on the agenda of crime prevention practitioners. It does this by outlining the major types of displacement and illustrating how they bedevil most crime prevention work. It also encourages practitioners to acknowledge the possible displacement of any or all of the above types that may follow their work.

Notwithstanding this, there will always be some instances in which it is hard to see displacement as an issue. Such an example comes from

The Netherlands where approximately 1,200 unemployed young people were recruited as 'safety information and control officers' on the tram and metro system specifically to tackle fare evasion, vandalism and aggression (Van Andel, 1988). There was a marked decrease in detected fare evasion following the recruitment of these staff, and the increased revenue from fares is a clear indicator that previous fare evaders were now paying for their travel rather than finding new ways to travel for nothing or indeed ceasing their travel altogether. Nevertheless, this does not detract from the fact that it is essential to treat displacement seriously and, in particular, to ensure that the community does not finish up worse-off as a result of malign displacement.

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'Opportunity and Desire': Making Prevention Relevant to the Criminal and Social Environment

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Three Styles of Crime Control

This paper will begin by comparing some different assumptions about crime control that have prevailed recently in the USA. The television documentary *Police Chiefs* (shown on ABC in 1991) presented the philosophies and tactics of the three police departments in the cities of Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and Houston. Interviews with Daryl Gates, Anthony Bouzer, and Lee Brown explain these approaches.

Daryl Gates

As father of the first sharp shooting, anti-terrorist SWAT unit in the USA¹, the crack-house V100 battering ram², and disciple of the tough, autonomous LAPD mentality³, Daryl Gates has gained much of his fame as well as his notoriety for his hit them fast and hit them hard approach to crime. As police chief of the Los Angeles Police Department, Gates clearly expressed himself an advocate of capital punishment as a deterrent to crime. 'A person who is sent to the gas chamber is not going to come back and kill again'.

Gates recognised the reality of urban misery in the USA, but argued that there was no necessary causal connection between poverty and criminality. Instead, he felt that what was needed was a better way of 'separating from the rest of society' those who had made the 'conscious decision' to commit a crime. Ideally, Gates said criminals should be gathered up and placed in a

mine-encircled camp in the desert where, with a hoe and some seeds, they should be made to look after themselves.

Few of us could imagine how difficult it would be to keep the lid on crime in the beleaguered city of Los Angeles, where 'gang activity on the streets is largely a fight for narcotic turf'. In this context, a hard-line approach might be understandable but, to his credit, Gates also believed that children were not being given the 'tools and education to say "no" to drugs'. The Los Angeles Police Department was the first to set up the 'DARE' program⁴ (now borrowed by Northern Territory police and possibly used elsewhere in Australia), where police officers visit schools to teach children to resist and prevent drug abuse (Meese & Carrico 1990).

A summary of the Gates Model for crime prevention is as follows:

- physical removal;
- imprisonment;
- capital punishment; and
- social separation.

Anthony Bouzer

Before Anthony Bouzer, Minneapolis went through six police chiefs in ten years, had few female or minority police, and had a bad reputation for being a self-serving and heavily politicised department.~ Bouzer, a controversial liberal figure, was recruited from New York to reform the Minneapolis police department.

Bouzer stated that he believed he could not serve both the department and the people. He chose to serve the people. The way in which Bouzer would not give free rein to his officers on the streets, and his heavy punishment of officers for racist slurs and brutality, won him few friends in the department, but he was admired by the public. The Minneapolis test project of arresting suspected wife-beaters responded to a new public mood to break the cycle of family abuse and became a national model for other law enforcement agencies throughout the USA.

Bouzer's perceptions were distilled in a speech to an American Legion gathering:

At this moment a number of issues are exciting public commentary. There is a tremendous amount of hysteria about crime, violence and gangs. I will offer you no prescriptions. Beware of leaders that offer you simple minded answers to complex problems: more cops, tougher judges, bigger gaols, 'take them away'-it won't work. What we need is more social glue in this society. We need to get back to basics. We need to think more about family,

neighbourhood, community, home, God, country, 'us' rather than 'me'. As we move farther and farther away from the concept of social justice we get into deeper and deeper trouble. The crime rates are going to reflect this as a symptom of that trouble and no number of cops is going to save us from it.

In January 1989, Bouzer, still unpopular with many of his officers, resigned after nine years service as Police Chief. A summary of the Bouzer Model for crime prevention is as follows:

- more 'social glue';
- public service (that is, police serving the public);
- social justice; and
- family and community emphasis.

Lee Brown

The Houston Police Department had a brutal, racist reputation for years. There was a great deal of public fear of the police, especially among black and Hispanic populations. After a nationwide search, Lee Brown was selected as Police Chief to restore department credibility. In addition to holding a Doctorate in Criminology and being the first chief to be recruited from outside police ranks, Brown was also the first black (African-American) police chief in the history of the department.

The reform-minded chief recommended sweeping changes of principle in the way the department should combat crime. Brown became a strong advocate of community policing, asserting his trust in the 'educational process'.

In an interview, Chief Lee Brown stated:

Historically we have relied on the justice system, the police, courts and prisons to address the crime problem. What we have to do eventually is to recognise that there are reasons why people commit crime . . . and to start doing something about those reasons. We don't accept the fact that we [the police] control the factors that produce criminal behaviour. What logically follows is that everyone has a role to play in reducing crime-whether it be the educators, your business community, the neighbourhood community-that's our basic philosophy.

After serving Houston for eight years, Brown became the new Police Commissioner of New York in January 1990. A summary of the Brown Model for crime prevention is as follows:

- the educational process;
- identify and attack causes of crime; and
- shared responsibility.

Criminality and Cause

On the issues of criminality and the causes of crime, the hard-line chief, Daryl Gates, did not buy the 'poverty' argument. The reason for this: he himself had grown up poor but had never been tempted to steal even a bottle of milk, 'though he loved milk'.

Anthony Bouzer observed a powerful economic imperative:

The overwhelming majority of poor people are not criminals, but all street criminals are poor. They tend to be illiterate, dysfunctional, unemployable, alcoholic, chemical dependent, drug addicted . . . Crime in this society is fuelled by the poor. Whoever is at the bottom of the ladder fuels street crime. And over-laying all of this is our continuing inability to tackle the black dilemma-which is one of exclusion, unemployment, criminality. If these problems are not attacked I do not see the prospect in any number of police stemming the rise of crime.

Lee Brown reminded us that criminology is 'not an exact science'. The causes of criminal behaviour are complex, and there is 'no simple answer to the problem of crime':

Whether one believes it is caused by biological factors, psychological factors, or economic factors-the police do not control those factors. And thus we must accept crime as being the responsibility of the total community and we all have some role in addressing that problem. In fact I happen to believe professionally, as a criminologist, that if we wanted to do one thing in the USA to really impact on the crime problem we should have a national policy of 'full employment' . . . Unless we can do that then we will always be plagued with the problems of crime.

Australians can, perhaps, count ourselves lucky that-even as we reach 10 per cent unemployment-Australia compares as a haven of social harmony to the random violence and disintegration of large cities in the USA. But can Australia afford not to build upon this advantage?

While Australians wait upon politicians to discover elusive economic solutions, there is much that can be done now in terms of commitment and resources, however modest, in areas of what might be called 'social reconstruction'. In this context, the experiences of the three American police chiefs have a point in common. There is real value in the development of positive community-based programs-whether they respond to an educational need in children, an interventionist need in families, or a mutual guardianship need in communities (Meese & Carrico 1990).

Understanding Crime Prevention

In thinking about crime prevention strategies, it is useful to consider this simple criminal behaviour equation:

$$\text{Ability} + \text{Opportunity} + \text{Desire} = \text{Crime}$$

In some cases there is, without doubt, a fourth dimension of Need, but not all poor people are criminals and not all criminals are poor. While the precise

relationship between economic conditions and crime rates remains complex and uncertain, there seems little reason to doubt that improved economic conditions would diminish some criminal behaviour.

Reducing the ability-physical separation

For centuries the traditional objective of western justice systems has been to exact punishment and to physically separate offenders from society, in the hope of deterrence and in the diminishing hope of rehabilitation. Imprisonment and banishment certainly reduce the ability of offenders to injure 'honest citizens' for limited periods. The key to reduced ability lies in the principle of separation. There are some countries and states in the USA which still resort to what might be described as 'terminal separation' by execution. As Chief Gates said, to separate someone from their life certainly removes their ability to commit future crime.

Reducing the opportunity-situational crime prevention

Crime flourishes in societies which are tolerant of crime. When nobody cares and when people are prepared to look away, there is a heightened opportunity for crime. Situational crime prevention attacks and reduces criminal opportunity. An example of this is Neighbourhood Watch (and the related projects of School Watch, Safety House Zones, Rural Watch, Business Watch, Homeassist for the elderly and Women's Safety). Neighbourhood Watch creates an environment where suspicious circumstances are less likely to be ignored by the public. It arouses 'public spiritedness', reinforcing or in some cases manufacturing 'communities' and 'neighbourhoods' of alert human concern.⁶

Situational crime prevention promotes a number of practical defences by which communities can reduce environmental elements favourable to crime:

- target hardening: securing property and premises, reducing the black market value of goods (tagging), preventing car theft;
- environmental defence: improving dangerous street and building design (dark paths, badly lit streets, and so on);
- public education: personal safety, preventative behaviour, protection of property and so on;
- public alertness and cooperation: communities working with the police;
- separating victims from offenders: for example, removal of the elderly from juveniles (see Geason & Wilson 1988; 1989; 1990).

Reducing the desire-social crime prevention

Making life harder for criminals is a worthwhile community response, but the most under-developed area for crime prevention concerns strategies for social defence. Of all the domains of preventative action, social defence is the one which is the most promising. It offers long-term solutions and is our most challenging solution to date.

The French Crime Prevention Scheme-based on the Bonnemaision Model (see pp. 1-6 of this volume)-incorporates a multifaceted and coordinated attack upon the social causes of crime. Following an inquiry into the outbreak of juvenile offending in several French cities and towns in the early eighties, a National Crime Prevention Council sought to establish a major preventative strategy. By 1988, over 500 city and regional crime prevention councils had brought together officials from different levels of government and voluntary agencies to address local problems. Programs of summer camps and activities for young people were designed to target depressed neighbourhoods, immigrant populations, poor schools, and areas of high unemployment. There was a clear intention not only to protect the young from the demoralising environments of poor neighbourhoods, but also to revitalise community life through the improvement of the physical and moral climate of inner cities.

A special feature of the Bonnemaision Model is the bipartisan support given by French politicians to the activities planned by the crime prevention councils. According to King (1988), this approach, piloted in the youth programs, formed the backbone of France's crime prevention policies (see also Geason & Wilson 1988, pp. 15-16; Liaison December 1988, pp. 10-14; Potas, Vining & Wilson 1990, p. 64; Sutton 1991, pp. 61-5). Social crime prevention, or strategies for social defence, recognise the inadequacy of traditional processes of capture, conviction, and incarceration in effecting reform. These strategies are based on a more credible approach to influencing human character and disposition, or to improving environments conducive to crime. When social crime prevention strategies are applied, particularly in the developmental years of children and youth, they substitute positive growth experiences for negative social experiences. Social crime prevention strategies are constructive because they are directed at the social roots of crime (see Hazlehurst 1989).

Expanding the Social Base

Police and corrections must be credited for forging the way with some excellent crime prevention projects-Neighbourhood Watch, Blue Light Discos, police youth clubs, youth camps and Outward Bound schemes to name a few-but it must also be acknowledged that to place the sole responsibility for crime prevention upon the justice system is an unreasonable expectation. Neither the police, nor the courts, nor correctional system are equipped to treat the social causes of crime. Social crime prevention spreads responsibility over a broader community base.

Central to successful social prevention is overcoming professional territoriality between government agencies, and between agencies and the community. Inter-agency consultative committees or working groups can share their relevant expertise and resources. Where a common project for

crime reduction unites government and community concerns, such collaboration can be illuminating and effective in actioning community-based solutions. This kind of process worked well in Adelaide where an Inner City Action Group-consisting of police, business and social welfare representatives, youth workers and others-was set up to respond to problems of juvenile crime in the Hindley Street area.

One of the best examples of large-scale, multi-agency involvement began in Britain in March 1988 under the 'Safer Cities' Scheme (United Kingdom 1989) which has set up local consultative committees comprising representatives from ethnic and other community groups, statutory and non-statutory agencies, voluntary service groups, and borough or county authorities. Through the 'Safer Cities' scheme, central and local government and agencies, including the police, pulled together to strengthen their efforts to support social and economic renewal, crime prevention, and community safety in major urban centres. An important breakthrough in the implementation of this program-which by 1990 embraced sixteen major projects throughout Britain-was the coordination and rationalisation of government department resources (Home Office 1989; Metropolitan Police 1980, p. 7 for details of similar strategies of coordination in the British Neighbourhood Watch scheme).

United Kingdom authorities also appear to have made a greater commitment of resources to the development of a range of professional posts aimed at preventative work. In 1990, positions were frequently advertised: such as 'Community Development Officer' to 'join an energetic community development team' in Essex; 'Race Equality Officers' in the London Borough of Camden; and 'Support Workers' to help the homeless and heavy-drinkers in Nottingham (The Guardian, 7 November 1990). A position for a 'Crime Reduction Coordinator' was called for in Warwickshire to set up 'action teams and new initiatives to make town centres safer' (The Guardian, 14 November 1990); 'Team Leaders' to join a Local Drugs Prevention Team were wanted in Newham, and also in London a 'Divisional Director' to 'lead a team of eight in working to increase the range and quality of help to problem drinkers' (The Guardian, 17 October 1990). Similar roles may have been created under different names in Australia, but in Britain there appears a significant commitment at national and local levels to tackling criminal behaviour at its social origins.

Community Ownership

The 'community ownership of the community solutions' approach (Hazlehurst 1990a; 1990b) to crime prevention is educational, socially reconstructive, and generative. It develops individual and community skills, reinvigorates sagging community-life, frequently evolves into other forms of community development, and can have a particularly empowering effect upon disadvantaged groups. For example, several American and Canadian Indian reserves, which initially set up Alcoholic Support Groups, have branched out over the years into other enterprises. Ten or fifteen years later they now boast native language classes, cultural clubs, local restaurants, stores, building and construction companies, and several students who have reached University level (Alkali Lake Indian Band 1986).

The involvement of 'at risk' youth in problem identification and solution finding under the Youth and the Law Project (YALP) is a community-based initiative sponsored by the Law Foundation of NSW worthy of mention in this regard (Hockley & Robertson 1989). Also worth mentioning is the Good Neighbourhood Program (Victoria 1989), which resulted from joint action between state and local governments in Victoria, and which took inspiration from the Bonnemaison Model in shaping its objectives to reduce crime through projects targeted particularly at youth.

Based on observations of successful programs in Australia and overseas, it is argued that the setting-up of working groups and action teams in Aboriginal or Migrant communities will produce culturally relevant, simply executed, and effective crime prevention strategies (Hazlehurst 1990a; 1990b; Nowlis 1981). Early Australian thoughts on community-based crime prevention were influenced by the efforts of the Australian CADAP project (Community Approach to Drug Abuse Prevention), which in turn was inspired by the ten years of experience of H.H. Nowlis as director of the USA Government Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education Program. Under this project, inter-agency teams were established and trained to plan and action community-based preventative programs.

Since each team designs and implements a program tailored to the needs of its own school and community, the program is adapted to the social, cultural, and demographic characteristics of that community (Nowlis 1981).

While few communities can lock-up or banish offenders, they do have the power to diminish the opportunity and desire of people to commit crime. Communities can, with ease and minimum expense, focus on these two fundamentals. Both situational and social crime prevention have their benefits and drawbacks. Removing the motive, desire, or will of people to offend will have long-lasting effects but may take time to show results. The problem may still be there until changes in the person take place. On the other hand, removing opportunities will respond to immediate needs but will have only localised effects. Removing the desire or the opportunity to commit crimes does not get to the social roots of problems and cannot guarantee against crime displacement.

Because each method of crime prevention has strengths and weaknesses, it is best to use them together. By removing opportunity and desire there will be both immediate and long term results. A bigger impact will be had if these methods can be integrated (Hazlehurst 1990a; 1990b).

Key Elements to Effective Prevention

Making prevention relevant

The most effective solutions will reflect local knowledge and respond to local needs. There are many ideas we can borrow and adapt, but it is critical that strategies are tailored to local situations. They must have social fit. The design of a program with good social fit will rest upon our analysis and understanding of the dimensions of a particular crime problem. The 'problem-oriented policing' approach used in South Australia provides an

example of a process of stepped analyses (Scan, Analyse, Response, Assess) which can lead to socially relevant programs.

In considering, for instance, youth drug and alcohol addiction and related juvenile offending, the personal and social risk factors of the target population will need to be taken into account. Personal risk factors include such things as a family history of criminality, alcoholism or drug use; academic failure; alienation and rebelliousness and the problems of family management, while social risk factors include poverty; widespread unemployment; incohesive communities; communities which tolerate or encourage alcoholism, drug abuse or criminality; and communities or families in transition. Programs which work well with young people will empower them to cope with unstable or transitional phases in their lives, for example 'Refusal Skills' and 'Peer Helper' programs developed in the USA.

In environments where alcohol and drug abuse are a constant temptation, 'Refusal Skills' and 'Peer Helper' programs were designed to help young people 'stay out of trouble', 'keep their friends', and 'develop responsibility for themselves and others' (Roberts 1989). As children are frequently found to model their behaviour on children two to three years older than themselves, many American school-based preventative programs use older children to cement positive messages with younger children. Under the 'Peer Helper' program, young people are asked to identify those of their peers who have earned their trust. These youths are then trained as peer helpers as a part of the prevention strategy (Roberts 1989).

A holistic approach

If Australia is going to be effective in the fight against crime, a focus on the whole human being, the whole community, is required. A holistic approach also involves inter-agency communication and community cooperation. A comprehensive preventative program would involve schools, community police, welfare agencies, neighbourhoods, families and, most important of all, the target group at risk.

Community-based organisation

'Community care and community responsibility' are the foundation stones of social crime prevention (Hazlehurst 1990a, p. 3). The most common method for developing community-based solutions is through the setting up of a working group for crime prevention. This might be achieved by invitation, by public meeting, by appointment or whatever. The working group will identify the problems, develop the goals, plan the action, and generally shape a vision for a crime free environment. Working groups seem to function best when they focus upon a single issue or problem-such as juvenile crime, alcoholism, family violence, child abuse, or victim support-and build outward from there (see Hazlehurst 1990a, pp. 10-38; 1990b, pp. 5-19; Atkinson 1990; Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress 1989).

Effective communication

Information is good so long as ignorance is the problem (Roberts 1989).

Many people believe that all society had to do was provide good information, but in many situations information is not enough. Most young people involved in alcohol or drugs know a lot about these substances. Equally, most adults know that a healthy diet and exercise will increase their life-span. Young people tend to be motivated by very short-term objectives and anxieties. Successful advertising should reflect what youths care about now (Roberts 1989). Effective communication will involve a good understanding of human motivation and behaviour. In our analysis, what is in it for the offending group needs to be ascertained before genuine behavioural alternatives can be generated.

Social skills training

In tracing crime trends from adolescence to middle adulthood, as the 'age at which the individual commenced criminal offending is a critical factor in determining the extent of the criminal career', much more effort needs to be put into the consideration of how people can be 'turned off' crime at an early age' (Walker & Henderson 1991, p. 5; Barnett, Blumstein & Farrington 1987; Hirschi & Gottfredson 1983).⁷

In a speech on 'Putting Prevention Into Action', Roberts stated: 'the most compelling evidence we have that prevention works is in the area of social skills training with children' (Roberts 1989). In his experience of 'Peer Helper' and 'Refusal Skills' programs, Roberts found that about one-third of children operated from an information base that acted as a deterrent. The other two-thirds needed social skills on how to say 'no' and not lose their friends, how to be assertive, how to help friends in trouble, and how to make new friends. Roberts pointed out:

There is a campaign at the moment 'Just Say "No" '. This is like saying 'Just get along with your sister'. Unless we teach them how we are not empowering our kids' . . . Its easy to say 'no' to the local pervert. Its much harder to say 'no' to your friends (Roberts 1989).

Youth programs need to provide opportunities and rewards to young people for bonding to pro-social peer groups and institutions. Pro-social institutions might be the family unit, school, the football club, the church or a cultural club. A child who does not bond with pro-social institutions or pro-social peers is at greater risk. A child who cannot find a place to belong will inevitably bond with an anti-social group. Much gang activity results from this. Gang association fulfils a need for belonging and identification in juveniles at risk (Roberts 1989).

Healthy behaviours, healthy lifestyles

Personal development through community support and healthy lifestyles through community action need to be promoted. Programs which focus on risk reduction and health promotion work closest to the community base. Support groups are one of the best vehicles for achieving these objectives.

Support groups are collections of caring people who provide assistance, encouragement and direction to target sectors of the community who are in need. These could be victim or elderly support groups, alcoholics support groups, or women's groups concerned with healing the effects of family violence. Young people are powerful message-carriers and an under-utilised resource. Through teen support groups or youth crime prevention teams, youth and children can be involved in the solution, rather than simply being viewed as part of the problem.

'Men Against Violence' groups have also been successful in helping offenders learn to understand the source of their personal problems and how to cope with them without resorting to hurting themselves or others. Ex-offenders are another under-utilised resource when it comes to crime prevention.⁸

Support groups will not only give participants-both victims and offenders-the help they personally need, but will often bring respect for others and a new purpose in life. After experiencing the benefits of a support group, some participants become most enthusiastic and committed participants and help others like themselves. From these, many positive alternatives can arise.

Developing a comprehensive approach

Deterrent and prevention strategies need not only respond to 'prevailing crime trends but also to counter emerging ones'. Without doubt, alcohol and drug addiction mark the early years of deviance in many criminal careers (Walker & Henderson 1991, p. 6). Homelessness amongst the young is a particularly critical social problem which breeds juvenile offending and ultimately leads to adult crime. Issues of housing, job creation and training, life skills, and care programs should be high on any crime prevention agenda (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1989; Potas, Vining & Wilson 1990). Australia also has increasing numbers of immigrants, many of whom have come with poor English language skills and carry with them indelible experiences of war, communal violence, official corruption, and lawlessness. Increasing incidents of extortion and violent robbery by ethnic youth gangs have raised concerns in several Australian cities. Aboriginal children and youth are being swept up in cycles of offending in their communities. Too many young Aboriginal men are dying from violence or alcohol related diseases.

In these times of budgetary restraint, when Australia faces the spectre of growing social alienation amongst children who will 'inherit an increasingly amoral, violent, and criminogenic society', should Australians not plan and

coordinate prevention efforts and resources so that the best value for our dollar is obtained? (Potas, Vining & Wilson 1990, p. 48). Central to this objective should be a willingness to monitor and evaluate crime prevention programs. Some programs obviously work better than others, yet not enough incorporate a research component to measure their worth or effectiveness.

In the light of what Australia spends on prosecution and imprisonment (Potas, Vining & Wilson 1990, pp. 46-7), it is hard to think of a good reason why different state, and perhaps even local, governments cannot allocate funds for the establishment of special units to develop crime prevention infrastructure and strategies.

In France, the National Crime Prevention Council has initiated a major crime prevention strategy-based on the Bonnemaision Model- and a number of major projects have been implemented by the British Home Office through their Crime Prevention Unit. Most state Justice and Police Departments in the USA have active crime prevention units, and Japan has its own Crime Prevention Agency.

Conclusion

What should Australia learn from our own experiences and those from overseas? We can learn that:

- intervention and prevention strategies are most effective when applied early in the lifecycle of 'at risk' populations;
- there are simple tools and processes by which we can equip and empower ourselves and others to reduce crime. These include skills of collaborative effort, focused vision, teamwork action, and stepped analysis and action-planning;
- working groups of committed individuals can identify and disentangle the social and environmental elements of their particular crime problem;
- programs, tailored to reach targeted sectors of the community, are most effective when they reflect the demographic and cultural features of that environment;
- programs can be positively geared toward social reconstructive objectives (making 'good things' happen in the community), rather than simply negatively aimed at 'crime reduction'. Social crime prevention can be fun!; and
- whether situational or social crime prevention strategies are employed, some systematic planning, coordination and monitoring of these programs will enable us to ascertain their relative worth and to progressively, introduce new levels of professionalism into crime prevention in Australia (Mason & Wilson 1988; Geason & Wilson 1988; 1989; Potas, Vining & Wilson 1990; Hazlehurst 1989; 1990a; 1990b).

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Note:

- 1 'SWAT' (Special Weapons and Tactics) teams are now in almost every law enforcement agency throughout the USA.
- 2 V100 Armoured Escort Vehicle employed in Vietnam.
- 3 The television program attributed the aggressive patrol tactics of the Los Angeles Police Department to the fact that they had a relatively small force of some 7000 police officers.
- 4 'DARE' (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) programs are delivered by police to schools for young people. It should also be noted that the Life Education program has centres located in every state in Australia and provides equivalent educational and drug prevention programs for children.
- 5 The 850 member police force of the smaller city of Minneapolis were said to respond to 300,000 calls annually.
- 6 One of the worst aspects of rapid urbanisation and migration has been social atomisation and alienation. The disintegration of 'community' produces a perfect environment for crime. However, communities of interest can be resurrected or constructed from clusters of otherwise separated individuals and families through common cause and the process of collective action.
- 7 Criminal activities among 20-year-olds and over tend to decline, partly because of a 'growing out of crime' process, but also because older offenders receive longer sentences. By this time, 'prisoners sentenced to longer terms usually have a long criminal history' (Mukherjee, Neuhaus & Walker 1990 p. 25).
- 8 Canadian Indian organisations have found that ex-offenders are often the best role models when it comes to teaching boys and teenagers how to stay out of trouble with the law. Given the opportunity, committed ex-offenders can become an enthusiastic resource in guiding others away from lifestyles of crime (Hazlehurst 1990a, pp. 33-4).

Crime Prevention: A South Australian Perspective

***Sue Millbank
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The issue of crime and its prevention has been on the South Australian agenda for a significant period. With its tradition of confronting challenging social problems, the state moved to address crime prevention in a strategic way in 1987. The Justice and Consumer Affairs Committee of Cabinet requested the relevant government agencies to examine the issue and develop an approach to crime prevention which incorporated a broader perspective than the traditional criminal justice system paradigm. The Crime Prevention Strategy (CPS) which culminated from this beginning represents the joint effort of five government departments: Police, Correctional Services, Community Welfare, Court Services and Attorney-General's. Launched in August 1989, the CPS involves a shift from the sole reliance on police, courts and corrections to alternative methods of crime prevention. Although the CPS recognises the need to involve the traditional structure, it also promotes the concept of prevention from a social intervention perspective-at a local level as well as the state level. In this way, the CPS is more in-line with some of the developments on the international scene.

Clearly, South Australia has not been alone in confronting the issue of crime and its prevention, and the reasons which have put crime prevention on the national agenda are not difficult to find. The rise of crime rates in the western industrialised world over the last forty years has not passed Australia by. Consequently, the social and economic costs of addressing this escalation have also risen. The South Australian approach has recognised the need to address both these cost factors and undertakes to support activities aimed at crime prevention within a local community, and through the broader issues associated with social policy. The CPS is consistent with a new way of thinking about issues relating to offending patterns and is incorporated into a

framework which interacts with social justice initiatives and other areas of government policy.

At the launch of the CPS in August 1989, a commitment of \$10 million over a five-year funding period was announced. This is a significant commitment and a recognition of the need to involve the community in crime prevention activities. However, it should also be seen in the wider perspective, where the South Australian Police Department's budget in 1988/89 was \$217 million, and \$49 million was spent on adult corrections. Since the launch of the CPS, three main areas of activity have emerged as the cornerstones of the implementation process.

Coalition Against Crime

Firstly, a broad-based representative group was established which bears the title of 'Coalition Against Crime'. This group comprises over forty people representing government agencies, peak community bodies, business interests, union interests, police and both sides of politics. The Coalition essentially provides a focus for discussion and development of crime prevention issues-particularly those issues which impact at the broad state level. The Coalition is chaired by the Premier-with the Minister for Crime Prevention taking the role of the Deputy Chairperson-and reports to Cabinet.

To assist the operation of the Coalition, four working groups have been formed. These working groups are issue-based and examine crime prevention topics which impact upon specific areas. While members of the Coalition are involved, the working groups also draw their membership from people who have a direct interest in the topics addressed by the group. The working groups are:

- Alcohol, Drugs and Crime;
- Urban and Housing Design;
- Community-based Crime Prevention; and
- Preventing Violent Crime.

A fifth group will be formed to address the broad issue of education, communication and the media.

Each of the working groups has taken its own direction in the way it pursues its work program. The Urban and Housing Design group, for instance, is currently addressing the impact of design on opportunity reduction, and assessing ways in which the community can be made safer through improved urban design. A proposal is currently being developed to pilot crime prevention design principles in new housing developments and in existing urban areas.

The Community-based Crime Prevention group is addressing the establishment of an inventory of crime prevention programs with a community development focus within South Australia and Australia. A review of overseas programs has been undertaken, and it is hoped this

information will provide a valuable resource for future community crime prevention programs.

The implementation of the recommendations of the National Report on Violence in Australia is the focus for the working group on Preventing Violent Crime. Together with the South Australian branch of the Crime Prevention Council, they aim to sponsor a seminar on alcohol and violence to raise awareness of issues relating to violence both in the home and in public places. A research paper on the facts surrounding the links between alcohol, drugs and crime is to be commissioned by this working group. In addition, through the involvement of the Hotel and Hospitality Industry Association, a 'Responsibility in Service' pilot program will be undertaken, with the aim of providing a model for licensed traders.

It is evident that each of the working groups has developed their own direction and methodology for pursuing their objectives. Funding from the CPS allocation supports these initiatives and members of the various working groups give their time-and in some instances, resource assistance-to promote the programs of the working groups.

Government Agencies and Crime Prevention

The second major direction for the CPS is through the development of programs undertaken by government agencies. While there is a clear role for agencies traditionally involved in the criminal justice system, the CPS recognises that other agencies are also important. This recognition may involve the provision of funding to agencies encouraging them to undertake programs which have crime prevention outcomes.

However, the economic environment of the 1990s contrasts to favourable situations which existed only a few decades ago. Governments are taking a more rationalist approach to resourcing programs, and crime prevention programs should be no exception. A central theme of working with government agencies, therefore, is to encourage better coordination and cooperation between agencies, rather than simply relying on the injection of more resources.

One of the key directions for the CPS is to ensure appropriate linkages are made with other government initiatives. For instance, the South Australian government's Youth Strategy targets marginalised young people who have missed either educational or employment and training opportunities. Clearly, these young people may also become the client group of a crime prevention program, because they are seen to be an 'at risk' group. By effectively integrating programs targeting this group, positive outcomes may be achieved for these young people.

Another important focus is ensuring crime prevention programs are accessed by the Aboriginal community. The fact that Aboriginal people are over-represented in the criminal justice system is undeniable. The reasons for this over-representation are complex and have much to do with the lack of understanding of Aboriginal culture by white society over a long period. History has demonstrated that the Aboriginal people receive little benefit from the mainstreaming of services for their community. An integral part of the CPS is to ensure that Aboriginal people have access to, and responsibility

for, programs that address issues which contribute to minimising their involvement in the criminal justice system.

Other avenues for developing a coordinated approach to crime prevention issues are being examined by a special Ministerial Committee on Crime Prevention. Specific issues which lend themselves to this direction include vandalism and graffiti; housing and tenancy policy; and safety on public transport to name a few.

Community Development Program

This Community Development Program is the third direction which the implementation process of the CPS has undertaken and is in many ways the most important. The underpinning philosophy of the development of the CPS has been to involve the community more directly in crime prevention activities. The French experience has been drawn upon to provide a lead in how this can be effectively encouraged, and the establishment of local crime prevention committees has become the 'modus operandi'.

The first task in the establishment of local crime prevention committees was to ascertain the areas which had a proportionately significant crime rate and which could take a community-development approach to the crime problem. It is important to clarify at this point that the offences which can be addressed by this approach are limited to those offences which essentially occur within a community. For example, property and street offences, vandalism, graffiti, illegal use of vehicles, as well as safety in public places and in the home appear to be the offences which are most usefully targeted in a community development approach. Fear of crime can also be addressed through this approach. It is equally important to recognise that one of the inevitable tensions in the community development model is that some issues which can impact on the crime rate are outside the control of the community. A meaningful example of this is unemployment, which in the macro sense, is clearly outside the possible control of local initiatives, but can impact on the community in a negative way in terms of offending patterns.

The second step in promoting a community development approach was to embark on an awareness program which would encourage these communities to participate in crime prevention activities. In just over twelve months, local crime prevention committees have been established in twelve areas of the state, with another five areas developing their submission to become established. Essentially, a local crime prevention committee will develop their crime prevention approach in four distinct phases.

The first phase involves the formation of the committee using local service networks. It is expected that a core of service providers will be involved in the committee, with the other interested members being those with a commitment to crime prevention programs. Core service providers include local government, police, government agencies, and neighbourhood watch where possible. Other members may include non-government service providers, and residents organisations. The Crime Prevention Unit is involved in providing advice on the establishment process and assists the committee in understanding the basis for developing a crime prevention program or plan. The emphasis of this plan will be to encourage a cooperative approach between service providers in the community, and to provide

resourcing for innovative programs which target discreet issues identified by the community.

At the second phase of development, funding is provided to the committee from the crime prevention allocation for the development of a crime prevention plan. A project officer is employed to undertake this task, and assistance is given by the provision of information relating to crime data for the area. The plan is then taken through a consultation process, which can include public meetings, individual consultation with service providers, and workshopping particular issues. At the conclusion of this process (which can take between three to six months), a final plan is submitted by the committee for funding particular programs under the plan. Some programs may be funded by other sources identified by the community, and other community-based organisations may contribute to the overall plan by being an implementation agency, or providing resources 'in kind'. Plans are expected to be undertaken over a two-year period, as it considered this is a reasonable time frame in which to assess the efficiency of the plan.

The third phase of the process is the implementation of the plan developed by the committee. The Crime Prevention Unit will provide assistance during the course of the plan, as well as ensuring procedures relating to accountability and monitoring the process are carried out. Finally, evaluation of the plan will be undertaken in outcome terms by means of process evaluation.

Conclusions

Since the launch of the CPS just under two years ago, it has developed from a philosophy addressing both the causes of crime and crime prevention approaches within the government sector, to a range of inter-related programs and the emergence of an understanding that the 'welfare' model is not the most effective way to address crime prevention. Pouring more resources into a problem does not necessarily provide the best and most effective outcome. Furthermore, in these times of economic stringency, the community can no longer afford this luxury approach. By assessing the crime problem in a coordinated way, the most effective way to ensure inroads into the problem of crime and its prevention can be achieved.

Nevertheless, there are still some issues which need to be addressed. One of these is the development of appropriate performance indicators to monitor the variety of programs promoted by the crime prevention committees, as is the most effective way to evaluate all programs. There is no doubt that these issues must be addressed. Circumstances can change and our approaches may need to be modified or changed during the course of a program. We should be in a position to respond to a different set of dynamics and, in addition, to contribute in the most positive way to the development of a wider debate on crime prevention.

A second issue is to encourage the development of a wider public debate on the so called 'law and order' issue. Law and order as it is currently portrayed in the media is concerned with traditional criminal justice responses to increasing crime rates-the need for more police, harsher penalties and longer sentences. Issues surrounding the very essence of maintaining 'law and order' very rarely figure in this debate. Consequently,

the need for crime prevention programs, much less the possible advantages of these programs, do not receive the attention they deserve. Our media must bear some of the responsibility for this, but it should also be ensured that the media has access to a range of information so that a wider debate is promoted. At the same time, community education programs must be encouraged to take up the task of educating the wider public on crime prevention.

An Overview of Crime Prevention in Victoria

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This overview can only present a broad-brush approach of the main features of the Victorian crime prevention 'landscape'. When overviewing the crime prevention initiatives in Victoria, questions are continually faced about the roots and origins of crime which may shape what is thought will work to prevent and control crime. There is no escaping from such questions. Other questions relating to what is meant by crime prevention are also key factors in shaping an overview.

Crime prevention is a rubbery concept. It can be a means to a better quality life and it can be an end in itself. It can cover policy directions, programs, specific projects, techniques, certain types of activities, professional organisations and infrastructures. The boundaries of crime prevention are elastic and not easy to place. For example, at what point does crime prevention merge into crime control? Crime prevention is multiform and multifaceted and crime prevention policies are often much more than the 'fight against crime'. If crime prevention policies are designed to tackle the 'roots' of crime and address causal factors, then there is no reason why they should not encompass social structures and social phenomena or, depending on one's view of crime causation, the psychosocial development of individuals and the general management of risks in society.

One limitation of this overview is that the boundaries to what is and what is not included as crime prevention have been arbitrarily set on the basis of available information on recent initiatives. A second limitation is the overview's descriptive rather than analytic nature. An overview such as this should not be a mere listing of what the crime prevention initiatives are. Such listings provide essential 'stocktakes' but tend to contribute little to an understanding of the policy framework and sociopolitical context in which they occur. Nor do these listings tend to facilitate learning from the past, enabling avoidance or modification of unsuccessful measures and the building on 'past successes'.

While it is relatively easy to merely list what seems to be an ever-expanding range of crime prevention initiatives, there is a need to analyse them more critically. In practice, what happens in Victoria once the initiatives have been launched seems rarely to be examined. Demonstrating the efficiency and effectiveness of crime prevention efforts remains a relatively under-developed area. There also tends to be little evidence that the information, which is available on the impact of the initiatives, is used to judge and improve the quality of crime prevention efforts.

Thirdly, this overview is limited because of its relatively narrow focus on what is happening principally with the Ministry of Police and Emergency Services (MPES) and Victoria Police. Crime prevention activities or programs in other government or non-government agencies are only briefly touched upon.

It is an encouraging sign that in Victoria the approach to crime prevention-being developed by the MPES and Victoria Police, within the context of the development of the multifaceted, integrated anti-crime strategy-is attempting to be more critical and analytical. It is articulating both a conceptual framework and a set of guiding principles which are focussing on providing a balance of proactive and reactive approaches to crime prevention; on efforts for coordination and integration of crime prevention structures, activities and resources at the local, regional and state levels; on a targeted approach based on a realistic and informed perspective about the crime problem and on developing and building strategic partnerships at all levels of government and the community.

While much of what is happening in Victoria is initiated and confined to specific local areas, there are other more recent developments occurring at the state level which are of importance and are described in the overview. The many initiatives which are occurring in other government and non-government agencies and in the wider community are unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.

Ministry of Police and Emergency Services-Auspiced Approaches

Through the policy development and analysis work of the recently established Crime Prevention Division in the Ministry, a number of specific initiatives have been developed in conjunction with Victoria Police. Some of these focus specifically on violence-minimising risks for victims and potential victims-others adopt diversion strategies and community/social development approaches to impact on offending and potentially offending behaviour.

Safety, Security and Women Project

A major initiative of the Ministry has been the Safety, Security and Women Project which builds on recent achievements of government and non-government agencies, such as the establishment of family violence outreach services and sexual assault centres. The project recognises that women are most likely to be the victims of violent crimes and the perpetrators are most likely to be men they know. The approach has three critical elements: significantly improving the safety and security of women; changing male

behaviour and attitudes; and working towards ensuring a safer physical environment.

A community awareness campaign targeted at the whole community is under way which aims to address and change male behaviour and attitudes towards women and make violence against women and the harassment of women totally unacceptable to the community. The campaign has several targets: men who are violent or potentially violent; women-by giving them the power to demand the right to be safe and secure; and the general community. The campaign will empower women by providing them with information on the criminal nature of violence and also the support available to them through government and non-government agencies.

The campaign will include printed information and program coverage through announcements on radio, television and in the print media. It will explore the images and perceptions of who is violent to women and why. It will address the myths of violence against women and highlight that women have the most to fear from someone they know. Related to this will be an expansion of training programs for police, particularly in relation to family violence and sexual assault. Safety and security information is being produced to provide practical advice aimed at reducing women's fear of victimisation. This information will complement existing material. It should be noted that a pilot program being developed by the Office of Corrections to empower female offenders who were previously living in a violent relationship is linked to this approach.

Crime prevention reference groups

To facilitate coordination in crime prevention across relevant government departments, the Crime Prevention Division of the MPES convenes a number of issue-specific reference/working groups. Membership varies according to the matters being considered and has included representation from the Victoria Police, Attorney-General's Department, Community Services Victoria, Department of Labour, Department of Sport and Recreation, Ministry of Ethnic, Municipal and Community Affairs (including the Office of Local Government, Office of Youth Affairs, Ethnic Affairs Commission and the Older Person's Planning Office), Ministry of Education and Training, Ministry of Transport and Public Transport Commission, Office of Corrections and other government and non-government agencies and community groups.

The terms of reference for the groups vary. In general, it is intended that advice will be provided on such matters as the policy context; program directions and priorities; dissemination of information on crime prevention; projects being implemented; monitoring and evaluation of projects and programs; and their coordination and joint auspicing. It is intended that the outcomes of the work of the reference groups will be strategic and achievable. To date, four groups have been established.

- The **Safety, Security and Women Reference Group** was established in October 1990 with a core membership from the Ministry and the Victoria Police. It provides status reports on the critical issues affecting safety, security and women; identifies gaps which can be addressed to improve women's safety and security; consults with

significant groups and others in the community on ways in which to address these issues; and provides proposals and recommendations for addressing issues of safety, security and women.

- A **Safety, Security and Transport Reference Group** has been convened with the Ministry of Transport, the Public Transport Corporation and Victoria Police. The major task of the reference group is to consider and develop appropriate strategies which will address crime prevention on and around public transport.
- The **Safety, Security and Older Person's Reference Group** was recently established with representatives from key government and non-government agencies involved in the provision or coordination of services to older people. Tasks will include identifying critical issues affecting both the actual and perceived safety and security of older people; examining existing services and programs in relation to safety and security; consulting with relevant community groups so as to address identified issues; developing and evaluating proposals to improve the perceived and actual safety and security of older people.
- The **Crime Prevention and Youth Reference Group** was established in cooperation with the Office of Youth Affairs (in the Ministry of Municipal, Ethnic and Community Affairs) to examine key issues affecting young people and crime. The coordinated effort of the various government agencies which have responsibility for youth policy and programs, including the grants program, has resulted in the joint funding of a number of innovative projects to prevent youth crime. Some projects target ethnic and Aboriginal youth, while another addresses the interface between the criminal justice system and mental health services. The Ministry of Education and Training has sought membership of the group and interim discussions on matters of mutual concern have occurred.

Safety audits

Safety audits, addressing the issue of unsafe physical environments, are soon to be conducted in local areas. These audits aim to identify ways in which local areas can be made safer and more secure. Specific places will be examined, as will the features that contribute to safe and unsafe environments including street lighting, location and safe accessibility of public transport stops, security in car parks, the availability of street parking, adequate street signs, security in other public places such as parks, gardens and shopping malls, urban design and the location of public phones.

Working with members and officers of Local Councils, a Safety Audit Officer from the MPES will establish a Safety Audit Reference Committee, seeking representatives from the various key community and government organisations identified at the local level. These will include: police, local councils and instrumentalities; crime prevention groups such as Good Neighbourhood committees, Safety Houses, Neighbourhood Watch; community groups such as women's groups, senior citizens, community

health centres, neighbourhood houses, local business groups, church groups, service clubs such as Lions International, and school councils. A kit is being prepared which will be used by local communities to assist them with the audits.

Safe Cities Interdepartmental Committee

The Safe Cities Interdepartmental Committee (IDC) was recently established to examine practical ways in which the community, with an obvious stake in preventing acts of violence and addressing longer-term causes of violence, could become directly involved in efforts to improve community safety. Such an approach would aim to operate at a community or municipal level to improve safety and security within physical and social environments through community involvement rather than through 'fortified' privacy.

The Safe Cities IDC comprises senior representatives from the Ministry of Planning and Housing, the Ministry of Ethnic, Municipal and Community Affairs, the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry for Police and Emergency Services, Victoria Police and was convened by the Department of the Premier and Cabinet. Its aim is to develop an approach which will encourage local communities to identify the problems they perceive their community to be facing, to develop strategies or solutions to address these problems and to strengthen the capacity of committees to ensure the safety and security of their members on an ongoing basis. In so doing, communities will be encouraged to accept that responsibility for the safety, security and protection of their members is a broader community responsibility which does not rest only with police as a law enforcement or crime prevention issue. It is anticipated that the MPES will convene the Steering Committee arising out of the Safe Cities IDC Report.

Crime Prevention Grants Program

The work of the Crime Prevention Division is enhanced by the existence of the Crime Prevention Grants Program. However, the existence of a grants program does introduce an unfortunate dichotomy which suggests in the minds of some agencies that they cannot place crime prevention on their agenda unless they are funded to do so. The Crime Prevention Division argues that crime prevention should be a consideration in the policy, planning and program development processes of all agencies. To ignore it is to potentially 'design-in crime'.

There is also concern as to which priorities should have precedence—the funding of projects or of infrastructure. The implications of the former can result in short-term changes occurring during the life of the project without durable changes taking place. The latter is more likely to impact on long-term trends but is less likely to produce visible short-term achievements. This dichotomy is currently being addressed within the Crime Prevention Division. However, the Crime Prevention Division is insistent upon projects being able to demonstrate the crime prevention objectives and outcomes, the long-term impacts and the potential for the projects to attract alternative funding and/or support when the Ministry funds cease. It should be noted that the Ministry funds are not available for recurrent programs. This stance has resulted in some criticism of bureaucratic intervention into what is

defined by some groups as a community development issue. However the funds are for crime prevention approaches (albeit through community/social development) and the government must be assured that there are crime prevention outcomes which will contribute to a safer and more secure community.

The Crime Prevention Grants Program supports two categories of crime prevention activities-the Good Neighbourhood Program and the Statewide/Special Program-within six priority areas:

- activities for young people at risk;
- education, training and employment;
- safety and security in the community;
- drug and alcohol abuse;
- minimising re-offending behaviour; and
- police/community relations.

The Good Neighbourhood Program, through its local committees and related projects, is the major component while the Statewide/Special Program represents a smaller component.

The Good Neighbourhood Projects are submitted by local Good Neighbourhood committees and relate to their Local Crime Analysis and Strategy Plans. A recent review of the Good Neighbourhood Program identified that there are some crime prevention activities which should develop a broader focus than the local community due to significant statewide implications. Whilst these projects can focus on the activities in one geographical area, they are generally applicable statewide.

In identifying projects for the Statewide/Special Program component, involvement is sought from government and non-government agencies, the community, the police, unions, and the private sector, as well as representatives from identified groups at risk and existing crime prevention agencies. The causes of crime are analysed and expert knowledge is used in the design, development and implementation of the projects. Some of the projects are jointly funded with other government agencies. The aim of the Ministry to foster and pilot new and innovative projects has enabled some significant crime prevention projects to be funded. (For example, the MPES and the Ministry of Education and Training have funded two crime prevention projects through the Aboriginal Community Justice Panels in Ballarat and Dandenong).

The Statewide/Special Project component of the Crime Prevention Grants Program is in its developmental phase but already has funded some twenty projects, most of which are jointly resourced with other government departments or non-government agencies. Some of these include:

- An advanced training package for the **Police/Schools Involvement Program** where fifty School Resource Officers (RSOs) of the Victoria

Police undertook specially designed training to enhance their skills and knowledge of crime prevention programs and strategies.

- A video on **Family Violence Procedures** has been funded which is designed to explain police procedures in line with requirements under the Crimes (Family Violence) Act 1987. It is intended that the video will be used to enhance training of family violence procedures for recruits and operational members.
- To address the issue of re-offending behaviour, the Ministry has taken a lead role in the development and funding of three projects focussing on the reintegration of offenders into society. One of these is the **Brosnan Centre Garden Project** which teaches relevant educational and work skills to young offenders within a supportive environment. The **Salvation Army Crossroads Project** (jointly funded by Community Services Victoria) focuses on supporting young offenders in the community following Youth Training sentences. This group is particularly vulnerable to homelessness and to re-offending. For adult offenders leaving prison, the Ministry has funded VACRO, through the Office of Corrections, to undertake the **Community Integration Program** for all prisoners.
- In response to the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, the Ministry has established, in conjunction with local Aboriginal communities, **Community Justice Panels** across Victoria. Their aim is to maximise the delivery of services to Aborigines in the criminal justice system and minimise their formal contact with the system. Some of the Panels' tasks include assisting police and prison authorities in ensuring the safety of Aborigines in custody; to provide assistance in court proceedings; and to advise and participate in the supervision of community based orders, pre-release programs and parole. They have a general role in making the Aboriginal community aware of the criminal justice system, as well as sensitising criminal justice agencies to Aboriginal culture.
- The **Good Neighbourhood Program** (GNP) is modelled on the French approach and recognises that local communities are best able to identify local problems and local solutions. A critical component for the program's success is the integration of the local committees' work with the work of the government and non-government agencies at a local level. There are a number of local councils and communities seeking to join the program. The Good Neighbourhood component of the program has now been in existence for two years. At this time there are Good Neighbourhood committees operating in twenty-four local and regional areas involving ninety Councils.
- The Ministry field officers work with committees in developing and monitoring local projects and activities. One innovative project is the **Bulldogs (Footscray-Australian Football League Club) 'Care for Kids'** where well known footballers act as positive role models for

primary school children. The project addresses both girls and boys and involves the police in activities. This approach is being extended to other clubs and sports.

- Another project is the **Berwick Rock Cafe**. It provides a social focus for youth by way of a 'drop-in' centre/cafe which is self-managed and provides a meeting place. It is seen as minimising illegal and inappropriate behaviour by young people. It also teaches organisational and recreational skills.

Other GNP projects have included parent effectiveness training, sporting and recreational activities and skills development. Many of the GNP projects are targeted at 'youth at risk of offending' in areas with high levels of vandalism and petty crime.

There is a 'Good Neighbour' in your community

Several initiatives have been developed based on the fact that some groups in the community are able to be observant because they are out in the streets as part of their daily routine. They can observe and report suspicious circumstances and activity thereby assisting the police and the community. By agreement with the Victorian Taxi Association, the government introduced **Taxi Watch** in 1989 enabling Melbourne's one thousand plus taxis to report any suspicious activities to police. This direct contact-via their radio base-also provides increased protection for taxi drivers.

There are many government employees who work outdoors. Accordingly, the GNP is to be progressively introduced to enable government personnel to report incidents requiring police or one of the emergency services. As a first step, the program will be introduced to employees with government vehicles having radio facilities. Also, the Gas and Fuel Corporation has introduced its **Gas and Fuel, Good Neighbours campaign** as a first step in this policy.

Victoria Police

Many crime prevention initiatives are part of Victoria Police general operations, although a large number are developed by specialist sections, such as the Crime Prevention Bureau and the Public Relations Section. There are a number of different local approaches which reflect the nature of crime problems in particular districts.

Blue Light Discos and Camps

To meet some youth needs, the police have successfully established **Blue Light Discos** across Victoria. These are designed to improve relations between young people and police and to provide 'safe' (alcohol-free) activities for young people. Blue Light Discos provide young people with models of entertainment in environments free of alcohol, drugs and violence. They have also raised considerable funds for local charities.

The government has also funded the establishment of a permanent **Blue Light Youth Camp** in Maldon in rural Victoria which is managed by police.

This extends the range of activities and opportunities for young people to participate in outdoor and recreational activities. The interaction between police and young people at the camp aims to increase mutual understanding. It is intended to link the Blue Light Youth Camp more closely to the work of the Good Neighbourhood committees.

The Police Schools Involvement Program

The Police Schools Involvement Program began in February 1989 in primary schools (Years 5 and 6) and is now being extended into post-primary schools. The aims of the program are:

- to reduce the incidence of crime in society;
- to improve relationships between police and youth in the community;
- to give young people an understanding of the role of police in society; and
- to extend the concept of crime prevention into the Victorian school system.

It is hoped that after participating in the program, children will be able to:

- demonstrate the values, responsibilities and obligations current society deems to be valuable;
- state the consequences of a person's actions regarding unlawful behaviour;
- demonstrate sufficient self-esteem and skill to say 'no' to drug and substance abuse and other antisocial behaviour;
- engage in positive interactions and consultations with police; and
- state the basic role of police and the criminal justice system in Victoria.

Fifty School Resource Officers (SROs) have been gazetted-four country and forty-six Metropolitan. SROs undertake a two-week intensive initial training course which covers presentation, planning, communication skills and the use of teaching aids. The course addresses school protocols and Ministry of Education and Training structures and relationships. The SROs are also given four additional training days per year where they receive current police and educational data and have the opportunity to workshop ideas and issues together.

The SROs operate from the police districts. However, the state coordinator's office provides them with support and training. The office coordinates, monitors and evaluates the program and its development. Each SRO is allocated approximately ten schools, depending on whether the schools are primary or post-primary. SROs respond to the specific needs

of the various schools, using a basic kit of information and lesson plans that are able to be adapted to varying situations.

SROs work with the whole school community-students, teachers, parents and school councils. Their roles vary from school to school and encompass teaching sessions, non-structured meetings with the school community, and activities such as excursions and camps. The program in each school is planned by, and a commitment is given to, the school.

Other Victoria Police initiatives

The Crime Prevention Bureau provides a technical and practical advisory service on any matter relating to the prevention of crime. The advice is provided to both police and the community. The Crime Prevention Bureau has a number of initiatives, including training police in crime prevention; distribution of crime prevention information on such issues as armed robbery and cash handling advice; retail security; payroll handling; service station security; bomb threats and warning; guidelines to follow if taken hostage and general personal safety.

The Defensive Living Program, Crime Prevention Bureau, Victoria Police, is a crime prevention strategy designed to provide women with accurate and realistic information about sexual assault and to dispel many of the current myths. The program aims to empower women with correct information and includes a self-defence video, information on alternatives for both passive and active defence, and a range of safety strategies for the home, street, car and public transport. The production of additional resource support materials to expand the operation of this program is being prepared and funded by the Crime Prevention Grants Program.

Currently police from the Crime Prevention Bureau are providing the program to all major hospitals, a range of different community groups via local government councils, other community groups-such as womens' bowling clubs, intellectually disabled women through Technical and Further Education (TAFE) Colleges, women in Neighbourhood Houses and local Adult Learning Centres.

The twenty-nine Community Policing Squads in the districts provide a specialist response to community and welfare problems that frequently come to the attention of the police. Using a network of government and voluntary agencies, the squads totalling 180 officers across the state, exercise both pro-active and reactive policing to help support families in crisis. Strong links are maintained with health, community services and education agencies as well as emergency accommodation, self-help and other community groups.

Community Policing Squads provide a style of law enforcement which emphasises close cooperation between the police and the community. The major aim of the squads is to offer a professional and effective response to child abuse. Responsibilities include telephone and personal counselling for victims and others brought to police attention with personal or family problems; investigating and monitoring inquiries regarding missing children and investigating cases of children at risk.

The Protective Behaviours Program is supported by the Community Policing Coordinating Office which provides training and advice for squads in police districts, government and non-government agencies, schools and community groups. The program incorporates positive messages about any

threatening situation a person might face at any time. The Protective Behaviours Program seeks to empower through do's rather than don'ts. It provides practical steps to create safety and personal support for people of all ages, particularly women and children.

The Crisis Support Unit is a joint initiative between Victoria Police, the MPES, the Health Department of Victoria and Community Services Victoria. The Crisis Support Unit establishes crisis care teams comprising police members and social workers to deliver after-hours personal contact and outreach services to help people in crisis, particularly in situations of family violence. These teams address a community need and also offer a valuable combination of police and welfare skills which provide worthwhile help to those who most need it, particularly women and children.

The Family Violence Project Office, Victoria Police, provides training to police officers to help them deal more effectively with family violence issues, and give advice to service providers who have responsibility for women's issues.

A Family Violence Database, Victoria Police, has been established to gather and maintain records of victims and complainants by gender, age and relationship to the perpetrator. Approximately 1,000 reports are received per month. The database is used for planning programs and services to assist victims of family violence.

The Law Enforcement Assistance Program (LEAP) of the Victoria Police is a new and major integrated crime prevention initiative designed to give Victoria a more effective police force. It provides a computer-based systematic analysis of localised crime information which will significantly contribute to the identification of crime patterns. This analysis will better enable the police to implement pro-active and reactive responses to crimes.

Police Community Consultative Committees are community-based forums having the active participation and support of police. One such committee is in Geelong and one, more recently established, in Knox. These are each chaired by the Police Chief Superintendent of the district and have members representing local councils, Neighbourhood Watch and other community groups. Regular meetings allow for an exchange of information, the voicing of complaints and concerns about police/crime activities, and feedback on action taken. These committees aim to improve the relationship between the police and the community through improved awareness of each other; and the effectiveness of local policing. The functions of the committee are to advise, consult and provide advocacy as appropriate, and to assist local police.

The Geelong committee has initiated an 'outreach: youth project' in the central business district Mall of Geelong to address the problem of vandalism and violence. This project has been funded by the Crime Prevention Grants Program. There are other models in other districts relating to the needs of those local communities and the crime problems being faced. Several police initiatives attempt to assist particularly vulnerable groups when they become victims or offenders.

The Victims of Crime Liaison Officer seeks to improve rather than duplicate existing services and has two principal objectives. Firstly, to provide training to police on victims of crime issues; and secondly, to assist in the

development of policy and program initiatives specifically designed to complement the police role in dealing with and supporting victims.

The Gay Community Liaison Officer meets once a month with the Gay Electoral Lobby and is available to mediate between the gay community and the police in order to prevent antagonism and improve communication between the two groups. This initiative has tended to reduce the number of complaints from gay people against police and has improved communication.

The Prostitution Liaison Officer is a member of the monitoring committee established after the introduction, of the Prostitution Regulation Act 1989. Convened by the Attorney-General's Department, the committee includes government departments such as Health, Local Government and Victoria Police who meet together with representatives from the Prostitutes' Collective and other interested groups to discuss any problems arising from the administration of the Act.

The Police Ethnic Affairs Advisor's primary area of responsibility is to provide expert advice to the police on ethnic matters and to design and implement new initiatives establishing durable and harmonious relations between the police and various ethnic communities in Victoria. The position helps to break down the barriers which exist between some ethnic groups and police.

The Police Aboriginal Liaison Officer consults with Aboriginal communities and endeavours to ensure that existing services are culturally relevant, and also that Aboriginal members of the community have access to these services.

Business Watch has been organised in Footscray with the aim of reporting offenders and criminal activities in commercial areas. The program is based upon cooperation between the police and the local business community through the Chamber of Commerce. The program has demonstrated a potential for further development in other areas.

A related program is Bush Alert which requires forest users to report vandalism, suspicious or criminal activity to the police. It is also designed to prevent environmental offences such as stealing ferns, illegal trapping or shooting, removal of soil and damage to riverbanks.

To address the growing problem of drugs and related offences, the police established Operation Noah (narcotics, opiates, amphetamines and hashish) in 1983, which three years later became a national campaign operating over five days to gather information from anonymous callers. In addition to the enforcement aspect, police promote the use of the Health Department's drug counselling which is a confidential, anonymous service available to victims of drug abuse and independent of the Operation Noah police investigations.

Operation Ethos is designed to improve relations between police and ethnic communities in Victoria. As a logical extension and practical application of a community development approach and pro-active policing, this initiative attempts to promote a greater awareness and understanding of the police role and laws and a greater appreciation of immigrants and their cultures. The program is run by the Police Ethnic Affairs Advisory Unit who liaise with ethnic organisations and the ethnic communities media.

Promoting socially acceptable values is behind Operation Olympus whereby trophies (donated by an insurance company) and monthly

certificates are awarded by local police for the most disciplined player of junior football clubs. Other sports such as netball are also included.

Operation Paradox is similar to Operation Noah except that it focuses on the sexual abuse of children. Operation Paradox requests the community to report any situation they may wish in relation to themselves, or if they suspect that someone else is being abused. Police and counsellors skilled in dealing with sexual abuse are available to answer the calls. During the three operations that have been run, approximately forty paedophiles have been charged, together with a greater number of investigations and charges of sexual abuse (for example, incest) under way. A campaign such as this provides a focus for the community to address their concerns and have a greater awareness of the extent of the problem.

A one-off, local targeted approach to local problems is often initiated by police in conjunction with the local community. One such example is Operation Burn-out which consisted of a committee of police, the local council and community groups attempting to resolve the problem of dangerous driving of cars in Carlton. The use of increased patrols, and the intensive use of the offence of Public Nuisance-supported by an integrated operational team of police-led to the problem's disappearance.

Many police initiatives are designed to educate the community, mainly through media campaigns, about reducing or eliminating opportunities for crime to occur. One such example is the Look, Lock and Leave anti-car theft program. Specially-fitted vehicles are taken out by police into shopping centres where the public can observe and learn how to better protect their cars from theft and vandalism.

The Police Cautioning Program is a diversionary approach to crime prevention for juvenile offenders and for adult offenders for the offence of shop stealing according to specific criteria being satisfied. Police are able to caution first offenders without proceeding to court, thus reducing their entry into the criminal justice system.

In conjunction with the police, Life Education Centre Committees have been formed in the inner eastern and southern suburbs of Melbourne. These provide a mobile caravan display to visit primary schools to teach children about drug abuse and are assisted by a teacher. The related Drug Education Program focuses on developing a training package, including resource material, for local police.

Established in 1987, Crime Stoppers provides effective encouragement through the media to the general public to come forward anonymously with information to assist the police with unsolved crimes. Rewards of up to \$1,000 are available for information leading to the arrest of offenders for serious crime.

In a recent survey of proactive policing measures across police districts, local crime prevention activities were identified which had been designed to meet the specific local needs of communities. For example, in B-District, regular meetings occur between police, the local council and the traders. In C-District, Operation After-Care-which follows up complaints made to the police-and Operation Metsafe-which focuses on the safety of the public around trains and buses-have been operating for some time. In H-District, a range of measures have been adopted and include the use of foot patrols, Operation Bag-a-Thief, and a local crime mapping and information service.

Bicycle and foot patrols are also in I-District, while in L-District, Shop Watch has been introduced.

Some promising local crime prevention approaches have not survived for a variety of reasons. One example of this is the Police-Community Involvement Program which existed in Frankston (1982-86) and in Broadmeadows (1983-88). This program enabled schools, business and police to work together in a variety of ways to reduce criminal behaviour, especially among young people. Reduction in shopstealing was reported to have occurred.

Neighbourhood Watch and Rural Watch

Neighbourhood Watch is one of the best known community-based programs designed to minimise property crime. There are now 930 Neighbourhood Watch areas in Victoria with 45.2 per cent of the state covered and close to two million people involved.

Once Neighbourhood Watch has been introduced in an area, residents participate in four strategies. Operation Identification involves the marking of items of value-such as televisions and video cassette recorders-with the resident's drivers licence number prefixed by the letter 'V'. The identification number acts as a deterrent for potential thieves and also assists with easier identification and return of property that comes into police possession. Residents are informed by police of the incidence of crime in their area on a monthly basis and are advised on how to identify and report criminal activity and suspicious behaviour. Residents also gain an increased knowledge and an understanding of personal and household security. The Neighbourhood Watch area is signposted as a deterrent to criminal activity.

Whilst Neighbourhood Watch is community-based, in Victoria it is police driven and has continuing police involvement. Local operational police attend all Neighbourhood Watch meetings and provide local crime statistics and information. There are district coordinators who are full-time police who are appointed to manage, maintain and control the programs in the districts. They are in close liaison with the community committees and they receive support from the state coordinator's office. The state coordinator's office has full-time police launching new areas, facilitating the work of the district coordinators, training police and community representatives and providing general coordination of data and operations.

Rural Watch was launched at Dergholm in April 1989 and is linked with a UHF CB radio network. There are now thirty-four areas operating in rural Victoria.

Transport and Crime Prevention

It is important to note that it is the perception of crime on public transport which is being addressed here, because the probability of becoming a victim of crime on the public transport system is low. As a response to community perceptions, the government has established the Safe Travelling Forum to advise the Minister for Transport on ways to improve safety and perceptions of safety on and around the public transport system. Membership of the

Forum includes public transport customers; women, older people and young people; unions; people from non-English speaking backgrounds; local government; the media; relevant government agencies and the Public Transport Corporation. The Forum has a role to inform the general public of these initiatives and their implications for safe public transport and travel; monitor the introduction of safe travelling initiatives; and provide regular reports to the Minister on the development and implementation of initiatives.

To respond specifically to the graffiti problem on and around public transport, the Ministry of Transport has developed a Graffiti Strategy. This strategy has been developed in consultation with young people and has included the recent appointment of a graffiti artist as project officer.

The Good Neighbourhood Program has funded two pilot Safe Train projects in Croydon and Frankston, aimed at providing safer public transport for young people between an outer metropolitan suburb and the central business district on Saturday nights. The project provides safe travel to and from Melbourne, with entertainment (juke box and rock bands), a shuttle-bus service to meet the train and take the young people to their homes; supervision on the train by parents, youth workers, and police involved in the project. To date the pilot has been incident-free. The Ministry has recently evaluated the Croydon model and made a number of recommendations for a limited and planned extension of Safe Trains under certain conditions, reflecting local needs and resources.

The Ministry of Transport is currently addressing the issues of safety through the implementation of safety audits on and around public transport. The community is encouraged to become involved and have a sense of ownership of transport facilities, such as railway stations.

Other Government Agency Approaches

A number of programs aim to encourage socially responsible behaviour in young people and to keep them from becoming involved with the criminal justice system. These include recreational programs such as The Push and Next Wave Festival (jointly funded by MPES, Ministry of the Arts, Ministry of Education and Training and the Office of Youth Affairs).

The Employment Access Program (managed by the Department of Labour) has been expanded across the state to specifically assist young offenders, children and young people in need of care and protection. Other employment and training programs which can have a significant impact on keeping young people from crime include the Youth Guarantee Program and the Targeted Apprenticeship Access Program.

Alcohol and drugs are involved in many crimes. The Rage Without Alcohol Campaign is one of many initiatives, involving agencies such as Education and Health, which educate and encourage young people not to abuse these substances. Recent Community Services programs for young offenders have included the Youth Attendance Order Program where young people on court orders do unpaid community work instead of going to Youth Training Centres, while Neighbourhood Mediation Centres, auspiced by the Legal Aid Commission, assist in reaching settlement of disputes which would otherwise involve police and the courts.

Within the context of minimising recidivism, the Office of Corrections has developed treatment programs for violent offenders and sex offenders. Both groups of offenders have high rates of re-offending. A pilot psycho-sexual treatment program will soon commence in Pentridge Prison for sex offenders.

The Day in Prison has been operating for eighteen months and targets young people (17-25 years) who are recidivist offenders. The program provides an alternative to a prison sentence. The program was proposed by three life-term prisoners from A-Division in Pentridge who were concerned at the number of young people coming into prison. The program has been developed in conjunction with Magistrates, and the Chief Magistrate chairs the multi-agency Steering Committee. The young people experience a structured day in prison (Pentridge, Geelong and shortly in Fairlea Women's Prison) where they are taken through the daily routines of a prison. Part of the day is spent with the three prisoners who discuss their own experiences and the advantages of staying out of prison. The Day in Prison is followed by an appropriate Community-based Order with the support necessary for the particular young person.

Community Council Against Violence

The Community Council Against Violence (CCAV) was established by the Victorian Government in July 1989 in response to community concerns about violence. It has fourteen members with a substantial knowledge of issues relating to community violence and a diverse range of opinions and experience. The main function of the CCAV is to provide an active link between the community and the government on a range of issues concerning violence and to examine the causes of violence and make recommendations to government on strategies for its reduction. Whilst investigating and responding to specific terms of reference that are referred to it by the government, the CCAV has a responsibility to consult and represent the views of the community.

The CCAV has the broad and long-term strategic objective of contributing towards the reduction and prevention of violence in the community. As part of this objective a number of shorter-term specific goals include the:

- development of education or publicity strategies to change cultural values which encourage violence;
- development of strategies for improving community support facilities to reduce the stress on individuals in order to prevent violence, particularly domestic violence;
- development of strategies to improve intervention procedures in relation to both victims and perpetrators of violence;
- assessment of the impact of the media on the levels of violence and recommendation of appropriate strategies for dealing with the issue.

The CCAV's first report Inquiry into Violence In and Around Licensed Premises was published in March 1990, and was followed by the Source book of Victorian Sexual Assault Statistics 1987-1990 which was published in April 1991 as part of the work of the Violence in Public Places Inquiry. Further reports will also be produced relating to this reference.

Conclusion

In Victoria, crime prevention currently presents an array of diverse measures, programs and activities often developed in a pragmatic way, sometimes linked, sometimes in conflict and of

varying duration. While the integrated anti-crime strategy, which is being developed by the MPES and the Victoria Police, will attempt coordination across and within the various sectors, many questions will remain about what difference the crime prevention efforts make to the crime problem. Much greater understanding is needed about the crime prevention initiatives in Victoria as to what the crime prevention outcomes are (not only on reported crime rates but also on fear of crime, the degree to which community needs are met, and so on), both in the long and short-term; what limited, achievable aims they can have; and what unintended consequences might result from the initiatives.

There is a suggestion that the types of approaches to crime prevention which are favoured or adopted are susceptible to 'fashion' trends and maybe accepted as a 'good thing' without critical analysis. Again an improved understanding of what influences such trends in crime prevention would be valuable in improving what we do about crime.

Several practical ideas could contribute more to improving our knowledge base. These are the:

- preparation of an inventory/listing of crime prevention initiatives not only at the state level but also nationally, using a simple but standard format so that information is more efficiently shared; and
- development and support of comparative analyses of selected localities similar in terms of socio-demographic characteristics, but with different crime problems and reported crime rates, using perhaps less conventional methodologies (for example, social anthropological approaches) so as to tease out the significant factors determining crime and its prevention in communities.

The concept of crime prevention as an 'add on' to be funded and addressed, is a matter for all levels of government and for the community to address. Government policy development occurs within a matrix of considerations. No agency can totally ignore the impact of their programs on the clients or the programs of another. An informed analysis of crime prevention must become part of the matrix of decision making. Whilst this may require resources in the first instance, the planned outcome of reduced reliance on the criminal justice system will provide long-term savings for the community. To achieve these planned outcomes, there must be more commitment to critical analysis.

Ultimately, the value of crime prevention must be judged in terms of the actual and potential contribution to a safer, more secure, but also more just community, where quality of life is preserved and improved.

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New South Wales: Crime Prevention Directions for the Future

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Crime Prevention Initiatives: The First Phase of Crime Prevention

Between 1980 and 1991, a number of specific crime prevention initiatives have taken place in New South Wales. Schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch, Safety House and Community Consultative Committees commenced operation across New South Wales with commendable success. Various initiatives, designed to improve security in government and private premises, were also developed. Citizens were given advice on better locking devices or on how to improve their personal or home security—mostly by an ever-increasing private security industry. These strategies could be seen as the first phase of crime prevention.

Deterrence Policies: The Second Phase of Crime Prevention

The second phase of crime prevention could be described as law and order crime prevention policies. These policies have focussed on the deterrence and punishment of criminal activities. The success of these policies can be shown by the increases in arrest rates and prisoners levels, and the decrease in rates of reported crime. In this regard, the government has, among other things:

- strengthened police presence by increasing the number of police and by deploying more police to the street;
- enhanced police powers; and
- increased penalties in order to make the punishment fit the crime.

While it is still too early to evaluate the impact of these measures on the incidence of crime, there can be no doubt that the community has supported and applauded the government's 'get tough' policy. The law and order policies clearly have the support of the public, however better value in terms of costs and results may be attained by a concerted effort in the prevention of crime by the government and the community. The rationale for this view is based on certain fundamental features of crime:

- most crime is against property not people. In New South Wales, almost 80 per cent of recorded crime in 1987/88 fell into the property category (New South Wales 1987/88);
- most crime is not carried out by professional criminals, nor is it carefully planned;
- most crime is opportunistic; and
- a small number of offenders account for a disproportionate amount of crime.

In recognition of these issues, major developments have occurred both in Australia and overseas. The approach for the future in New South Wales draws heavily on these local and international experiences.

Developments in Crime Prevention

Between 1980 and 1991, the USA, UK, Netherlands, France, South Australia and Western Australia have focussed attention on the need to:

- coordinate and instigate crime prevention initiatives within government;
- assess the impact of government policies on housing, education and economic development on crime;
- find ways to reduce opportunities for crime to occur;
- establish diversion programs for adults and children;
- reduce the costs of incarceration; and
- involve communities and business in practical crime prevention initiatives.

United States of America

Amongst many other initiatives, the notion of problem-oriented policing has been adopted by targeting specific locations and issues in an effort to reduce the incidence of crime. The principle underlying the problem-oriented policing approach is that a small number of locations and issues generate the majority of crime. Studies in Boston and Minneapolis suggest that 5 per cent

of the cities' locations generate approximately 65 per cent of calls for service to police. Results from cities that have adopted the problem-oriented policing approach confirm that calls for service to police are reduced, along with crime rates (Eck & Spelman 1987, p. 31).

United Kingdom

Lord Scarman (1981)-in his report on the Brixton riots in England-recommended amongst other things that the 'lot' of the people living in the Brixton community needed to improve. He recommended that considerable attention should be paid to improving employment opportunities, education, health services, recreation facilities, transport and coordination of services. Lord Scarman reasoned that, by doing this, the government would reduce the need to respond to crime by preventing crime from happening in the first place. Lord Scarman also recommended a strategic redirection for policing with emphasis on education and training. The changes in policing recommended by Lord Scarman were adopted upon the appointment of Commissioner Newman to the London Metropolitan Police.

In 1983, the Thatcher Government established a Ministerial Council on Crime Prevention. This committee-chaired by the Home Secretary and representing many government departments-is responsible for the coordination of government crime prevention initiatives, monitoring annual Crime Prevention Plans, and setting the strategic direction for crime prevention. The crime prevention initiatives saw the establishment of Local Crime Prevention Councils and the appointment to local government of over 100 Architecture (Crime Prevention) Liaison Officers. In the 1990s, the Council's major issues are focussed on assessing how levels of violence, education, the media and families impact to reduce or encourage crime. Various government departments have also targeted specific areas of crime prevention strategy:

- **Department of Environment:** improved housing estate management; development of the British Standards Guide for Building Against Crime BS8220; instituted a National Health and Building Certificate requirement that mandates new houses meet minimum standards of security and design or certificate is not issued; created 7,000 jobs implementing crime prevention initiatives with tasks such as fitting locks and peep holes for the elderly and handicapped; youth initiatives; and the counselling of crime victims.
- **Department of Health:** reduction of violence against staff, and research into community-based treatment of juvenile offenders.
- **Department of Trade and Industry:** enforce trading laws at flea-markets; sponsor designing out crime initiatives; payment of concierges in tower blocks; and pre-recruitment support for those wishing to join the Police Force.
- **Department of Transport:** increased numbers of police; help point booths; alarm panels; better lighting in car parks; and the

development of a British Standard on Vehicle Security and Enforcement.

- **Department of Education:** school crime prevention workshops; \$10 million for management education for principals (crime reduction through better management); appointment of Police School Liaison Officers; research on ways to teach self discipline and leadership in youth and social development (United Kingdom 1989).

France

In 1982, in response to a rising crime problem in many French cities, the President of France established a National Crime Prevention Council. Chaired by the President, the council is comprised of a governing board of eighty members-thirty-five mayors, five members of parliament, fifteen representatives of government departments, twenty-five citizens and an executive bureau of fourteen permanent staff. The council is responsible for the strategy, policy and finances of the crime prevention programs whilst the permanent bureau manages the Crime Prevention Fund and maintains continuity. This crime prevention program became known as the Bonnemaision Model.

Most of the council's activities have been directed at juvenile crime. A review committee-chaired by Gilbert Bonnemaision-proposed the formation of departmental delinquency councils, responsible at local community level, for development of programs to prevent and deal with youth crime problems.

A National Delinquency Fund-financed by a state grant, a para fiscal tax on the turnover of large stores, and a levy of 3-5 per cent on the payment of claims following thefts-covers the cost of operating the community work schemes and a prevention policy. The Fund provided 42 million francs for prevention programs in 1987 (France 1989).

Crime Prevention in New South Wales

In 1987 the New South Wales Police Service altered its strategic direction to a community-based policing philosophy. This redirection encompassed cultural, management and operational innovations and its main aims are as follows:

- to restructure policing to provide local accountability and control; and
- to encourage the community to become involved in its own protection through beat policing, problem-oriented policing and community consultation.

This strategic redirection occurred with the recognition that policing objectives could only be fully accomplished with the involvement of the community. Within this new direction, a number of innovative crime prevention initiatives have taken place:

- development of a Street Safe Program in response to a number of attacks on members of the Gay and Lesbian community;
- redirection of the Neighbourhood Watch Program;
- expansion of the Protective Behaviours and Safety House Programs, amongst many others.

Apart from policing, recent experiments with Waverley and Fairfield Councils show enormous potential to expand involvement of local government in crime prevention.

Definition of a Future Direction: The Third Phase of Crime Prevention

The New South Wales Police Board has supported a discussion paper to the New South Wales Government that tries to define the third stage of crime prevention. The discussion paper-structurally, financially, and from a policy perspective-defines a future direction for crime prevention. The general objectives of the approach presented in the discussion paper are:

- coordinate, consolidate and integrate government initiatives which prevent and discourage crime;
- encourage and support individuals, families, community organisations and local governments who are willing to engage in crime prevention initiatives; and
- achieve a progressive reduction in the incidence of crime.

Amongst many other benefits, the following expected benefits of this approach have been identified from experience both overseas and in Australia:

- transfer of the problem from the state and its institutions to the community;
- small scale projects will be identified and carried out at community level;
- central funding of achievable community identified projects;
- crime prevention will be seen as a problem with which the community can identify and deal;
- reduced pressure on the political system to have solution;
- community ownership of problems more likely if the structures are correct, for example, community identification through local community Crime Prevention Councils and the State Citizens Crime Prevention Advisory Council;

- governments can provide support to community-generated projects;
- government departments and institutions can take an active role in setting standards, for example, environmental design, buildings, open space and lighting;
- coordination of across department action is encouraged; and
- reduced costs.

Crime Prevention Issues

Adoption of the proposed Crime Prevention Plan in New South Wales offers a range of possible crime prevention solutions presently not effectively addressed. Using the examples of the offence of 'break and enter' the envisaged change in direction can be illustrated:

Engineer solutions

- Car door locks/steering locks;
- speed cameras.

A prevention strategy to incorporate engineer solutions could be establishing standards for new housing, for example, British Standard Guide for Building Against Crime or the development of a plan to make present housing stock crime resistant.

Environmental design improvements

- Design of housing;
- shopping centres/car parks;
- governmental buildings, for example, schools, hospitals, housing commission sub-divisions;
- Architecture Liaison Officer;
- new sub-divisions;
- crime impact statement for new developments; and
- development of crime assessment criteria.

A prevention strategy which incorporates environmental design improvement would see wide dissemination of advice on placement of shrubs, access to homes, setting guidelines for the density of developments, parks layout and lighting requirements.

People

- Juvenile offenders diversion programs;
- recidivists;

- dangerous offenders;
- childcare;
- parenting program;
- rear reduction; and
- victims.

A prevention strategy aimed specifically at people would divert at least 80 per cent of both adults and juveniles prior to entry into the criminal justice system. Resources could be directed at those most likely to continue to commit crime. Greater community responsibility/satisfaction/involvement to ensure that justice is done by being involved in the process. Victim satisfaction would increase by involvement in determining the outcome.

Locations

- Hotels;
- cinemas;
- streets;
- specific addresses;
- business; and
- identified crime prone locations.

A 'location' prevention strategy recognises that a small number of locations generate most police problems. Nomination and the application of problem solving skills and community/inter-agency support is extremely successful in solving this problem.

Hotels are often the major problem location. The substance (alcohol) reduces the inhibition to offending, often the hotel becomes the planning location and, finally, can provide the venue for the sale of the stolen property. Police and licensing authorities would develop broad strategies to reduce crimes related to specific establishments.

Substances

- Illegal substances;
- alcohol; and
- legal drugs.

Drunkenness has been an offence for over 200 years. Initially, people who committed break and enter crimes when drunk were seen as having diminished responsibility for their actions. Because of policies related to random breath testing (RBT), attitudes have changed to recognise that consumption of alcohol is a critical component in the commission of an offence.

A prevention strategy would be to target the substance itself, at the location of sale and with the individual, for example, the Ending Offending

Program incorporated in the National Health Policy on Alcohol in Australia (Australia 1989). Harm reduction should be interpreted to include crime and antisocial behaviour. The prevention strategy would also recognise that the misuse/abuse of alcohol contributes to over 60 per cent of police work.

Economic

- Poverty;
- homelessness and unemployment;
- unemployment initiatives, for example, the Wilcannia Economic Development;

A prevention strategy for economic crime problems would give recognition to the correlation between specific social and economic indicators and poverty giving us an index of prediction for crime (such as lots of poor people = lots of crime). This prediction index would be used as a planning device.

Systems

- Criminal justice system; and
- juvenile justice system.

Regulation

- Regulate a minimum standard of security for new housing; and
- require people to fit adequate security devices to their premises by passing legislation at local and state government levels.

Crime Prevention and the Criminal Justice System

The present criminal justice system does not directly aim to prevent crime from taking place. It prefers to deal with crime as it occurs and attempts to prevent those convicted of crime from re-offending. Individuals generally begin criminal careers when they are in their youth and either grow out of this behaviour or continue into their late-twenties and early-thirties. This is evidenced by the fact that many adult prison inmates are 'graduates' from juvenile detention centres.

The ability of the present criminal justice system to prevent crime is limited by its isolation from the community which it serves. Crime is not primarily prevented by police, courts and prisons but rather by the fabric of social connections between people, their community and their physical environment. The criminal justice system also acts to isolate victims and offenders. In a sense, the criminal justice system steals the dispute by allowing lawyers and courts to intervene and take control. In many cases these disputes should be dealt with by way of mediation and conciliation within a more economic and effective system.

Alienation or disconnectedness provides the basis for breach of social norms. For any criminal justice system to actively engage in crime prevention,

it must begin by addressing the needs of juveniles and encourage communities to deal with juvenile crime. An emphasis should also be placed on the importance of not discounting this responsibility to the police and courts. Children must be clearly confronted with the consequences of their crime.

The present New South Wales juvenile criminal justice system does not effectively prevent or reduce the involvement of children and young people in criminal behaviour, nor does it provide justice to the victim. The juvenile criminal justice system does not adequately provide for reparation or restitution, does not hand down decisions that act to shame or rehabilitate young offenders, does not involve the offender's family in the process, and is expensive in its operation.

Police intervention is heavily reliant on putting young people before the court. The courts effectively exclude the victim and the victim's family, and the offender and the offender's family from having any part in the court process. The options available to the court when determining sentence are limited and do not assist in putting right the wrong that has been done. Young offenders who are incarcerated by the court and isolated from their family and community are more likely to re-offend upon release than those who are dealt with by other means.

The notion for changing the juvenile criminal justice system rests in the context of preventing crime by empowering the community to deal with crime-beginning with juvenile crime-it when it occurs. This notion reflects a belief that there is a need to develop a system which empowers local communities to effectively deal with juvenile crime. Young offenders should be forced to accept responsibility for their actions, whilst victims should have the right to confront the offender and to have a role in determining what action should be taken to right the wrong. The young offender's family should be actively involved in determining the outcome of police intervention, whilst police will be encouraged to resolve disputes without recourse to the courts. The courts must be seen as a last resort and should be used only for those cases that cannot be resolved in the community. The proposed new system must be aware of the limitations of courts and prisons in crime prevention, and should be structured to encourage the community to be the primary agent in dealing with the majority of juvenile criminals.

Conclusion

By using information available on what contributes to crime, it is possible to alter and remove the underlying fundamental causes of crime. Bringing about changes to the environment, systems and structures impacting on people's behaviour will thus hopefully reduce the possibility of crime occurring.

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Overview of Crime Prevention in Queensland

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Crime and crime control are very complex issues and relate not just to the police and the criminal justice system but to the way society operates as a whole. Reported crimes in Australia have risen by over 60 per cent, from 845,923 in 1980/81 to 1.41 million in 1988/89 (Mukherjee & Dagger 1990). Rather than attributing this increase to the significant changes that have occurred and are continuing in Australian society, these trends tend to be laid at the door of policing. Walker and Henderson (1991) draw attention to research in this area:

But research conducted in Australia and overseas suggests that, although worrying, these rising crime figures may be due to a short-term trend in population growth, together with some familiar changes in society. If changes were properly understood by governments, the media and members of the public, there would not appear to be the need for the draconian solutions that some people have suggested. Furthermore, the research conclusions argue that by placing greater demands on police, courts and prisons, at the expense of alternative strategies, we may be perpetrating the myth of ever-increasing crime (Walker & Henderson 1991).

Whilst this places responsibility for crime outside of the direct control of police, the Queensland Police Service has a major role and responsibility for protecting people and property. One of the possible ways of doing this is through active participation in crime prevention.

Traditional policing has been reactive and incident driven. Random mobile patrols appear to do little to reduce crime or increase the chance of apprehension. Rapid response, despite community expectation, is significant only when life is threatened or a crime actually under way. Most crimes are solved not by criminal investigation, rather when the offender is apprehended immediately, or the victim or another member of the community provides information which permits identification. There is little evidence to suggest that simply increasing police numbers will reduce crime or increase crimes solved.

With increasing crime rates and low 'clear-up rates' it would appear to be time to explore other options, not as add-on public relations exercises, but as a

genuine attempt to improve policing. To do this, however, the police require community understanding and support.

The Fitzgerald Inquiry

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Possible Illegal Activities and Associated Police Misconduct [the Fitzgerald Report] (Queensland 1989) was the catalyst for change in the Queensland Police Service, as it was for a number of other areas of state government operation. In relation to policing, the Fitzgerald Report commented on and made recommendations concerning most aspects of policing and the police organisation. These included structure, resources, recruitment and training, promotions and transfers, pay and conditions, management and strategic planning, information and support systems, community policing, regionalisation, civilianisation and specialised policing activities. Each of these areas has been subject to considerable activity within the Queensland Police Service since the Fitzgerald Report was published.

Fitzgerald made very specific recommendations about the style of policing that he believed to be appropriate in Queensland and made extensive reference to community policing and crime prevention. For example, Recommendation C. 1.6 states:

community policing be adopted as the primary policy strategy, with policing again becoming a neighbourhood affair. The Police Force must move away from the concept of policing based on reactive defence of the community and towards mobilising the community and its police to prevent crime, maintain order and deliver services dictated by the needs of the community. To this end:

- (a) preventative policing strategies are to be an integral part of the normal activities of every police officer
- (b) the community is to be involved with the police in preventing crime through the establishment of community crime committees and community crime prevention programs based on the needs of individual communities (Queensland 1989, p. 381).

To adopt such a radical shift from the traditional policing model required not only changes in organisation and attitude within the Queensland Police Service, but the redevelopment of a positive relationship between the Queensland Police Service and the community. That relationship, with a focus on crime prevention, was enshrined in the Police Service Administration Act 1990. This Act describes the functions of the Queensland Police Service in the following way:

The functions of the Police Service are:

- (a) the preservation of peace and good order:
 - in all areas of the State;
 - and
 - in all areas outside the State where the laws of the State may lawfully be applied, when occasion demands;

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- (b) the protection of all communities in the State and all members thereof:
- (i) from unlawful disruption of peace and good order that results, or is likely to result, from:
 - actions of criminal offenders;
 - actions or omissions of other persons;
- (ii) from commission of offences against the law generally;
- (c) the prevention of crime;
- (d) the detection of offenders and bringing of offenders to justice;
- (e) the upholding of the law generally;
- (f) the administration, in a responsible, fair and efficient manner and subject to due process of law and directions of the Commissioner, of:
 - the provisions of the Criminal Code;
 - the provisions of all other Acts or laws for the time being committed to the responsibility of the Service;
 - the powers, duties and discretions prescribed for officers by any Act;
- (g) the provision of such services and the rendering of such assistance, in situations of emergency or otherwise, as are required of officers by lawful authority or the reasonable expectations of the community, or as are reasonably sought of officers by members of the community (Police Service Administration Act 1990, p. 4).

The Act goes on to describe the Community's responsibility:

2.4 Community Responsibility preserved.

- (1) The prescription of any function as one of the functions of the Police Service does not relieve or derogate from the responsibility and functions appropriately had by the community at large and the members thereof in relation to:
 - the preservation of peace and good order;
 - and
 - the prevention, detection and punishment of breaches of the law.
- (2) In performance of the functions of the Police Service, members of the Service are to act in partnership with the community at large to the extent compatible with efficient and proper performance of those functions (Police Service Administration Act 1990, p. 5).

The Queensland Police Service Corporate Plan

The government framework was therefore set for changes in the style of policing. However, it was necessary that the Queensland Police Service adopt the philosophy and explore ways in which the new philosophy would affect

operational policing. One of the processes used to bring this about was the corporate planning process.

Members of the Queensland Police Service, at all levels, were given an opportunity to contribute to the mission, goals and direction that the Police Service would take over the next five years. A draft corporate plan, which drew on the Fitzgerald Report (Queensland 1989), the Police Service Administration Act 1990, the Queensland Police Service Code of Conduct (Queensland 1990a) and the knowledge, skills and experience of police personnel. This process led to significant shift in the mission and goals of the Queensland Police Service. The earlier Mission Statement had read:

The purpose of the Queensland Police Service is to contribute to the security and well-being of the people of Queensland and to preserve peace and good order throughout the State, by working cooperatively with the public and within the framework of the law.

The new Mission Statement developed by the members of the Queensland Police Service reads:

To serve the people in Queensland by protecting life and property, preserving peace and safety, preventing crime and upholding the law in a manner which has regard for the public good and the rights of the individual.

The new Mission Statement clarifies the variety of roles that police perform in society. It also places service at the beginning and recognises a potential conflict which exists for all police officers-that is, the tension between 'the public good' and the 'rights of the individual'. The police have a responsibility, within the law, for protecting and upholding both.

The key result areas in the Corporate Plan produced in 1989 related very strongly to detection rates. The 1990-1995 Corporate Plan has three operational goals:

- to enhance the safety of the people of Queensland;
- to prevent crime;
- to investigate and solve crime.

The planning process reaches right down into the organisation with strategic plans being developed at regional, district and divisional levels. Each of these strategic plans has to identify what contribution that section of the Queensland Police Service is making towards the achievement of the corporate goals. Crime prevention, therefore, becomes an operational imperative.

Crime Prevention

Crime prevention, from a police perspective, can mean many things. Traditionally, it has meant providing advice on security devices and recommending protective behaviours. Often these activities were undertaken by a central unit and had no impact at all on 'real' policing. Neighbourhood Watch schemes build on the protection theme and, whilst encouraging community participation, remain peripheral to the main policing function.

Protection of property and people remains one of the strategies for preventing crime. Making people more aware of how to protect themselves is a valid function of the police and provides an excellent opportunity for community/police partnerships and problem solving. Indirectly, the investigation and solving of crime-where it leads to the apprehension of a persistent offender-can also impact positively on crime. Exploring ways of targeting persistent offenders and

those involved in the promotion and organisation of criminal activities can also be a valid crime prevention activity. However, addressing the causes of criminal behaviour and preventing it occurring in the first place may be the most effective way of reducing crime over the long-term. This is something that the police cannot do on their own and it is a new area of endeavour for them. Here, more than in any other area, there has to be meaningful involvement of the community and effective police/community communication and problem solving.

Community-based crime prevention programs and diversionary programs for young people are currently being discussed within the Queensland Government. However, with so many government and non-government agencies, it may be some time before the exact nature of any such program is clear. The Queensland Police Service cannot wait-if it is to be judged by the crime statistics (however unfair that is), the Queensland Police Service must take action with the community to address crime and its causes. In the past, policing has been about catching criminals. This still needs to occur. However, crime prevention, of all three types identified, has now become the focus of police activity. It is central, not peripheral.

Crime Prevention Initiatives

There are many crime prevention initiatives being taken throughout Queensland. Many of them are in their very early stages of development and vary significantly in focus and mode of operation. All crime prevention initiatives present a way of policing that is new and different for most police officers, and all are approached with apprehension by police. The case studies which follow are examples of a few of the crime prevention initiatives that are being trialled in Queensland.

Regional strategy

The increase of offences against the person and property are of grave concern to police. It is evident that alcohol plays a large part in the commission of these offences. Alcohol abuse also plays a major part in road trauma. One of the rural regions in Queensland, taking crime prevention as its major operational objective for 1991/92, decided that the misuse of alcohol and underage drinking were two identifiable factors leading to a range of offences. It was decided, therefore, that the major operational objective for the region should be to reduce the incidence of alcohol-related offences. Alcohol was seen as the root cause of many offences, and it appeared logical to attack the cause rather than the symptom.

The strategy to be trialled is to introduce objective and task-oriented patrolling targeting licensed premises on a regular and systematic basis. Such a focus is in fact very innovative for policing in Queensland, and the region is undertaking ongoing evaluation to see whether the strategy does reduce offences. The offences most likely to be affected by such a strategy include: underage drinking, offences against the person (including domestic violence), offences against property and road trauma.

Should such a focus be successful, it will lead the way for more significant change in other parts of the state as it will be seen to be worthwhile to address the causes rather than the symptoms of crime.

Cherbourg Aboriginal Community

A series of initiatives have been undertaken jointly by the Cherbourg Aboriginal Community and the Queensland Police Service-with support from the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission-to address policing issues and problems on the Community. The original intention was not primarily crime prevention, but the outcome of effective cooperation has led to a number of initiatives aimed at reducing crime (particularly juvenile crime).

Cherbourg Aboriginal Community is in south-east Queensland and is made up of Aborigines who were displaced from their traditional lands in many parts of Queensland. Through the goodwill and willingness of community elders and senior police in the region, serious and successful attempts have been made to overcome the legacy of poor police/Aboriginal relations. The program has (in 1991) two major elements which directly impact on crime prevention, but these elements are fluid and flexible and have already given rise to a range of innovative activities.

Neither element had the major intention of crime prevention. The initial element involved the running of a community-based workshop involving members of the Cherbourg Aboriginal Community, the community police and the state police. The purpose of the workshop was to increase understanding of the role of the Community Police Service and the Cherbourg Council's by-laws and to establish a better relationship between the Queensland Police Service and the Cherbourg Aboriginal Community. The workshop went further and addressed issues of particular concern to the Cherbourg Aboriginal Community-in particular, juvenile crime. It also led to a range of recommendations on how the problems confronting the Community could be addressed. These recommendations ranged from immediate changes that addressed pressing issues, to longer-term plans concerned with diversionary programs to reduce juvenile crime and making changes to Council by-laws to support crime prevention activities. The workshop also led to a training program for Aboriginal Community Police, and a program to examine the membership and training of selection panels for police who were to be stationed at Cherbourg.

The second major element was concerned with constable training. The objective of the program was to develop constables'-particularly trainee constables'-understanding and knowledge of Aboriginal culture and the social organisation of Aboriginal Communities. It was hoped that this would result in better relations between members of the Aboriginal Community and police officers. The program (in 1991) has involved trainee constables working

with Aboriginal Community Police in the execution of their duties. Trainee constables were also required to spend a great deal of time with children in the primary and secondary schools. Not only has this increased police officers' awareness of Aboriginal issues, but it has had a marked effect on the attitudes of many young Aborigines who are seeing police officers as human beings for the first time. The young officers have found themselves involved in a range of diversionary activities with young people and in some cases have taken on a counselling role.

These two initiatives, and the cooperative spirit that they have generated in the Community, led to a workshop aimed at addressing the significant truancy problem among young people in the Cherbourg Aboriginal Community. This workshop involved people from the Community, the police, local schools, the Education Department, and Corrective Services. The workshop set about identifying the reasons for the high truancy levels and possible strategies for addressing the problem. As a result of discussions, a community-based working group was established to put in place the strategies identified: strategies which addressed encouragement and greater participation issues in the classroom, and activities which occupied young people in their leisure time. The workshop was coordinated by the police, which sat uncomfortably with some from outside the Community, but the group established to mobilise the proposed strategies largely consisted of members of the Cherbourg Aboriginal Community. The willingness of the Community and the police to work together to address issues of mutual concern is an impressive short-term outcome of these initiatives. The work being undertaken at Cherbourg Aboriginal Community is being monitored and evaluated so that lessons can be learned and effective practices put in place in other Aboriginal Communities.

Community consultative committees

One of the areas being encouraged in community-based crime prevention is the introduction of community consultative committees. Such committees were recommended in the Fitzgerald Report (Queensland 1989) and have been introduced in a number of locations throughout the state. It is hoped that the establishment of such committees will assist with the shift of emphasis for police from being primarily crime solvers to that of crime preventers. Such a shift has financial as well as social benefits, as less crime should mean less police time spent on investigation and arrests, less court time and less prison time.

Community consultative committees have a significant role in educating the community in the realities of crime. Crime is committed in the community by members of that community and, therefore, the community must accept some responsibility for crime prevention. Without community support, police activities in the area of crime prevention are unlikely to be successful.

The introduction of such committees has not been without problems and it has become clear that guidelines are required to ensure that the committees achieve objectives which are satisfactory to both the police and the community. Such guidelines need to be flexible enough to adapt to the differing circumstances in different locations. It is also vital that police officers receive training and support in working with such community based committees, as it is an unfamiliar activity for most police. The committees

should have broad community representation, and it is envisaged that they will have the following functions:

- to provide a forum for discussing matters of concern relating to the policing of the local community;
- to arrive at decisions resulting from discussion about policing issues, and to ensure action is taken;
- to promote and develop a genuine partnership between the police and the community;
- to make the community aware of Police Service policies, ideas and directions; and
- to provide access to information and assistance to members of the community who feel unable to voice their concerns directly to a police officer.

The effectiveness of these community consultative committees in identifying and taking actions on issues of concern to the community will be monitored and evaluated.

Statistical Support for Crime Prevention

In 1990 a project was undertaken by the Management Services Branch of the Queensland Police Service in consultation with one police division to analyse the sudden increase in break and enter offences in that division. This analysis examined the major means of entry to premises, the type of premises entered, the day and time of offences, the geographical location and seasonal influences. The purpose of this examination was to identify the type of information available for use in operational planning, targeted patrolling and community policing initiatives.

There were a number of problems encountered in undertaking this analysis, not least the sparsity of information readily available to assist officers in diagnosing problem areas. As a result, the analysis had to be undertaken manually. The information produced proved to be of considerable significance in identifying common factors in break and enters, as well as at risk locations and times. For example, it was identified that the majority of break and enters through windows in commercial buildings occurred through louvred windows. This information enabled officers to advise companies on replacement of vulnerable windows, and introduced the possibility of insurance companies offering incentives for changing windows. As with many programs in the past, no evaluation was undertaken into the impact of this information on local policing. However, the data produced has been recognised as being of considerable importance in preventing crime, and it is hoped that a computer system able to record such information will soon be in place.

No evaluation has as yet been undertaken of any of the projects mentioned. The value of evaluation is only just being recognised, and a

process of identifying the achievements made towards objectives is being introduced. However, the use of this sort of data is only practical if the information is readily available in a useable form.

Issues for the Queensland Police Service

For these strategies to work and have long-term benefits for the police and the community, a number of issues will need to be addressed.

Attitudes

Many police officers still see their function as catching criminals. Crime prevention is not 'real' police work. For local and corporate crime prevention initiatives to work, police officers have to have a commitment to the new way of working. They need to understand the interrelation of crime prevention and detection, and realise that both are valid and necessary to achieve the corporate mission and to provide an effective Queensland Police Service.

Technical support

Crime prevention activities may require different information and technical support than criminal investigation. There needs to be flexibility to ensure that appropriate support is available.

Resources

One of the major challenges will be how to shift resources-both human and financial-from reactive, incident-driven policing to proactive, problem-solving crime prevention activities. Without such a reallocation, little will be able to be done. In a time of fiscal restraint, it is unlikely that police will have access to significant additional resources.

Community-based policing

Traditionally, police organisations have been inward looking. They have-theoretically, at least-answered only to the law. Looking outwards and working with the community will not come easily. Police organisations and their members will find it difficult to include external influences in their planning. The military model, which permits action to be taken as if on a war footing-where resources are not considered and where the needs of the community come second to the victory over crime-is no longer appropriate. Helping Queensland Police Service members to communicate with the community and deal with the complexity of the issues that real communication will raise is a major challenge for the Police Service.

Evaluation

If crime prevention is to be a long-term strategy in the mission to protect people and reduce crime, the various strategies being adopted will need to be evaluated. The Queensland Police Service can no longer afford to implement strategies and expend resources without some idea of the impact of such strategies. Policing has long been using methods that are now seen to be

ineffective. If the proper balance between reactive, investigative policing and proactive preventative policing is to be achieved, the benefits and impact of crime prevention strategies will need to be demonstrated.

The public

No major change of emphasis will be possible without community support. At present, the community judges police effectiveness on response times and similar methods. They will need to have a greater understanding of policing and accept that, for resources to be moved to preventative strategies, reaction times may suffer. In Queensland particularly, there is a great deal of healing to occur in the relationship between the police and the community. Trust and respect need to be restored. There are many in the community willing to help police in this task. What members of the Queensland Police Service need to do is to explain policing issues to the community and recognise that the community has a right to indicate how it (the community) is policed. The community has a stereotypical image of police-as the police have of themselves-and this image has to be broken.

Conclusion

The Queensland Police Service has changed its ethos, not by directive but through consultation. However, operationalising this new ethos will not be easy. It is dependent on the goodwill and commitment of Queensland Police Service members and their willingness to make an act of faith that the new way will be better than the old. There is no hard evidence to prove that is the case, and police like hard evidence. The new ethos is also dependent on community support and involvement which the police have little control over. This lack of control makes the police feel uncomfortable.

The changes in ethos mean a change of image and role for police. The crime fighting role is a glamorous, if inaccurate, image. The effectiveness of the crime prevention role is, at present, supposition and the image far less glamorous. It will not be easy for the police or the community to accept the new image and role. For crime prevention to be effective, the changes must be accepted by both.

Perhaps crucial to the long-term success of policing-both preventative and investigative-is evaluation. To provide effective protection and a worthwhile service in a complex and ever-changing society, it will be crucial to evaluate programs and activities to identify what impact they have and why. This will ensure that policing continues to have a valid and valued role in society and may contribute to the reduction of crime.

In 1991, Queensland is at the beginning of these changes, and has a long way to go. Much has already been achieved, yet it would still be easier to go back to the old way than to persevere with the new. It will take commitment from the managers within the Queensland Police Service and the support of the community to keep up the momentum and develop in the staff a long-term commitment to a different role for policing in Queensland.

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Problems and Pitfalls in Crime Prevention

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That prevention is better than cure is a rather trite but nevertheless important axiom. It may be tempting, therefore, for those individuals, governments and groups charged with the responsibility of crime prevention to rush into any program that boasts a 'preventative' approach. This paper is designed to alert those engaged in crime prevention policy-making, planning, implementation and evaluation, that traps and pitfalls exist for the hasty and the unwary. It will, furthermore, suggest strategies that may be employed to avoid them.

First, there is a need to identify and examine a number of areas where there are potential difficulties for crime prevention administrators. To overcome these hazards, they should be equipped with:

- an understanding of the nature of their task
;
- appropriate information;
- an understanding of the dynamics of the implementation process;
and
- access to sound evaluative techniques and interpretation models.

An Understanding of the Nature of the Task

Crime prevention administrators must first consider the context in which the debate about crime prevention occurs. 'Crime' is a term which is capable of wide interpretation. It is used in political rhetoric in such a way as to presume that its definition is settled and clear, that it is uniformly policed, that it is consistently prosecuted and that it is systematically punished. Popular public and political dialogue also tends to suggest that the production of crime information is unproblematic and that the sources through which the

information is channeled are reliable and complete. These assumptions, however, are essentially flawed (Chibnall 1977, 1979; Ericson 1981, 1982).

Unfortunately, there is a dearth of informed debate in the public and political 'law and order' chatter, and thus the inadequacies of these assumptions rarely emerge. A short description of the progression of criminological thought during the last hundred years may assist us to determine why this more 'popular' view of crime and criminals persists in Australia today.

We can find its roots in the late nineteenth century French 'positivist' philosophy. The father of modern sociology, Emile Durkheim presented his view of the social world as being made up of physical entities. Thus, to determine the realities of the criminal justice system, he focused his attention upon its protagonists, that is, the people who carried on the illegal behaviour, the police who apprehended them, the courts which tried them and the prisons that held them. Durkheim was not concerned about the significance of how law was organised. He insisted upon a purely legalistic view of criminal conduct.

Twentieth century American sociologist Edwin Sutherland sought to expand the parameters of this approach to criminology to include antisocial behaviours in the so-called white-collar arena. His method has been referred to as a 'socio-legal approach' (Hagan 1986, p. 44). Sutherland, however, retained the positivists' emphasis upon using formal, legal definitions to define criminality. According to both of these views, the law provides a reliable guide to any society's consensus on what is and is not deviant or criminal behaviour. Crime, on this view, '... [is] a series of more or less isolated and unpredictable events committed by a minority of undersocialised or otherwise maladjusted individuals-in short, [it is] a harmful minority activity' (Hogg 1988, p. 25). The police apply the law in apprehending deviants, the Crown Law Department applies the law in prosecuting them, and the courts apply the law when sentencing them. The 1992 Queensland election campaign was rife with similar rhetoric. This 'legalist' view, however, if not totally ill-conceived, is rather limited and narrow.

During the last two decades there have been a number of interesting developments in criminological thought. There has been further work in the 'Marxist' vein (Gordon 1971; Quinney 1974, 1977), and the emergence of the sociology of deviance or so-called 'new criminology' (Taylor, Walton & Young 1973). We have also witnessed the birth of what has become known as 'critical legal theory' (Carlen 1980; Kennedy & Klare 1984; Silbey & Sarat 1987; Kelman 1987; Fraser 1989). What these latter-day perspectives have in common, generally, is that crime is not an objective reality, as Durkheim or Sutherland would have viewed it. Rather it is determined more by issues of politics, knowledge and power, and the struggle by various political and social forces to gain and support order, to resist order and to guarantee order than by settled and revered notions of what 'crime' is (Hogg 1983, p. 10; Egger & Findlay 1988, p. 222; Shearing 1989, p. 176). Concomitantly, the process of criminalisation is not a necessary precondition to social cohesion and control, but merely one among several modes of control (Carlen 1980, p. 17). The criminal process, for example, rarely deals with some matters that give our society great cause for alarm, for example, the excesses of corporate entrepreneurs, industrial pollution and industrial accidents (Wilson, Walker & Mukherjee 1986). Indeed, research indicates that many more deaths may be

caused by inadequate occupational health and safety precautions than by the more traditional forms of violence such as murder and manslaughter (Braithwaite & Grabosky 1985; Wilson 1987, p. 13; Ellis 1988, p. 134).

There have also been developments in what has become known as 'left realism'. 'Left realists' have recognised that the more radical criminological perspectives are somewhat limited in their ability to propose solutions and to engage in the important task of crime prevention. Realists express the view that crime cannot merely be defined out of existence, as proponents of the sociology of deviance may have led their readers to believe. Society, say left realists, must deal with the fact that antisocial conduct exists, appears to be burgeoning-perhaps it is even understated-and that it disproportionately affects those on the margins of society, those who are caught in the poverty trap, and those who wind up in a vicious circle of non-cooperation with police (Hogg 1988, p. 28). Realists claim that it is rather foolish, if not irresponsible, to ignore serious law-breaking merely by taking refuge in the belief that crime statistics are social constructions or that the crime 'problem' is open to conjecture. Thus, realists have a foot in both camps; they acknowledge the value of critical legal thought but, at the same time, recognise that antisocial conduct exists and that it must be addressed in crime prevention initiatives. These initiatives have concentrated their attention less upon 'criminals' themselves and more upon the modes of criminal law enforcement, the social organisation of particular criminal activities and illegal markets, the forums in which we discuss these issues, and the very terms which we use. The realist contribution, then, is to avoid legalistic approaches, and to apply broader 'critical' legal approaches more locally and with greater specificity, for example, within certain geographical areas (Lea, Jones, Woodhouse & Young 1988).

The criminological development of the 1970s and 1980s have thus been rich with new insights. Notwithstanding the level of disagreement between the various schools of thought, a sound conclusion has been reached: that comfortable and dated assumptions about identifiable criminal individuals and groups as law-breakers are no longer useful. Why all of this is mentioned is to highlight the paucity of informed public debate and responsible comment on this subject from these perspectives. The general public, on matters of this nature, remain, for the most part, oblivious to the developments of the last twenty years. It is most unfortunate that public opinion-if the polls and the mass media are any guide to these matters-and to a very great extent our politicians, do not appear to be breaking out of the 'legalist' criminological legacy left to us by, amongst others, Durkheim and Sutherland.

The tenacity of legalist (or mainstream) solutions is, however, quite understandable. At least two reasons can be identified-having to do with the media and political realities-why they have such force.

The media present a legalist view

The media have an entrenched position as information-providers on matters to do with law and order. Theirs is a view which rarely strays from the mainstream. Production and organisation pressures lead to simplification and dramatisation of law and order issues quite independently of any bias (Reiner 1985, p. 141) particularly in the use of statistics. As recently as 24 May 1991,

the *Adelaide News* headline was 'Crime Rate Soars' and the opening paragraph spoke of 'shocking statistics leaked from the SA Police Department'. The interpretation of statistics is, for the most part, overly simplistic. Blandly pointing to the rise in 'crime rates' ignores a number of fundamental statistical issues. What were the sources of the data? If they were police-generated, is it not relevant to suggest that reporting practices may have had an influence on the figures? For example, have there been any changes in reporting methods, computerisation or police campaigns or strategies? How do police figures compare with the results of victimisation surveys? Do police statistics record the number of offences or offenders, and how may the differences in definition and interpretation differ from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, and from time to time? Finally, were these data placed in the context of long-term trends? These questions are rarely addressed.

There are, furthermore, commercial interests which drive the media and their clients (Cohen 1973, p. 16; Grabosky 1977, p. 174; Chibnall 1977, p. 145; Van Dijk 1979; Brown 1987, p. 275; Sarre 1989, p. 11). The News in Adelaide ran a series on crime prevention during May and June 1991 laced liberally with advertisements for security services, burglar alarm installation and insurance. There is little doubt that security services, insurance companies and indeed the Adelaide News all generate profits for themselves through providing crime stories which fuel both the need for security systems, and the need for vindication that measures undertaken to enhance security have been worthwhile. In such a climate one could easily witness a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The same forces which make for the increase in crime fuel a moral panic about crime. That is, the real fear about crime is intimately related to the moral hysteria about crime. It not only provides for a rational kernel for alarm, but its genesis lies at the same source; and the mass media serve and exaggerate such public fears. The demand for crime news is great; the media reporting of crime and policing foments and exaggerates this appetite . . . Thus, at precisely the time when there is the greatest need for a rational approach to crime, the greatest level of irrationality occurs . . . (Lea & Young 1984, pp. 263-4) (emphasis added).

This is not to suggest, of course, that the debate about law and order is capable of being consistently rational or totally dispassionate. Clearly, however, the debate must be tempered by those who speak rationally rather than irrationally. The media must lead the way in this endeavour. At the moment they appear more inclined, generally, to seeking out conflict than they are to seeking balanced and careful responses to difficult questions.

Mainstream approaches are politically more saleable

It is clear that there is a political advantage to be gained by 'selling' the law and order issue in simplistic terms, to engage in what is referred to as 'symbolic politics' (Casper & Brereton 1984, p. 124; Chan 1987, p. 225). A self-serving cycle thus begins:

Governments which can be said to be unable to control important social and economic processes are always electorally vulnerable. This is true whether the government can reasonably be expected to be in control or not. No one is likely to forgive a government for rising crime rates even if they can be

shown to result from rapid population growth, poor urban development or an increase in households with portable electrical goods. Influential people, with less than honourable motives, can always be found to respond to rising crime rates by saying that the government has lost control of the streets. The effect of such comments, made at the right time, can be electric. Governments of every colour can be driven to pour millions of dollars into law enforcement just to defeat a growing perception that crime is, in some sense, out of control. This problem is not unique to Australia. Concern about crime and punishment in most Western countries is locked into an unremitting cycle of panic and complacency (Weatherburn & Devery 1991, pp. 23-4).

In South Australia in 1991, the Leader of the Opposition stepped up the rhetoric on law and order to move us from 'complacency' mode into 'panic' mode. In May 1991 he cited statistics which indicated that crime is on the rise and blamed Parliamentarians for not having the courage to make penalties more severe. He spoke of plans to increase police presence in the community and expressed the opinion that police powers were inadequate. He presented a view of government neglect on law and order issues and spoke of the inadequacies of our juvenile justice system. He used cliches like 'bag of lollies', 'a pat on the shoulder', and the pseudo-proverbial 'judicial slap on the wrist' (Advertiser, 2 May 1991). This 'legalist' view misleads the public into thinking that there is a clear and logical consensus in our society about what conduct, which criminals and which activities ought to be made the subject of formal prosecution.

On this view, crime can be eradicated if we appoint more police, give them more powers, and mete out harsher punishments. As a corollary, this view leads the public into thinking that the responsibility for crime prevention rests with the police and the courts alone. Intriguingly, this position is more often espoused by those to the right of politics who claim, in these days of economic rationalism, that it is inappropriate for governments to be seen as the perennial benefactor. If the government dollar is limited, however, and the law and order resources are to be expanded, then it is clear that, on this view, social welfare spending would be severely curtailed.

Furthermore, when the debate reduces the discussion on law and order merely to questions of police power and punishment, other more 'critical' factors are pushed to the periphery. Police practices and prosecutorial discretion are virtually ignored. The criminogenic effects of the non-availability of affordable housing, inadequate transport, poor race relations and unemployment are perceived as merely tangential matters. While law and order is treated in trite legalistic terms, crime prevention packages which attempt to integrate into our society a broad range of services, attitudes and programs, and which eschew reactionary responses, tend to founder.

A task of those charged with the responsibility for crime prevention is to point out the limited value of comment couched in legalistic terms and premised upon a 'get tough' approach. Those who engage in the law and order debate with stock phrases and hackneyed metaphors in order to engage in political point-scoring over their rivals, and for the purpose of pandering to their electorates (whose attitudes to crime and justice, law and order have themselves been shaped by this very rhetoric), are worthy of scorn. Their contribution to the debate is not only ineffective but counter-productive.

The arguments of the 'law and order' lobby that our society has gone 'soft on crime' are also factually ill-conceived. The so-called 'new' law and order

approach has, in fact, been the mainstay of Australian political platforms for at least the last decade, and still crime rates appear to be rising. Generally speaking, during the 1980s statutory criminal penalties have gone up, not down. Australian prisons are now holding more people than ever before. Indeed, in the period from March 1988 to September 1990 there was an increase of 19.5 per cent to 13,668 inmates (Brown 1990, p. 239). Record non-parole periods are commonplace. Maximum penalties increase regularly, new offences continue to appear, and in at least three states Attorneys-General have been given the right to appeal against what they perceive to be inadequate sentences. The concept of mandatory minimum penalties is now commonplace.

In addition, police presence is increasing, and in South Australia we have the highest per capita numbers of police of any state in Australia (without any reason to suspect that we are therefore the most law-abiding or lawless). Changes to police powers affecting the questioning of suspects and the time in which questioning may occur have led some commentators to express their concerns (Sallmann & Willis 1984, p. 49). The unsworn statement has been abolished in Queensland, Western Australia, the Northern Territory and South Australia. Legislation at both state and federal level has been enacted to allow for the confiscation of criminal assets. In South Australia a victim can make a 'victim impact' statement to a sentencing judge. Therefore, the South Australian Opposition leader's claims that 'we need physically more police at the coal face . . . on the beat', that 'penalties are not tough enough' and that 'society now demands that something be done . . .' (Advertiser, 2 May 1991, pp. 1-2), are more than a little trite and can be safely ignored.

The 'law and order' rhetoric persists also in the USA. In March 1990 two candidates ran a political election race in Texas on a 'law and order' platform. Both advertised their respective abilities to put offenders to death. In his television campaign, Governor Mark White-walking towards the camera past a number of two-metre high portraits of the men he had executed-claimed 'But tough talk isn't enough. Criminals know how to tangle up the courts and delay executions. To bring them to justice takes strength and dedication. Because if the governor flinches, they win. Only a governor can make executions happen. I did, and I will.' His rival, Texas Attorney-General Jim Mattox, said, in his own television commercials, 'As Attorney-General I've carried out thirty-two executions' (Washington Post, 4 March 1990, A8).

The tough 'new' approach is thus anything but new (Sallmann 1986, p. 203). Similarly, it can hardly be said to have made much difference in crime prevention.

On the Australian scene, David Brown discusses the effect of the promises of Michael Yabsley (New South Wales Minister for Corrective Services) to 'put the value back in punishment' and to put 'truth' into sentencing (Brown 1990, p. 239). At the same time that Royal Commissions and Law Reform Commissions are calling for imprisonment to be used as an option of last resort, says Brown, the effect of the new 'truth' regime in New South Wales has been to increase the prison population to record levels (including record levels of overcrowding), to set record numbers of prisoners on protection, and to set record levels of assaults, riots, disturbances, damage to prison property and deaths in custody. While there are record levels of expenditures and intensification of penal discipline, at the same time there has been a curtailing

of educational programs (Brown 1990, p. 244). The symbolism of all of this is important, maintains Brown:

These changes in the distribution of powers and resources within the law and order area reflect, and seek to reproduce, a popular understanding of law and order in terms of an enhancement of the coercive power of the state. Moreover implicit in these developments is the decisive location of 'the crime problem' on the domain of the street, especially among youth. They are coupled with substantial cutbacks in social services in other areas, such as housing, childcare, public transport and education . . . Affirmation of the family and 'family values' becomes the vehicle for a particular construction of the problems of crime and violence, within which the issue of private violence within the family gives way to a focus on the problem of disorder, violence and crime which resides in the public realm. Violence, crime, homelessness and poverty all become the responsibility of the individual, who thereby becomes a fit subject for state discipline (Brown 1990, p. 245).

Thus, there persists in the public, media and political crime prevention rhetoric an emphasis upon the individual's guilt and responsibility and the agencies of the state which must intervene to correct the individuals who misbehave. There is much less emphasis on the notion of collective or communal responsibility for crime. To allow these notions to be skewed in such a way is quite counter-productive to crime prevention (Pashukanis 1978, p. 177; Carlen 1980, p. 18). Crime prevention policy-makers would do well to remember it.

Appropriate Information

Those who embark upon crime prevention projects must avail themselves of all relevant information on the subject. The following areas may be used as a starting point for further enquiry.

Programs, ideas and projects from other jurisdictions

Information on the experiences of other jurisdictions which have undertaken crime prevention projects is essential. It can best be retrieved from communities which are not too dissimilar and where there has been some evidence, through evaluation studies, of success. This information is readily accessible from Europe (see HEUNI & Graham 1990), the USA (see United States of America 1969, 1987, 1989), and the UK (see Gladstone 1980), as well as Australia (see Geason & Wilson 1988, 1990; South Australia 1989b, 1990a, 1990b; Potas, Vining & Wilson 1990). There is information, for example, on a range of community-based crime prevention programs ranging from youth advisory centres, vocational training and business enterprises in the USA and The Netherlands (HEUNI & Graham 1990, pp. 33, 117), to schemes which have reduced vandalism in schools by providing financial incentives to student councils (Gladstone 1980, p. 38).

Caution ought to be exercised before administrators commit themselves to the implementation of 'foreign' programs, lest there be important differences in the characteristics of

the physical jurisdictions or crucial dissimilarities between the players involved in the implementation process. For example, North American initiatives are often implemented in social

situations vastly different from our own. The racial composition of many American states, their policing organisation (based upon cities and towns rather than states), judicial structure and their sheer numbers are factors which have to be considered in determining whether to adopt any of their projects.

'Situational' versus 'social' crime prevention

There are two general schools of thought emerging from crime prevention literature. At stake is the emphasis to be placed upon the competing claims to funds and project time made by those who favour 'situational' as opposed to 'social' crime prevention. Commentators have concluded that certain situational crime prevention measures can have a noticeable crime-reducing effect (Clarke 1983), for example, better lighting in certain neighbourhoods, better transport serving late night entertainment and better vandal-resistant property. By the same token, under certain circumstances, considerable changes in social behaviour can be achieved by the more 'social' processes, such as racial awareness programs in schools, youth clubs and other community settings (Bottoms 1990, p. 9). The literature suggests that administrators adopt a balanced approach, that is, crime prevention ought to incorporate both situational and social aspects. One ought not to be neglected in favour of the other.

Unintended consequences

It is often the case that changes in policy bring about consequences which were not intended prior to the implementation of those changes. Policy-makers ought to seek appropriate information in order to guard against the emergence of these unintended consequences. In the field of crime prevention, a number of matters come immediately to mind.

Privatisation of crime prevention

Crime prevention journals regularly carry advertisements for security firms. Neighbourhood Watch booklets contain information on how best to secure one's home. The private security industry has reached a level now that its employees, on some estimates, outnumber 'public' police three to one. Private transit 'police' and private beach foreshore 'police' are now commonplace in Australia. All of this has occurred in what has been described as a 'quiet revolution' in policing (Shearing & Stenning 1983). There are, however, some difficulties with private solutions. They are available only to those who can afford them, and thus allow only those people with sufficient wealth the opportunity to retreat into private space (Freckelton & Selby 1988, pp. 233-4; Sutton 1991, p. 3). Questions of accountability then arise.

Private solutions to crime may also increase the likelihood of the demise of more informal mechanisms of social control (Conklin 1975; Hogg 1988, p. 46). These trends may be quite counter-productive to the crime prevention movement if it is agreed that our societies should be attempting to foster a sense of community and common interest among people of different social classes and income levels, rather than to emphasise social separateness by deliberately creating the

greatest possible degree of residential segregation' (Bottoms 1990, p. 19). The research and information on the subject of some of

the drawbacks of crime prevention by 'privatisation' ought to be read as a matter of priority.

Private (vigilante) justice

When crime prevention is described as being something which should be community-based, or when the formal agents of control are said to be unable to cope, some communities may be encouraged to undertake vigilante justice. Repeated references in the media to police under-staffing or 'light' sentences in the courts might entice some members of the community to 'take the law into their own hands'. This is a trend which must be monitored and resisted. An article in the *Guardian Weekly* (5 May 1991) reported that in some South African townships an ad hoc 'people's court' sentences offenders to (amongst other things) *siwasho*, a Zulu term for 'cleansing medicine'. These extra-judicial beatings are ordered by street 'committees' and are carried out by groups of youths armed with sjamboks, or rhinoceros-hide whips.

While Australians are unlikely to resort to these measures, there are some disturbing trends. Private ownership of firearms is certainly not discouraged in Australia. Indeed, there are approximately 3.5 million firearms in Australia, or one for every four Australians (Australian National Committee on Violence 1990, p. 173). Ownership of a firearm is a factor, research has shown, which increases the danger-rather than safety-to the owners of those weapons (Van Dijk 1979, p. 10; Wallace 1986). In South Australia, a Bill to amend the *Criminal Law Consolidation Act 1935* was introduced on 5 September 1990 by the Opposition spokesperson on legal affairs. It proposed that persons should be allowed to defend themselves or their property 'from unjustifiable interference from another' by the use of 'such force as is reasonable in the circumstances as they actually exist, or as the person believes them to be'. The Act is, therefore, adding a subjective component to the current common law objective test of reasonable force, a move which poses difficulties for a systematic and democratic approach to crime prevention. It was passed into law on 12 December 1991.

Discrimination and stigmatisation

No matter how well-intentioned a crime prevention program may be, if its design includes the planning of activities or the provision of facilities specifically directed towards people 'at risk', there is always the possibility and the danger that the people thus identified will not only be unresponsive to their newly acquired stigma, but actively discriminated against in the future. A program designed to provide outdoor activities or sporting opportunities for 'delinquent youth', for example, may cast, for all time, aspersions upon the character of the persons selected for the activity. Indeed, the very act of labelling the activity 'crime prevention' at all may have the effect of stigmatising the participants.

At the other end of the spectrum, prevention methods which fall more heavily upon some sections of the community than others, for example, juvenile curfews, may have the same effect. When the curfew is broken, youths are apprehended by police and held in custody in a manner which can be likened to the arrest of a law breaker. In those circumstances there is

a great likelihood that the youths will in future tend to act out that deviance rather than be deterred from it (Wilkins 1965; Young 1971; Sim 1982).

Net-widening

Similarly, research has shown that ad hoc intervention into the lives of people 'at risk' of offending can, at times, result in undesirable increases in the number of people (and the range of behaviours) subject to state-sanctioned control-a process described as 'net-widening' (Alder & Polk 1985; Curran 1988, p. 366). The problem of public drunkenness provides an example. A crime prevention strategy may involve the removal, without arrest, of intoxicated persons from public places. Taking away one of the major disincentives for police intervention-the paperwork associated with arrest and prosecution-will make it more likely that intoxicated people will be taken into custody by police. Indeed, the decriminalisation of public drunkenness in 1984 in South Australia precipitated a significant rise in the frequency with which disadvantaged individuals, particularly Aborigines, were apprehended and held in police cells-albeit now for reasons of 'welfare' rather than public order (South Australia 1986). Potential crime prevention programs ought to be scrutinised for their possible net-widening effects.

Displacement

The research on this subject indicates that prevention initiatives which target certain types of crime in certain areas merely shifts the problem to other areas (Barr & Pease 1990). For example, the 'hardening of targets' in the banking industry appears to have given rise to a spate of robberies upon 'softer' targets such as convenience stores and late-night petrol stations. The success of a Neighbourhood Watch in one area may merely lead to increases in burglaries in another area. Any prevention program, therefore, must undertake evaluative research to gauge this effect.

Community attitudes and prejudices

Those seeking to establish successful crime prevention strategies must seek to understand the nature of the community in which the prevention program is designed to operate, and to consult with that community in the formulation of goals (Lea et al. 1988). The impact of the multicultural society in which we live, and its growth, have been the subject of much debate, academic research and editorial-writing in recent years. Those engaged in the task of crime prevention must examine this research and its repercussions for prevention projects. Crime prevention programs should begin with a recognition of the existence, the malleability, and the diversity of inter-cultural perspectives (Hanvey 1979, p. 4). To cite two examples:

- There is a widespread belief that certain ethnic groups or religious congregations import their old political rivalries and criminal organisations into their Australian neighbourhoods. For example, the Gulf War in the early part of 1991 provided an

opportunity for a particularly xenophobic section of the Australian population to vilify the Arab and Muslim communities. Investigative journalist Bob Bottom is repeatedly reporting upon 'Mafia'-type activities, and

thereby unfairly and almost maliciously labelling the Australian-Italian community as crime-prone. The available evidence, on the contrary, suggests that the foreign born are not over-represented in criminal justice statistics, or if they are, it may be more for reasons of discriminatory policing practices than anything else.

Unvoiced assumptions are common in the criminal justice system. Among these is the belief in the immigrant criminal . . . [S]uch popular demonologies seem able to survive any amount of exorcism (Francis 1986, p. 149).

Those engaged in the crime prevention task may need to give attention to the number of difficulties that face the non-English speaking person where crime and law are concerned. In addition to community education programs (Australian Law Reform Commission 1991, p. 55), crime prevention initiatives could include alteration of the criminal law to accommodate minority cultural values (Kearney 1990, p. 9) and to accommodate unusual defences, for example, ignorance of law (Bird 1988, p. 426).

- There is a popular belief that Aboriginal Australians cause much of the crime that prevention schemes are designed to alleviate. Yet:

[o]ften these patterns are a product of a failure to understand the values of the largely alien group with whom the police are required to deal (Australian Law Reform Commission 1978, p. 80).

Crime prevention projects must take into account the special needs and issues of Aboriginal Australians in a way which is not demeaning and which avoids paternalism. They could begin with a recognition of the place of British colonial legal fictions in Australia's beginnings. They should acknowledge the findings of the National Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody released on 9 May 1991 (Australia 1991), and examine why it is that many Aboriginal communities have criticised the report as a 'white-wash'.

An Understanding of the Dynamics of the Implementation Process

Administrators of crime prevention projects (policy-makers and implementors alike) must seek to understand the political complexities in the process of implementation. Implementation theory has been a major topic of research in the UK and the USA since the early 1970s (Pressman & Wildavsky 1973), and in Australia too, although it tends to be piecemeal and narrowly focussed (Brown, Kramer & Quinn 1988, p. 298). The research has addressed problems with the translation of theory into practice. It seeks to determine why it is so often the case that the outcome of a policy differs from what was originally intended (Chan 1990, p. 59). Researchers have been concerned with the high number of projects which begin with lofty ideals, but end with administrative nightmares.

It is hard enough to design public policies and programs that look good on paper. It is harder still to formulate them in words and slogans that resonate pleasingly in the ears of political leaders and the constituencies to which they are responsive. And it is excruciatingly hard to implement them in a way that pleases anyone at all, including the supposed beneficiaries or clients . . . A single governmental strategy may involve the complex and interrelated activities of several levels of governmental bureaus (sic) and agencies, private organisations, professional associations, interest groups, and clientele populations. How can this profusion of activities be controlled and directed? This question is at the heart of what has come to be known . . . as the 'implementation problem' (Bardach 1977, p. 3).

Those responsible for crime prevention programs would do well to acquaint themselves with the literature on the dynamics of the implementation process and to consider and be alert to its implications. One could begin by making the following assumptions:

- that it is likely that a crime prevention program, or elements of it, will fail, or be found wanting. In other words, there are bound to be disappointments;
- that these disappointments or failures are likely to occur less because of any inherent ideological or theoretical weaknesses in the program itself and more because of breakdowns during its implementation;
and
- that these breakdowns will most likely be linked to the conflicting agendas, divergent organisational goals and political interests pushed by any groups (including implementors and policy-makers themselves) that have a stake in the program, even those groups that have a vested interest in its success not just in its failure (Chan 1987, p. 223). Agreement does not spell the end of self-righteousness and resentment.

One of our most consistent findings is the tendency for inter-agency conflicts and tensions to re-appear, in spite of cooperative efforts, reflecting the oppositions between state agencies at a deep structural level. We have also found consistent and persistent struggles between local authority departments over limited resources, power and prestige (Sampson, Stubbs, Smith, Pearson & Blagg 1988, p. 482 quoted in Bottoms 1990, p. 15).

With these assumptions in place, administrators should be ready to anticipate and address breakdowns when they first arise.

According to the British Home Office literature (Hope 1985, p. 39), the most common response by policy-makers, if something frustrates implementation, is to place the blame on the implementors themselves. They may suggest that implementors must have failed to heed the policy-maker's instructions, or that they have acted in an inefficient, uncoordinated or even subversive manner. Implementation of any policy will be improved, under this view, by increasing control over the implementors, and by improving the communication of policy objectives from policy-maker to implementor.

Conversely, implementors may respond to failure by levelling charges at policy-makers that programs were poorly conceived or left with insufficient funds, or that the policy-makers deliberately built obsolescence into the implementation phase to enable political objectives to be achieved without significant cost and without political opprobrium. The implementation process may be improved, on this approach, by placing greater accountability upon policy-makers.

Researchers into the implementation process suggest that neither response is altogether appropriate. They suggest, alternatively, that administrators ought to view all participants in the implementation process as acting quite rationally, but in order to achieve personal and organisational goals in addition to the goals set for the strategy itself. In the context of crime prevention, implementation researchers would suggest that policy-makers and implementors avoid seeing the program as a set of objectives to be achieved but rather as a process where broad intentions gradually evolve into practice in accordance with personal and organisational pressures and resistances. In that situation, the possibility of ultimate failure will be reduced. In other words, policy implementation should be adaptive.

[T]here is no amount of statutory specificity and top-down control that will prevent an implementation process from becoming a test of its own efficacy . . . What an organisation devoted to learning can do about implementation failure is to utilise it as a route to implementation success-successful exploration. Rather than seeking to make tractable eternally intractable social problems, or designing detailed problem-solving policies, a learning organisation must avoid an unquestioning, uninquiring myopic stance. It must analyse its policies for their informational yield. It should evaluate its implementation of these policies, not against prospectively stated objectives alone, but in light of discoveries made during implementation . . . The learning society views the implementer (sic) as a source of new information. On this basis, a case can be made for the reconceptualising of implementation as an exploratory rather than an unquestioning, instrumental, and even subservient type of behaviour (Browne & Wildavsky 1984, pp. 254-6).

In other words, administrators faced with difficulties during the implementation phase will best deal with these inevitable barriers by:

- planning the implementation in light of anticipated political and organisational pressures, recognising not how things ought to work, but how they do work, asking the following questions:
 - (i) Do different agencies have different amounts of power in inter-agency crime prevention forums, and does it matter?
 - (ii) How much autonomy is it necessary for each agency to lose for the sake of the collective good, and are they willing to lose it?
 - (iii) To what extent is it right to recognise that different agencies (such as the police and social work departments) have different assigned functions, and that these functions will necessarily limit the extent to which cooperation between agencies may properly (and ethically) extend? (Bottoms 1990, p. 16, emphasis in the

original);

- requiring as little management as possible,
- writing a scenario, that is 'an imaginative construction of future sequences of actions-consequent conditions-actions-consequent conditions, being prepared to modify and adjust, that is, to see the process as one of learning about the process of implementation itself. It is inventing a plausible story about 'what will happen if' or, more precisely, inventing several such stories' (Bardach 1977, p. 254),
- consulting as widely as possible at every stage of a project;
- involving interest groups in the development of policy so that they perceive themselves as having a stake in its successful implementation;
- learning from the process of implementation about how better to plan and to direct similar projects in the future. In other words, implementation need not necessarily be an end result but a process of exploring and testing hypotheses.

With these ideas in mind, the implementation phase of crime prevention projects ought to be far less daunting and far more productive.

Sound Evaluative Techniques and Interpretation Models

Crime prevention administrators will need to plan for evaluation of their projects. The determination of whether implemented programs work (and why and how they work) is essential. Not only does evaluation assist in future planning and in making modifications to existing projects but also it may well be one of the future prerequisites of government funding for crime prevention strategies.

Only brave commercial entrepreneurs release new products on the market without having undertaken evaluative market research in their design and implementation. Yet few crime prevention projects in Australia, if not elsewhere, effectively incorporate ongoing evaluative research. Many crime prevention initiatives, often accompanied by the expenditure of large amounts of public money, are set in train without any endeavour on the part of their designers to gauge their likely effect, nor their effectiveness once in operation (Sarre 1991, p. 272).

There are many reasons why evaluation is not carried out as a matter of course. For example :

- administrators very often fail to identify their goals prior to commencing a project, and may neglect to specify the different ways they plan to achieve them. Evaluation is then perceived to be too difficult to carry out even for those with expertise;
- it is extremely difficult to define the terms of analysis. Terms such as 'project effectiveness', 'policy success' and 'program failure' are ambiguous and problematic;

- evaluation does sometimes produce disappointing results which are unwelcome to governments and sponsoring organisations.

Indeed, sometimes the very same people who at one time demand evidence of prima facie effectiveness before embarking on a scheme, will at a later date resist the negative conclusions of methodologically rigorous research' (Bottoms 1990, p. 18);

- there is often a lack of information, a lack of access to techniques and data, a lack of funds (evaluation is usually costly), and a lack of faith that the process will reveal anything worthwhile.

Furthermore, the validity of many evaluations is questionable. There is a suspicion that applicants for grant money may 'fudge' findings to convince the funding agencies that they will be investing in a proven program, and would rather not undertake further evaluation which may dispel these findings. Funding agencies may also be to blame. It is not unlikely that they will want to hear that they are supporting a good product for reasons of pride and commercial kudos (Palumbo & Nachmias 1983, p. 67; Lurigio & Rosenbaum 1986, p. 23; Bottoms 1990, p. 17).

This is not to say that evaluations are always essentially flawed. Some evaluative research has produced a clearer picture of projects that have been implemented successfully in certain communities, under what conditions and why. Evaluations in the USA and Britain, for example, have researched the extent to which increasing the number or frequency of police foot or car patrols would have a crime reductive effect (Kelling Pate, Dieckman & Brown 1976; Clarke & Hough 1984). Evaluations in Australia, for example, monitored the effect of the decriminalisation of drunkenness (South Australia 1986; Brown 1987, p. 268-71) and the creation of a 'civil' offence for cannabis possession (South Australia 1989a). Evaluations of Neighbourhood Watch and 'cocoon' Neighbourhood Watch schemes have been able to highlight the strengths, difficulties and failings of these schemes (Mukherjee & Wilson 1987; Bottoms 1990, p. 11-15). The fact remains, however, that these types of evaluations have been the exceptions rather than the rule.

The success stories teach us something about the relevance of evaluation generally. Policy-makers may well note that certain types of crime prevention initiatives will be more easily evaluated by empirical method than others. Specific initiatives concerning, for example, cannabis possession or theft are more amenable to a numerical style of evaluation. Other programs, seeking to reduce fear of violence, or to raise community consciousness concerning multicultural issues or police attitudes are far more difficult to evaluate (Sarre 1992).

To that end it may be worth having crime prevention administrators explore the range of literature on the subject of a new evaluation style, known as 'learning evaluation' or 'open-ended' evaluation. It is not unlike the notion of viewing the implementation process as a period of exploration. Learning evaluation is unlike the common 'two-point, before-and-after' research design

which merely compares measured results with prospectively stated objectives (assuming that there were any). Indeed, the literature on the 'two-point' method is replete with warnings that such designs are 'likely to produce misleading results' (Casper & Brereton 1984, p. 122). Rather, 'learning evaluation' measures the quality of the discoveries that emerged during the implementation process, for example, how a project was able to unify a neighbourhood, how principles of accountability functioned, how a group was able to adapt when changes to the program were necessary, how net-widening may have been affected, or why one set of organisational interests came to dominate (Casper & Brereton 1984, p. 130).

Learning evaluation strives to unearth faulty assumptions, reshape misshapen policy designs, and continuously redefine goals in light of new information derived during implementation (Browne & Wildavsky 1984, pp. 255-6).

Moreover, it does not despair in inconsistent or 'negative' findings, but sees such findings as part of an ongoing learning experience. For example, 'no effect' research does not necessarily mean that the measures evaluated are wholly ineffective (Knutsson 1988). These measures may still work in social conditions other than those investigated by the evaluation, and the evaluators may be able to isolate those conditions for future reference.

The point to be made is that if crime prevention policy-makers adopt 'learning' evaluation, in addition to the more standard forms of evaluation, not only will the evaluative process become more accessible, but the 'successes' and 'failures' of the implementation process will become more readily capable of definition and available for interpretation. Crime prevention administrators will thus be less inclined to look for simple, quick-fix technical conclusions to complex social problems, and may design their programs more broadly.

Summary

- Those charged with the responsibility for crime prevention should have an understanding of their task in the terms of the wider law and order debate. In the 1970s and 1980s there have been new insights in criminology and the theories of crime control and law and order, yet there has been a dearth of public debate based upon anything but 'hard-line' responses. Typical of these responses is the call for increased penalties and greater police numbers and enhanced powers. Such limited vision can only be counter-productive to the crime prevention task.
- Political point-scoring and poor media reporting on law and order issues are both counter-productive to crime prevention.
- Access to information is essential for those engaged in crime prevention. Administrators should be aware of the availability of literature on the vast array of programs in operation, their strengths and weaknesses, unintended consequences and possible community attitudes and

prejudices before they embark upon any schemes.

- Each jurisdiction should be encouraged to establish and fund a reliable database of crime statistics, for statistical collation and interpretation.
- Implementation research has provided us with information on how the process of implementation itself can be better understood and to enable us to employ strategies that predict and thus avoid or ameliorate implementation breakdown.
- Evaluation of crime prevention projects is the exception rather than the rule, and the reasons for this are many and varied. Policy-makers and administrators ought to be aware of the variety of issues facing evaluators and ought to be able to select the type of evaluation best suited to the task at hand. Adopting the concept of 'learning' evaluation-which incorporates the idea that a great deal can be discovered by program failure-may assist administrators in undertaking this essential task.
- Finally, what is required is an understanding that crime prevention is not a matter of applying technically-sound, quick-fix, simple solutions, but an integrated series of community-based activities, backed by adaptive implementation and appropriate evaluation. Thinking in these terms will allow crime prevention to remain as a government and community priority.

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Networking Crime Prevention

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Human service organisations must be proficient at communication to bring about productive change. Communication is important for the service provider who must relate to community groups to bring about their integration. It is the skills of the service providers that are important, as they act as enablers, catalysts, educators and coordinators. Service providers can help to bring about change through consensus or conflict resolution. They may also empower a group so that the group itself can bring about social change. However, service providers are members of human service organisations; organisations within a community that provide services which can be categorised as Function Specific, Special Mission or Cross Community (Weiner 1982, p. 410).

Function Specific Communication

Function specific organisations provide specialist services which address needs in such broad fields as education, health, police, corrections, social security and recreation. Within function specific organisations, relationships exist in both lateral and longitudinal directions, and a network arises when people talk with each other and share ideas, information and resources. Network communication needs to be continuous and should involve a variety of methods. It is also supportive but does not have to be based on friendships.

The function specific networks are links between autonomous teams within an organisation. These teams work together to make the organisation an effective unit. These types of networks are particularly important in a

number of areas, particularly in information gathering. With a network, only that information currently required can be selected and acquired. For example, within the police force, different units share information and resources which assist each group to advance its objectives and reduce duplication.

Special Mission Communication

Special mission human services participate in special tasks or efforts targeted at specific groups within a community. For example, intellectually disabled individuals who are associated with particular agencies may have programs developed for them which require the resources of other organisations. In this situation there is a need for an external network. The specialist needs required by an individual cannot be met by one organisation alone: other specialist organisations must be accessed for expertise and resources, and in this way, each organisation's respective objectives are furthered.

A special mission network consists of a set of interrelated units. Each unit has its own separate job to do but does it within the context of the broader task-the units help themselves by helping each other. Networks are able to access people or resources by 'cutting through' the organisations which use them.

Cross Community Communication

There are some community needs which cannot be accommodated by a particular agency, but require input from several, if not all, community organisations. This requires powerful links between autonomous organisations and in order to deal with complex community issues, new teams must be established which are able to cooperate and communicate effectively. Community needs are usually complex issues which affect a large proportion of the community. For example, crime and crime prevention is too complex an issue to be dealt with by any single special mission or function specific group. It requires input from many function specific organisations incorporating all areas of government and the community.

At a time when there are increasing demands on services and decreasing resources, the expectation remains that services be improved. Networks occurring between human service providers and within and between organisations have the advantage that they allow for economic sharing of information, knowledge and resources. Networking allows organisations to continue with their work, provide innovative and effective outcomes, and contribute towards achieving larger, more meaningful goals.

In Victoria, a unique experience has been the Good Neighbourhood Program which is an organisation developed to identify and address the broad social issue of crime prevention. The Good Neighbourhood Committees (established as a result of a seeding grant) successfully brought together individuals and organisations to take responsibility for a social issue within the community. These committees implemented initiatives aimed at impacting on the social problem of crime. Members came from a wide range of backgrounds-business, police, corrections, churches, social services, local

government, politicians, schools and other interested individuals. Each individual committee member was also part of an external unit which had its own networks, contacts, resources and information. This mix of individuals ensured a dispersed network, with varied kinds of membership. Although not a large group, the diversity of the networks within the Good Neighbourhood Program ensured successful integration and access to resources, ideas and information. This communication may otherwise have only been gained through slow moving official channels. The Good Neighbourhood Program networks in Croydon resulted in:

- a local church group establishing an after-hours Saturday bus service to transport young people within the community;
- discount cinema tickets being provided by a local cinema owner following an approach by a local optometrist and student;
- a Saturday night 'safe' train which provides safety and entertainment to and from the city. It is manned by police and volunteers and met by volunteers on its return;
- facilities for garage bands being established with the assistance of a local monastery, music shop, council, the Office of Corrections and young musicians; and
- adventure camps, Student Information Officers and a non-alcoholic wine bar being developed through the assistance of police, schools, local councils, the Office of Corrections, Community Services Departments and a local supermarket.

The results of this innovative approach to the social problem of crime has provided the Croydon community with something tangible for their efforts. Whether crime has been reduced as a result of these initiatives can always be debated, but the Good Neighbourhood Program is able to say, categorically, that crime prevention has been achieved through the implementation of programs. This is evidenced by a lack of violence on the safe train, the garage bands which give a direction to energy of otherwise dislocated individuals, a bus service that reduces the boredom associated with walking long distances late at night, cinema tickets which give young people an inexpensive entertainment opportunity, and young 'at risk' people who are now given the opportunity to take part in adventure camps and shown that their lives can be more productive and purposeful.

Networking in the Community

The value of networking in the community is unlikely to be disputed. Real issues to be decided are: what is meant by networking and how does one go about networking? There are two major ways of viewing networking arrangements.

The first networking method places a great concentration on process. So much so, that one can become totally absorbed and involved in the process

for its own sake. The attraction of this method is in its safety. When and if things go wrong, one can point to the fact that all the correct steps were followed.

The second method of networking is results-oriented and involves considerable risk taking. If the desired result is not achieved, the group involved is vulnerable to blame for any use of unorthodox methods. There can be no falling back on the safety of accepted process. Individuals and organisations need to be very aware of the risks involved in results-oriented networking. Preference is clearly for a result-orientated networking structure, but it is recognised that this can only operate within a very supportive organisational environment.

How to Organise a Community Structure-The Normal Process

Having arrived at an issue, an auspice agency would form a committee. Focusing on the issue, this committee would contact relevant groups in the community and ask them to provide a representative to meet with the committee. The representative would be required to report to the committee on various items pertinent to the issue. It must be noted that, with some issue areas, a formal structure would not exist. For example, unemployed youth cannot always be represented by a formal group. In this situation, a lengthy and involved procedure occurs in trying to find a representative for that group.

Having formed a committee, the tasks required to deal with the issues must be established. This is usually accomplished by surveying large quantities of information on the topic: this is often time-consuming. In surveys where the direction is uncertain, a wide range of studies may occur which, when examined, rarely show a relationship with the statistical material relating to the issue.

How to Organise a Community Structure-An Alternative The Good Neighbourhood Program, Croydon

In commencing the Good Neighbourhood Program in Croydon, the topic at hand was widely advertised by word of mouth, letters and general publicity, and people who were interested were asked to come forward. This type of advertising encourages the involvement of people who may not be directly connected with the issue, and such individuals may have both the necessary time and skills required to assist in research.

Three different types of surveys were available to the Good Neighbourhood Committee. The first was a formal survey which had been conducted two years previously. This questionnaire related to a number of issues, but particularly to public transport and safety issues, and had been answered by 200 young people . The second survey was very thorough. It was conducted through a local TAFE College which exhaustively sought information from young people regarding their entertainment options.

The third survey was a less expensive and far more effective method. For this survey, one of the committee members visited local secondary schools in the Croydon area. A talk was presented to several classes from each school

and it commenced with the statement that the best idea suggested by the class would get \$20. On every occasion that this technique was used, the young people were extremely sceptical; they could not believe that anyone was prepared to offer them money for an idea. However, when a student volunteered an idea, it was written on the blackboard and the remaining students were told that, unless a better idea came forward, that student would receive \$20. Soon, students were working frantically in groups to originate project ideas relating to identified problems. At this point, the money had become a secondary issue. The majority of students had concluded that, if someone was prepared to offer money, they must be quite serious about using the information gained. As a follow up to this survey technique, when programs were designed, they were brought back to the original group for fine-tuning. A continuing relationship is maintained by informing the group of their idea's progress.

At the first three meetings of the Good Neighbourhood committee, members tried to work out the problems that caused young people to be involved with crime and what some of the solutions might be. Some fairly elaborate processes were worked through to try and solve these problems. However, this proved frustrating and it was decided to look at the issues and problems which had been raised in our discussion with the students and which were important to the wider community. These problems included issues such as a lack of transportation, lack of money, lack of entertainment options, and lack of information for young people. These issues were adopted by the committee and were worked through to find solutions.

When a program design is looked at in a committee, each member should have equal participation in the process. It is often forgotten that each member has different skills and different interests. For example, some people are able to speak well at public forums, others are much better suited to speaking in small group situations or in writing down their thoughts. Similarly in program design, some people are able to generate effective programs because of their experience and others are not.

In the Croydon Good Neighbourhood Program, the proposed programs from the surveys were detailed by council officers and brought back to the community group for discussion, acceptance or rejection. This discussion was important as it allowed committee members to manipulate the proposals into a workable form-to take the raw program design ideas that had been generated and to fine-tune them. For example, the police could fine-tune programs to point out what is practical and feasible. This information was then used to modify the programs so that they would work.

The issues of crime prevention can be very broad in their scope and it is a challenge to those working with community groups to assist in developing smaller-scale strategies which result in a local benefit. Rather than continue to look at global issues on a global scale, the Croydon Good Neighbourhood committee reduced issues to a local and more manageable level.

Another important aspect of the committee's community networking is the process of using individual's abilities. It is always recommended that projects be put into action utilising the skills of those people best capable. For example, a local businessman, who had been quiet in relation to the surveying of our needs and had been inactive in relation to the program design, took upon himself the project of implementing one of the devised programs. This

project resulted from an expressed need by young people for cheaper movies at weekend times, particularly when they were not studying and they were allowed out by their parents. The businessman went with the young person who had originated the idea and spoke to the cinema managers. Initially, there was little response, but because of his knowledge and capabilities, the businessman pursued the matter until one cinema owner accepted the proposal and took \$1.50 off the ticket price for any movie at any time for a student.

In networking within a community it should be recognised that the great majority of people do not want to be on committees, but are out there waiting to be asked to contribute to the committee in some small way. It is quite easy to get community support and assistance when one asks. For example, the Croydon Shuttle Bus program has a volunteer group which provided the bus. Driver training was paid for twenty volunteers, and these volunteers (together with their bus) now provide a rostered service to required venues. It was not the desire of this volunteer group to be on a committee that met, to be the committee secretary, or to get involved in committee structures, yet these volunteers were quite happy to do the work required to ensure the success of the program. Similarly, many community volunteers have been prepared to meet the late train on a Saturday night (12.30 a.m. Sunday morning) and ensure that those leaving the train disperse without any incidents or trouble. These volunteers are the action part of the community network. They are not involved in all the other aspects of the Good Neighbourhood Program because they do not want to be involved (although they are welcome to become involved further, should they wish).

Another major element of the normal committee is its extravagant bureaucracy. Often worse than state and Federal governments or huge private enterprise monoliths, a committee will frequently spend a lot of time on procedures and will insist that there be no decisions or no expenditure without the full voting authority of the whole committee. Of course, all this bureaucracy takes time.

One of the things that was found in the Good Neighbourhood Program in Croydon was that the ability to be non-bureaucratic leads to effective action which greatly involves the community. The example given previously of the businessman negotiating a successful deal with the local cinema is also an example of how to deal with things in a non-bureaucratic way. The committee gave the businessman the authority to go away and negotiate whatever he thought appropriate knowing that he had the full backing of the committee. The committee did not expect the results achieved, yet were quite happy with them. A committee should establish the broad parameters within which each member can operate—the major guideline being 'get a result'.

Many community groups are prepared to offer a considerable amount of assistance in specific areas. There are often gaps in the whole program implementation which people cannot be found to fill. These gaps should be taken by paid staff—even though they may be boring, awkward, unpleasant and difficult—so that the program can keep moving.

What has not been stated explicitly is that individuals want action to occur quickly. When committees work through the common form of community networking, action takes a long time. To get a program off the

ground, early results are required to encourage the committee (and others who are on the fringe) that the program undertaken is a worthwhile initiative.

Significant victories are needed very early in the program's development and these achievements need to be publicised-by informal word of mouth, public speaking, or the media. The community needs to be aware of the program and the committee needs credibility and prominence. The knowledge that a particular organisation, program or committee gets results will inevitably lead to other community groups wanting to become a part of the program.

Conclusion

The essentials to effective community networking are to:

- allow people to be involved to the level they wish;
- take bite-size pieces of the larger problem;
- recognise that people have particular skills;
- work with people who are interested in the subject;
- always look to the end result;
- be action-based;
- be as non-bureaucratic as possible; and
- achieve results early in the process.

There are many resources for crime prevention in the community. It is a matter of effectively networking them to get results.

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The Good Neighbourhood Program in Victoria

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The bulk of people who make up our prison community still come, as they always have come, from the most deprived sections of society. The poor, the unemployed, the socially disadvantaged, the intellectually disabled and Aborigines are disproportionately represented in prisons. It is not because they possess some particular capacities for violent or unlawful behaviour, but for reasons of structural injustices which have existed in this community and which continue to exist.

The Honourable Mr Justice Frank Vincent, Response to Joint Church Social Justice State, 'Prison-The Last Resort', Melbourne, 25 September 1988.

The Good Neighbourhood Program (GNP) as its name implies, is a crime prevention approach through community and social development. The GNP has attempted to address the causes of crime at the local level and to develop ways of addressing them. In this paper, the origins of the GNP are briefly outlined; the way the GNP has operated across Victoria is described, as well as some of the issues and concerns which have emerged in its operation. Finally, some directions for the future are identified.

Origins

In September 1988, the Victorian government initiated a community-based crime prevention strategy known as the Good Neighbourhood Program (GNP). The program was designed around a partnership between state and local governments and the community. It was aimed at reducing and preventing local crime, in particular youth crime, as well as addressing community concerns and perceptions about crime.

The GNP borrowed elements from the French crime prevention approach (known as the 'Bonnemaison' approach) which grew out of the

recommendations of the Commission on Safety and Security in the Community (1982) chaired by Gilbert Bonnemaïson, Mayor of Epinay-Sur-Seine and Member of Parliament. The Commission concluded that the causes of violence and criminal behaviour were complex and directly linked to living conditions, urban development and related socioeconomic factors. In response, the French government undertook a national initiative in which community-based committees were established through local councils. These local committees were funded to assess the causes of crime and violence in their area, and design and implement projects that were appropriate to local conditions through crime prevention contracts. What was important was the local assessment of the causes of crime and the subsequent development of a coordinated national and local approach which had high level political commitment. The key features of the French approach which have been adopted by GNP are:

- an acceptance of a causal link between crime and the issues of social inequality, urban living conditions and poverty;
- a commitment to increase community awareness about the problems and causes of crime;
- cooperative linkages between the different tiers of government;
- the coordination of resourcing strategies;
- the decentralisation of decision-making to the local level; and
- the active involvement of community and government in crime prevention.

In Victoria, the GNP has involved state government and non-government agencies, police, the private sector, representatives from the identified groups at risk and the community. Local committees have been established to analyse the causes of crime, develop a local strategy plan, and determine appropriate ways to address identified problems. As in France, the partnership between state government, local government and their communities-facilitated and strengthened through the local GNP committees-provided a local framework within which community-based crime prevention activities can occur. These committees have been auspiced by local councils.

Initially, the GNP was piloted in a number of urban and rural local government areas and subsequently expanded. This has enabled community-based organisations and groups to establish GNP committees covering more than fifty municipalities to develop and implement their own crime prevention strategies with considerable success.

How the Good Neighbourhood Program Operates

The objective of the GNP is to prevent and reduce crime through social and community development. This has been achieved by:

- the development of local crime prevention strategies which are based on community knowledge about the nature and causes of crime and on the available resources for crime prevention in the local community;
- the improved integration of groups at risk of offending into the wider community;
- the identification and shared resourcing of pilot projects and activities which will increase the access of targeted groups to education and training; employment; cultural and recreational opportunities;
- the encouragement of young people at risk of offending to take more responsibility in crime prevention activities within a community development context; and
- the establishment of multi-agency networks for coordinating and addressing key issues in crime prevention at the local level.

The statewide framework for the GNP provided a number of crime prevention priority areas identified through research and consultation with government agencies, non-government agencies, police, a number of GNP committees, and through an appraisal of completed projects. These crime prevention priority areas for 1990/91 were:

- activities for young people at risk;
- education, training and employment;
- safety and security in the community;
- drug and alcohol abuse;
- minimising re-offending behaviour; and
- police-community relations.

Other considerations in the development of the GNP included:

- Level of funding: as funding available through the program has been limited, a range of options were developed that utilised existing resources as far as possible.
- Integration of activities and projects: the integrated development of social, recreational and work-related skills was encouraged. Projects that provided one-off experiences but neglected continuing needs (for example, holiday camps) were not perceived to bring about desired changes.

- Scope of strategies: these varied depending on local needs. Some strategies were specifically neighbourhood-based while others covered one or more municipalities.
- Neighbourhood: the neighbourhood was the focal point of the GNP which should encourage development and cohesion at this level.
- Social Cohesion: GNP committees were encouraged to cut across and encourage interaction between groups of different ages, gender and ethnicity. In addition, the participants were encouraged through activities to develop new practices that are appropriate to local needs and conditions.
- Youth: the involvement of youth was seen as critical, and the GNP attempted to use and develop their competencies in meaningful activities. Where possible, young people were to be paid for work done. Groups were to be of mixed gender, socioeconomic background, age and ethnicity.

Management

The management of the GNP has occurred at several levels. The Crime Prevention Division of the Ministry for Police and Emergency Services (MPES) has coordinated the GNP at the statewide level. Its role has been to process submissions for funding allocations; develop and review policies relating to the GNP projects; provide and disseminate appropriate information to GNP committees; develop and monitor the guidelines for the GNP; ensure compliance with the projects briefs and funding agreements; monitor and evaluate the implementation and outcomes of the GNP projects and the general functioning of GNP committees; facilitate the development of jointly funded projects; support the establishment of GNP committees and operate as an ex-officio member of GNP committees.

At the local level of management, the government invited local councils to play a special role in the implementation of GNP. The local council's role in auspicing the GNP was not to take ownership of the program, but to play a leadership and developmental function. The role was to manage and be accountable for the resources allocated to the projects; to establish and support the local GNP committee; to provide opportunities for people/organisations to register interest and participate in local GNP activities; to ensure local networks, organisations and people were made aware of the GNP, its objectives and principles; to endorse and auspice local GNP committee's recommendations and to contribute to the resourcing of projects.

GNP committees, in general, had representatives from local councils, and other government and non-government agencies active in the delivery of services to the community. The police, crime prevention organisations, the private sector and identified groups at risk were also involved.

Establishment of the GNP committees

The three factors which were taken into account in the establishment of GNP committees were:

- indicators of socioeconomic disadvantage (the Ross Index and the Youth Disadvantage Index have been used);
- levels of reported crime; and
- community assessment of need.

Functions of the GNP committee

The functions of GNP committees were as follows:

- analyse local crime using statistics and other information (such as that gathered from interviews and consultations with schools, youth groups, other agencies and community groups);
- assess the causes of crime in local neighbourhoods;
- assess the availability and adequacies of local services and programs in the area that contribute to crime prevention; and
- develop a local strategy plan which identifies the perceived causes of crime, and groups at risk of offending and priorities for action; and
- invite or develop submissions for projects linked to the crime analysis and strategy plan and assess these submissions for recommendations to the Crime Prevention Division of MPES for funding.

The GNP committees also played a key role in monitoring the implementation of projects and activities, evaluating completed projects and disseminating information about the GNP. This process helped to increase community awareness of the local crime problem and informed the community of how the problem was being addressed at the local level.

Funding

The crime prevention priority areas mentioned previously were used as a guide in the assessment of the GNP submissions for funding under the Crime Prevention Program Grants. The following principles were applied in the funding of these grants:

- GNP funding should provide opportunities to foster and pilot new and innovative approaches to crime prevention at the local level;

- community expertise and knowledge should be used to design, develop and implement appropriate and effective strategies to prevent and reduce crime at the local level;
- liaison and coordination with government and non-government agencies should be an integral component of strategy plan and project development and implementation;
- GNP projects submitted for funding should be based on the GNP committees' local crime analysis and strategy plans;
- identification of alternative sources of funding for the longer-term should be incorporated in the development of projects and their subsequent evaluation.

Funding arrangements of GNP through the Crime Prevention Program Grants have been in two stages. The first stage of funding was through a seeding grant (average amount: \$5,000) from the MPES to cover the GNP committee formation, the analysis of the local crime profile and the completion of crime prevention strategy plan. The second stage of funding was for approved pilot project(s) which should be matched on an agreed cash or kind basis by the auspicing council(s) or other agencies.

Funding for GNP projects was non-recurrent and could include general expenses, running costs, staff costs and equipment purchase and maintenance. The funding period for GNP projects was on an annual basis.

For the 1990/91 period, over ninety GNP projects were funded (average amount: \$7,528) which enabled a wide range of activities and projects to be implemented through local GNP committees. In 1991 there were twenty-four GNP committees functioning. Some covered large groupings of local councils (for example, Geelong, La Trobe Valley), while others were based within a single local government area.

Issues and Future Directions

The GNP was an example of the new trend in crime prevention which has emerged during the 1980s. It represented an attempt to move the emphasis of crime prevention away from traditional approaches. While the GNP has had a more sophisticated conceptual base-in that it rejects the simplistic view that crime rates can only be reduced by more resources for the criminal justice system or by improvements in welfare services-it presented major challenges and encountered significant difficulties in its implementation.

At a general level, problems arose for several reasons. Firstly, there is still an unresolved debate in the community about what has led to increasing crime rates over the last twenty years and what strategies are most effective in addressing the rise in crime. Realistically, it is unlikely that there ever will be a community consensus on these matters. Secondly, the necessary infrastructures and the will of the decision-makers to end the debate (rather than resolve it) has not been strongly in evidence. This made the implementation of the new approach presented by the GNP a particularly complex task. Effective intersectoral structures linking the Federal

government (they have a key role to play), state and local governments have been almost nonexistent in the crime prevention area. Strong impetus from leaders in key areas (such as mayors) has also been generally absent. This has hampered efforts to enable closer collaboration between the various agencies and the community.

It is not surprising that the GNP in Victoria has, since its establishment in August 1988, encountered problems and been subject to criticism. It should be expected that innovative approaches will meet some barriers to successful implementation. A number of specific issues have been identified at both the local and central level regarding the implementation of the GNP. Some of the issues relate to what can be described as 'program drift' as displayed through the considerable interest at local level in the funding of long-standing individual initiatives rather than seeking to implement the details of the local strategy. The explicit crime prevention aim of the GNP program had become secondary in some instances to the local government/community's desire to attract funds for general youth programs. Other concerns were about the role of the local councils and other participants who auspice the GNP at the local level. At the central level, issues emerged which related to program accountability, communication with and support for the local committees, as well as the general profile and visibility of the program.

The pivotal role of local government comes from the adoption of the 'Bonnemaison' model developed in France. Excellent support from some councils has been, in some cases, matched by a marked lack of interest by others. In a few instances, there has been active opposition, as the program is regarded as 'one more thing imposed by the state government'. There have been requests from committees to fund GNP coordinators to manage the implementation of the local strategies and support the work of the local committee. In most areas this role has fallen to the local council's Youth Services Coordinator, and may have been regarded as an imposition. However, in other areas, the council and council workers have welcomed their involvement.

The GNP committees have not always sought the involvement of local police and groups such as Neighbourhood Watch, although this has been changing. The Victoria Police became more supportive of the GNP program over time and were encouraged by senior police to actively participate. The role of GNP committees has not always been clear with respect to monitoring and evaluating the projects in the local area. This requirement has been addressed in the revised guidelines for the program and all funded projects have been required to submit interim and final evaluation reports. The Crime Prevention Division of MPES provided support to the committees to meet this requirement.

The accountability requirements of the program have been made more rigorous and the MPES's capacity to monitor it was increased to ensure that these requirements were met. Treasury requirements in relation to grants programs were built into the procedures. They included the adoption of detailed funding agreements, a standard project brief for funding submissions, documentation of funding decisions and the approval process.

Other improvements included more frequent visits to local areas by field officers from the MPES to support and advise the development of projects and the activities of the local committees. Greater clarity on a number of

policy issues (for example, on the funding of camps and graffiti art projects) also occurred through policy position papers. The interface between central coordination of the program and the local committees has also been addressed through a statewide workshop held in Berwick in March 1991 and several other meetings. It is hoped that there will be further opportunities to exchange information and address common concerns through a planned schedule of visits by Crime Prevention Division field officers and the organising of regional and statewide GNP forums, single issue forums and a regular GNP Newsletter.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that the MPES has been developing in conjunction with Victoria Police an integrated anti-crime strategy (VICSAFE). The GNP forms an integral part of this new strategy-the objectives of which mesh with those of the GNP. The strategy embraces the multi-agency approach and partnership with local communities in obtaining commitment and action for crime prevention.

The achievements of the GNP have been considerable given the limited resources and lack of infrastructure. The government has been courageous in attempting to approach the crime problem through a community development framework. The task has not been easy and the results have not been immediately tangible. Nevertheless, the community development approach is likely to be an integral component of any strategic action to prevent and control crime in the long term.

Crime Prevention: A Challenge for Police

*David A. Hunt
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Crime in South Australia is at no greater level than elsewhere in Australia and is still significantly behind many other western countries. However, South Australian crime rates continue to increase. Policing is now at a crossroads, because traditional methods can neither reduce nor contain crime, and innovative ideas must be considered so that the situation may be improved.

The approach to policing in South Australia has changed considerably in recent times, and it was realised that, if the South Australian police were to make any progress in the fight against crime, then the community would have to be fully involved. Consequently, the concept of community policing was introduced as a priority. The public has always known that individuals and the police are equally responsible for crime prevention, yet reintroducing the idea of police and the community 'working together' continues to be a challenge.

Traditional policing has concentrated on maintaining law and order, as well as the investigation and detection of crime, and the goals of policing are:

- to protect life and property;
- to preserve the peace;
- to maintain law and order;
- to prevent and detect crime; and
- to assist the public in circumstances of personal emergency.

In the past, crime prevention has relied mainly on 'deterrence by example' and the sight of a large police officer in uniform. This was also the time when policing was entirely reactive. The police force reacted to reported crime in the same way that a fire brigade reacts to a call about a fire: they rushed forth, dealt with the reported situation, and then returned to base to wait for the next call. Of course, answering calls to assist members of the public is still an

important police function-as is the detection of criminals-but it is only part of the whole policing picture.

A proactive police response has been developed and such schemes as **Operation Noah** operate nationally to give the public a chance to become involved in the fight against illegal drugs. Other initiatives have been targeted toward the reduction of specific crimes in which the police and public can respond together, for example, **Operation Paradox** and **Operation Keeper**.

Operation Paradox was a phone-in aimed at the reduction and detection of child abuse. In an eight-hour period, the operation resulted in 341 telephone calls. These telephone calls created 132 investigations, and led to ten arrests. The unveiling of this usually hidden crime was most successful in raising public awareness of the extent of the problem.

Operation Keeper was another anti-child abuse campaign which commenced on 18 February 1991 and was based within a particular suburb of Adelaide. The assistance of other government agencies was enlisted and a task force of experienced police officers formed. The operation has proved highly successful with forty-four arrests for 174 offences. A number of investigations are still pending: 90 per cent of which are expected to result in court appearances. This operation also uncovered the activities of five hard-core paedophiles. Whilst **Operation Keeper** was successful, the causes of child abuse have also to be addressed using a multi-agency approach and community assistance. This has resulted in the specialised training of ten Criminal Investigation Branch officers to deal with the sensitivities of child abuse.

Regional Response Groups

The creation and use of regional response groups within the South Australian metropolitan police areas gives an ability to provide high profile policing to identified trouble spots. Although this is a preventative measure, it has helped reduce some community fear of crime. A reduction of crime has also been noted in areas of previously poor reputation and the initiative has been seen by many members of the public as very positive. A selection of the more noteworthy activities of the regional groups include:

- one offender was apprehended for illegal use of a motor vehicle which led to a clear-up of over sixty similar offences;
- a further four offenders were later arrested, clearing up a total of 100 to 150 illegal-use offences;
- three persons were arrested resulting in the recovery of two stolen cars and \$15,000 worth of goods;
- a gang of youths were arrested for stripping cars in the Port Gawler area, which is a well-known dumping place; and
- yet another man was arrested for his involvement in hundreds of break-ins over a period of four years, the profits of which were used mainly to support a drug habit.

In the past it has been said that 60 to 80 per cent of economic crime of a predatory nature has been to support a drugs habit, but now a new kind of problem is emerging. Robberies of a more personalised nature, yielding a poorer return, are now being seen. Also, furniture, bedding and food is being stolen in house breaks. Violence on the streets is occurring due to increasing numbers of young people on the streets and this is being further stimulated by alcohol use. These signs are telling us that the reactive role is no longer, by itself, a satisfactory role for police. Even moving to a more proactive mould in targeting problems is still, to a certain extent, reactive as police are still chasing crimes that have been committed.

Community Policing

As a proper extension to police activities-looking to a preventive philosophy-the South Australian police have joined in an ambitious program of community policing and crime prevention methods involving the wider community. The community policing and crime prevention schemes which are currently in use in South Australia include:

- **Police Aides Scheme:** This scheme requires the involvement and training of Aboriginal people to police traditional lands and laws accepted by local communities. (Because of its success, the Police Aides Scheme has now been introduced to a suburban area with a large Aboriginal population.)
- **Neighbourhood Watch/Rural Watch:** These well known community policing schemes have expanded in South Australia to incorporate 318 schemes within thirty-two areas. Some individual areas have adopted their own initiatives, such as parental awareness or security assistance for the aged.
- **Business Watch:** Business Watch is a Neighbourhood Watch type scheme for non-residential areas, and has been introduced into the inner-city business districts of Adelaide. Traders are involved in self-help ideas to prevent shop stealing and hold-ups, and offer a 'safety shop' refuge to visitors or customers who may feel threatened by criminal activity.
- **HomeAssist:** The HomeAssist scheme developed with the assistance of Federal, state and local governments to improve the quality of life for the elderly, disabled, and those of limited financial resources. The aim was to improve their home security, and thereby reduce the fear of crime. Two police officers have been employed by home and community care to assist in the implementation of this scheme which is being coordinated by over thirty local councils and service agencies. The police officers have serviced over 6,000 people with either advice or a full security survey since November 1990.
- **Police Deputies Club:** This is a constant contact club designed to promote crime prevention awareness and community responsibility amongst primary school children. Since its launch in December 1989 it has attracted over 11,000 children.
- **School Watch:** This is a joint police/education department scheme designed to reduce theft, arson and vandalism in participating schools by involving staff, students, parents and local residents in crime prevention activities focussed on those schools. A police officer has been seconded to the education department as part of the project team. An initial pilot scheme in a 'problem' high school significantly reduced the incidence of crime.

- **Blue Light Activities:** These activities have been expanded to include camps and nightclubs as well as up to ten discos. The camps involve street kids, Aboriginal children, and problem youth, as well as identified youth leaders and school groups.
- **Together Against Crime:** Regional Together Against Crime committees have been formed. Local police are involved in crime prevention units, and local 'Bonnemaison' style committees are now established in several suburban and country townships.
- **Juvenile Diversionary Cautioning Scheme:** This scheme, which began operation in February 1989, aims to divert juveniles (particularly Aboriginal juveniles) from the criminal justice system. Results of an evaluation of the first twelve months show that the program is successful and that police use of discretionary powers had increased, reducing arrests in favour of other alternatives. However, over the same period the number of all street offences increased.

Other schemes such as Transit Watch and Hospital Watch involve the police and other government agencies in an effort to reduce criminal activity in certain environments. From these examples it can be seen that the South Australian police are involved in many different efforts aimed at reducing crime.

Problem Oriented Policing

A proactive crime prevention measure that is being trialled in a suburb of Adelaide ensures that police patrol personnel look at causes of crime and potential crime in particular areas, rather than just dealing with incidents. This often requires the enlistment of expertise from other agencies. To date there has been remarkable success, plus an increase in job satisfaction for those involved.

Looking For Causes of Crime

Observations worldwide indicate the following as the main causes of crime:

- under-achievement in education;
- economic downturn;
- lack of employment opportunities;
- boredom;
- drug experimentation;
- exploitation by associates with drugs;
- violence and crime committed;
- fear inducing activities;
- racism; and
- alcoholism.

This is not an exhaustive list, but is a collection of causative factors, particularly when the more common crimes of breaking and enter, car theft, robbery and street violence are considered. Knowing the causes then, the challenge for the police and the community is to:

- become problem solvers;
- become total service providers; and
- integrate with the justice system.

Other solutions include:

- the harnessing of the wider organisation of entities, groups and agencies into a concerted effort against crime;
- restoring social values-there is a great opportunity for church leaders to encourage and lead a drive towards increased values;
- the government and private enterprise providing more employment opportunities; and
- community representative groups, such as councils, representing their residents with stated policy and action.

The Community, the Council and the Police: A Combination to Reduce Crime in Footscray

***Frank Byrne
Chief Inspector
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The revitalisation of a police and community partnership in tackling crime and its associated problems has gathered momentum across Europe and North America in recent years. Australian Police Forces are also generally embracing the concept of community policing. This approach to crime reduction is certainly not new, as over 160 years ago the Metropolitan London Police provided the first model for modern urban community policing with the fundamental principle that 'the police are the public and the public are the police' (Canada 1990, p. 18). Widenand (1977, p. 66) observed that:

when the police officer who patrols a neighbourhood confers with residents on the crime problems in the area and they jointly develop solutions to those problems, there is an opportunity to develop respect and understanding. More importantly the probabilities of reducing crime are significantly enhanced.

Community participation can take many forms and it is the practical application of community policing in Footscray which will be discussed in this paper.

Crime Problems in Footscray

The City of Footscray is an industrial, western suburb of Melbourne, with a significantly high Asian population in 1991. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there has been an upsurge in the incidence of reported and unreported violent crime in the Footscray area. There has also been an increase in the incidence of drug dealing and its associated problems. Reports of extortion and blackmail being committed on the Vietnamese business community was of

particular concern. Youths had been trying intimidation tactics to elicit money from Vietnamese shopkeepers and were usually demanding small sums of about five dollars.

There were three distinct gangs which frequented the Footscray Shopping Mall: an Asian; a Filipino; and a combined Australian/Greek/Yugoslavian gang. A frightening arsenal of weapons had been recovered from these gangs, who not only fought among themselves but threatened and robbed shoppers. Some gang members carried meat cleavers and the gangs were so well-organised that they could strike, then disappear before a report was even made (Dunn 1991).

A Partnership Against Crime

Growing concerns over the increase in crime rates and a perceived need to bridge the gap between people of non-English speaking backgrounds and the police prompted the Police Commander of the district, Chief Superintendent Brian Richie, to develop a strategic approach to the problem in partnership with the community and the Footscray City Council.

In June 1990, the Police Commander approached the Council with an initiative directed towards the combined police/community achievement of some basic goals in the Footscray area. Those basic goals were:

- develop links between the Footscray City Council, local police and community groups to resolve local police/community problems and improve the quality of life of members of the Footscray community;
- educate and inform members of the ethnic community in the Footscray area about the role of the police and the legal system in society;
- create a non-confrontationist environment in which ethnic people can communicate with police to resolve community problems; and
- identify organised criminal groups operating in the Footscray area who are committing blackmail on large sections of the business community.

The Police Commander dedicated a sergeant and three constables to the task of developing strong links with the Footscray City Council and local community groups in order to resolve policing and community problems. Two constables were selected, both from ethnic backgrounds—one Vietnamese and the other Filipino. This selection was a vitally important step towards breaking the language barrier between the police and the community. The Council responded immediately with strong support for the initiative and provided accommodation for the group in the central business district of Footscray. The council-owned three-room premises has become a 'shopfront' type of police station, where members of the ethnic community can approach police in a non-threatening environment.

Within a short time, the community indicated their commitment and support of the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit (as it is now known)

through the donation of a Nissan Pulsar. Local Nissan dealers, the Vietnamese traders and several other large businesses in Footscray rallied together to raise the money to fund the purchase of the vehicle. The vehicle is now registered to the Footscray City Council and is donated to the Victoria Police. The police department has insured the vehicle and covers its maintenance and service. The car is equipped with a police UHF radio and magnetic signs identifying the vehicle as the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit and detailing the major donors. The donation of the vehicle was a significant tribute towards the commitment the community was initially prepared to make. The community continued to resource this small, dedicated group of police by donating a laptop computer and printer on which to store the crime database.

Not long after the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit commenced operations, it became evident that early police response to calls received was critical. The Footscray Market recognised this problem and donated a mobile telephone with a battery recharger. This allowed the Unit to be at the scene of a crime within minutes, instead of discovering-usually hours later-that they were in close proximity and unaware of the crime being committed.

The community has also donated a telephone answering machine, a polaroid camera and a photo album. This allocation of resources can be seen as a commitment of community faith in the Unit. It also provides the community and the Unit with a stronger sense of partnership in crime prevention and control.

Coordinated support

The activities of the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit have been developed in line with the basic goals set by the district Police Commander in June 1990. The Unit-in developing links between the community, the council and the police to resolve policing problems and issues involving the ethnic community-has established an extensive network of contacts. Police from the Ethnic Unit regularly attend meetings with people in these networks and are also involved in several of the network committees. Some of the community support agencies in this network are: the Needle Exchange Program; the Cambodian, Lao and Vietnamese Young People Support Group; Footscray Recreation Centre; West Footscray Neighbourhood House; Footscray Shopping Centre Traders' Association; Vietnamese Elderly Groups; Viet Association Youth Services Bureau; Footscray Workers with Town People; Western Youth Law Line; Footscray YMCA; and the Life Education Caravan. An important aspect of this networking is to ensure that no-one in the network is working at cross-purposes. Informal meetings with leaders of the business community are regularly held, usually at their place of business, and these meetings are designed to gauge the effectiveness of the Unit and obtain feedback.

The Unit now works closely with inspectors from the Footscray City Council Town Planning Section in relation to policing amusement parlours. A strategy has been developed to closely monitor the conduct of amusement parlours by ensuring that all amusement parlours in Footscray operate under uniform conditions. These stringent conditions provide police and town planning inspectors an opportunity to more effectively control the conduct of these premises.

Contact has been made with the Footscray Community Arts Centre and, as a result, the Centre will be providing young artists to paint a mural-depicting police interacting with youth-on the fence at the rear of the Arts Centre premises (the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit is located adjacent to this building). Progress is also being made in the area of educating the ethnic community of the state disaster plan and evacuation procedures.

In order to further break down the barriers existing between police and youth workers, regular meetings are held with Footscray youth and social workers. At these meetings, discussions take place concerning any problems experienced with the legal system or police. Feedback from this forum is relayed to the district Police Commander and the police training district.

Education and awareness

The second goal of the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit-to educate and inform members of the Footscray ethnic community about the role of the police and the legal system-has been pursued with vigour. As an extension of the Police/Schools Involvement Program, the Unit has targeted students from Year 7 to Year 12 at secondary colleges in the Footscray area. The curriculum covers personal development, domestic violence, police in society, homeless youth, pre-drive education and the court system. Discussions are currently taking place with the curriculum committee of the Footscray TAFE College with a view to developing a police studies topic for the language classes.

One of the highlights of the Unit's activities has been a three-day youth camp for seventy young Vietnamese people. The Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit, the Footscray City Council and the Cambodian, Lao and Vietnamese Young Peoples Support Group combined forces and secured government funding to conduct the three-day camp at the Derby Hill Blue Light Youth Camp, Maldon. The young people attending the camp participated in recreational and educational activities conducted by members of the Footscray City Council, the Police Ethnic Unit and the Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese Youth Support Group. The camp also addressed the issues of young people of non-English speaking backgrounds and their relationship with the law and aimed to encourage a better understanding of the types of services available and a confidence in their use. Due to the close proximity of the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit to the community, the police members of the Unit have been able to provide some follow-up support to the young people after the camp.

A further strategy used to develop a better understanding of the police role, the services offered by police, and other issues of concerns to the ethnic community was the operation of a 'phone-in day'. Operation HOP-TAC was conducted on 4 December 1990, with the use of interpreters, at the Crime Stoppers facilities. The operation was jointly run with the Victoria Police Asian Division and was targeted at the Vietnamese community. The operation was seen as a success as over fifty phone calls were received. Information was received by police relating to illegal activities, and police gave advice on traffic laws, domestic disputes and court procedure.

Less confrontation

The idea of using shopfront-type premises in the Footscray central business district for the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit was to provide an environment which would encourage the local ethnic community to approach the police. Initially, police from the Unit distributed leaflets and calling cards to the business community of Footscray, advising them of the address, the role and the telephone number of the Unit. To date, most of the enquiries at the office have been from Vietnamese people, however it is hoped to encourage the attendance of members of the community from other ethnic backgrounds.

Encouragement is given to police and the Criminal Investigations Bureau from surrounding police stations to attend and utilise the resources of the Unit. The Vietnamese member of the Unit, Constable Nguyen, has assisted the local Criminal Investigations Bureau in interviewing rape victims, other witnesses and suspects. The Unit is very mindful of the importance of integration with other police services.

Organised crime

In order to identify organised criminal groups operating within the ethnic community in Footscray, the Unit has established a crime database of known criminal activity in the area. With the assistance of a crime analyst attached to the Unit and the computer donated by the community, an extensive crime database has been developed, which has been particularly helpful in identifying gangs and individual involvement.

The support developed with the ethnic community by this Unit has been the key to enable the occurrence of extensive intelligence gathering. The Unit and other local police have conducted small police operations in the Footscray area which have resulted in several offenders being charged with drug and theft related matters.

There has been a positive change in the level of response from the ethnic community in regard to information about crime. In particular, the Vietnamese community is now more prepared to tell police about criminal activity that is occurring, and some are prepared to help police as witnesses in relation to court proceedings. Bearing in mind that this Unit is only in its infancy, the achievements in this area are quite considerable.

Although the vast majority of the activities of the Unit are directed towards the prevention of crime, within six months of operation they had charged forty-three offenders with a total of 140 offences. These offences included: drug offences (34); unlawful possession (34); assault (15); theft (11); theft of motor cars (12); theft from motor cars (5); street offenders (12); criminal damage (1); warrants (8) and fisheries offences (18). This has been the direct result of concentrated foot patrols in the Footscray central business district by both uniformed and plain-clothed members of the Unit. This Unit provides a balanced approach to the combination of proactive and reactive functions of policing so that the expectations of the total community are met.

Benefits from the Initiatives

It has been envisaged that the establishment of the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit would bring many benefits to both the community and the police. The activities of the Unit have enabled police to become part of the formal and informal networks which are established in the Footscray community. The police can be accepted as valuable members of the community and not merely as a discreet group with the sole perceived functions of law enforcement. It has enabled the police to become more aware of community programs operating in the Footscray area. The police now have a better medium from which feedback can be obtained on how they are perceived by the community. With the breaking of language and cultural barriers and the formation of trusting relationships, the prevention and detection of crime can be greatly enhanced.

The work of the Unit provides people from non-English speaking backgrounds with information on the role of the police, in both service and law-enforcement. The ethnic community can be kept informed of changes to the law and be provided with access to information on police programs such as Crime Stoppers and Neighbourhood Watch. The mere ability of the ethnic community to be able to have access to police without feeling threatened by a language barrier is a positive step toward crime prevention.

Performance Evaluation

An independent evaluation of the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit has yet to be undertaken however, in April 1991, Constable Nguyen of the Unit conducted a survey with the intention of gaining community feedback. This survey was certainly not meant to be an extensive scientific evaluation of the Unit, but it was an enthusiastic attempt by members of the Unit to gauge the results.

The survey was conducted among the Vietnamese traders in Footscray. In all, seventy-seven questionnaires containing twelve questions relating to the operations of the Unit were distributed. Approximately 90 per cent of the responses to all questions were in the positive, which is quite extraordinary to say the least. Nevertheless, the survey results reinforced the view expressed in a letter received from Mr P. Black on behalf of the Footscray Shopping Centre Association Incorporated, dated 8 March 1991. The letter contained, inter alia, the following message:

The Unit has formed a close relationship with the traders in the Central Business District and has been particularly successful in forging these ties with the Asian Traders resulting in growing confidence and communication between the traders and the police.

The marked resultant decrease in crime, vandalism and bad behaviour (particularly in teenage groups congregating in the Mall) has been most encouraging; also the almost total elimination of graffiti (Black 1991, personal correspondence).

Conclusion

At this early stage of development, the Footscray Council/Police Ethnic Unit, would appear to have made considerable efforts towards achieving its initial goals. This Unit is merely one example of efforts to formalise community partnerships in the prevention and detection of crime. Past experience, both in Australia and overseas, demonstrates the willingness of the community to actively participate in such programs. The extent and type of commitment given by the community will largely depend on the community's attitudes and expectations.

With the escalation of crime and its impact on finite police resources, it is incumbent on police managers to look to new directions in an effort to create an awareness within the community as to the role they play in reducing crime.

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Serendipitous Crime Prevention: Success in the Private Sector

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A serendipitous event is a fortunate by-product of some other activity. Therefore, serendipitous crime prevention occurs when actions that are primarily directed towards one area of crime prevention result in reductions in other areas of crime.

This was the case with the problems of vandalism of, and theft from, public payphones around Australia. In making the payphone business a more successful enterprise, the incidence of crime against payphones has been reduced. However, no reliable statistics are available to support this claim, as the actual frequency of payphone vandalism and theft cannot be accurately recorded. In part, this is because a damaged public payphone may not necessarily be classified as vandalised by the technician who attends and repairs it. Data relating to the prevalence of these offences, therefore, are incomplete, spasmodic and localised.

Notwithstanding the lack of statistics, the costs to Telecom Australia of repairing damaged public payphones (which are generally situated in public places in custom-built glass and aluminium cabinets) have been reduced in the past four years from about A\$18 million to around an annual A\$7 million in 1991. While this is not a direct measure of crime, this reduction in costs certainly reflects the prevalence of the offences. As both the number of public payphones and the cost of labour (to repair them) have increased over the last four years, the decrease in repair costs do reflect a decrease in offending against public payphones.

Defining the Offence

An essential part of assessing a crime prevention measure is to obtain data on the particular crime problem that is being addressed. This data should be gathered from all sources and include close local scrutiny and research so that

all features of the offence can be appreciated (Ekblom 1988). In Telecom Australia's case, some damage to public payphones may not result from criminal activity. A similar situation was revealed by Gladstone's (1978) research into school vandalism where the damage in half of the schools under review was found to be accidental rather than criminal.

Public payphone damage can be conveniently grouped into the following four categories:

- **Incidental damage** occurs in conjunction with some criminal attack on the public payphone, most commonly the theft or attempted theft of the coin box or coin. Cohen (1973) calls this 'acquisitive vandalism', but that phrase does not reflect the fact that damage occurs in conjunction with another crime rather than it being the sole intention of the offender.

It is important, especially when considering the prevention of vandalism, that the reason behind the property damage is acknowledged. Concentrating on vandalism rather than theft, confuses the issue. This occurred whilst a Sydney Magistrate claimed in 1986 that public payphone vandalism was 'an organised crime costing the community millions of dollars a year' (Fitzgibbon 1986). Those comments were actually made when sentencing an offender who was found guilty of thirty-four charges of stealing cash and thirty-five charges of damaging or interfering with public payphones. It was indicated to the court that the cost of repair to the relevant telephones was \$21,000-expensive vandalism to be sure, but not the offender's prime motive. The offender's main aim was theft, and the damage created was incidental.

Not all thefts of cash from public payphones involve damage. In the past, employees of Telecom Australia have been prosecuted for such offences. Physical measures, including key-traps and rekeying coin box access, have further prevented such thefts which have generally involved little damage.

However, thefts committed by the public do invariably cause damage. Interviews with youths from a high crime area in Britain revealed that most were aware of techniques used to steal coins from public payphones. Giller (1988, p. 12) reports for those youths that 'theft was the most common cited motivation for damage to public payphones'; that is, even though the damage to the public payphone was deliberately inflicted, the purpose of the damage was to enable theft.

- **Malicious damage** occurs where an offender deliberately damages a public payphone. Markus (1984) draws attention to the important distinction between damage to the cabinet (including window breakage, graffiti, amateur bomb attacks) and damage to the telephone instrument itself (including smashed handsets and damaged dials). This category includes a variety of dissimilar events. For example, the small shop owner who regularly cut the

handset cords on the two public payphones outside his shop to increase the use of the coin-operated phone he had installed for his customers' use, and the youths who kicked in a phone box 'just for fun'.

British Telecom research indicates that their public payphone vandalism problem falls mainly under this heading. Their major study shows that while ten to twelve-year-old vandals are simply destructive, different motives hold for older youths. In particular, they say, teenage vandals were 'rebellious, creating problems at home and were anti-everything'. Their vandalism 'coincided with puberty, and the telephone was often the victim of anger and of frustrations that could not be expressed anywhere else' (British Telecom 1988, p. 13).

- Frustration-related damage occurs when a public payphone user inflicts spontaneous damage on it following a technical difficulty that prohibited a call being made or concluded, an unsatisfactory personal call, or an unrelated matter. A recent example of an unrelated matter is the eighteen-year-old youth who kicked in the glass panels of a phone box because he was angry when a drunken elderly man jumped the taxi queue and hit him with a newspaper (the youth was fined \$360).
- Accidental damage occurs as a result of carelessness or mishap, most frequently involving a motor vehicle. Each month, thirty-five street-located public payphones in Australia are knocked over by motor vehicles, the vast majority being pushed off their concrete bases as a result of cars parking or performing U-turns.

It is exceedingly difficult to apportion either the financial cost or numbers of incidents of damage to public payphones across these categories. Indeed, the basis for all statistical data on public payphone damage is the technicians' reports completed after they attend a public payphone reported as out of order. Faced with a physically-damaged public payphone, and without any specific guidance about classification, a technician may define a broken window as accidental, malicious, or frustration-related, depending on his or her subjective assessment, diligence or imagination. However, it appears that many of Telecom Australia's current problems are theft-related and, therefore, can best be described as incidental damage.

As Wilson (1990) points out, the lack of reliable statistics presents real problems in evaluating possible explanations for reduced vandalism to public payphones. More seriously, the inability to distinguish between non-criminal (accidental) damage and criminal (malicious or incidental) damage complicates any analysis because the costs of repairing all damages are grouped together. Installing guard rails around public payphones in shopping centre parking lots may reduce future costs of repair but cannot be said to prevent crime. Nor can that sort of action explain more than part of the costs of repairing damage to public payphones.

Telecom Australia's Response

The major explanation for the marked decrease in the costs of vandalism and damage to public payphones is that the management of Telecom Australia's business has changed. In 1987, management consultants pointed out that around sixteen separate sections of Telecom Australia were actually involved in public payphone management. This diversity of interest and lack of focal supervision were resolved with the establishment of the Payphone Division in mid-1988. The Payphone Division's enthusiastic and professional approach to improving public payphone serviceability, loss elimination and the promotion of public payphone use is the main explanation for reduced vandalism in the public payphone area.

It is important to note that the management change was not introduced as a crime prevention measure to reduce vandalism, rather, it was introduced to improve performance in the public payphone area. Part of getting public payphones operational involved tackling vandalism and damage. The new management adopted considered, direct, and commonsense responses to the existing problems, including crime. These resources mirror the commonsense approaches that have been developed to reduce crimes associated with, for instance, sales tax avoidance and theft in hospitals (Smith & Burrows 1986). Additionally, the change in management responsibility cannot be simply described as a 'multifaceted campaign designed to reduce telephone vandalism' (Wilson 1990, p. 149). The action taken by the new management did include positive action to address vandalism to the public payphone system, but its major thrust was directed at getting telephones operational and enhancing Telecom Australia's business activities.

New Management Approaches

The particular activities which were implemented, and which have helped reduce the costs of repairing damaged (including vandalised) public payphones, are listed by reference to the seminal work of Clarke, which suggested that vandalism against public property merited specific measures to directly protect it (1978, pp. 71-4). The five measures he suggested that are relevant to public payphones are as follows.

Target hardening

A great many protective physical measures have been introduced over the last few years, particularly in response to malicious and incidental damage. Target hardening to reduce malicious damage to public payphones has included:

- replacement of the bottom glass sections of full public payphones cabinets with steel mesh;
- the removal of doors, traditionally a major target for vandalism, where weather conditions do not require doors;
- design of new, improved half-cabinets comprising a low-maintenance stainless steel and glass upper structure supported on a single pole; and
- strengthened handsets and stainless steel cords and redesigned dials.

Physical target hardening to reduce thefts of coins, and their associated incidental damage, include:

- the strengthening of the coin box and its security through development of the Kirk Safe, Barker Link, and wave door;
- modified coin refund chutes that are hard to block; and
- new metal coinheads that restrict direct access to the coin-race and make it difficult for thieves to block the race and recover trapped coins at a later time.

There is absolutely no doubt that the introduction of these physical changes has led to a reduction in vandalism and coin theft, as Wilson (1990) has pointed out. The Kirk Safe was developed in 1985 by Telecom artisans following a rash of oxyacetylene and other attacks on the locking mechanisms protecting the public payphone coin box, particularly in the state of New South Wales. The inventors of the Kirk Safe were rewarded for their innovation with an award of \$15,000 from Telecom's Staff Suggestions Board, and it was installed in New South Wales, particularly where coin box attacks and incidental damage had occurred. In Victoria, where organised attacks on public payphones had not been a problem, Kirk Safes were not widely installed. That fact did not escape the attention of New South Wales coin thieves who, in a classic example of displacement, crossed the border and plied their trade in Victoria. By the end of May 1986, nine offenders were apprehended in Victoria as a result of formal surveillance. Six were found guilty of 353 attacks on public payphones and sentenced to prison.

The Kirk Safe is not cheap, and there were many public payphones in Victoria that were without it during 1987. The middle of that year saw the arrest, after formal surveillance, of another gang of five who were convicted of 138 counts of theft and 138 counts of malicious damage. Three of those offenders admitted having learned how to steal the coin boxes while they had been serving time in prison. Thereafter, the vast majority of coin boxes in Victoria were target hardened, but not with Kirk Safes. Instead, the Victorians devised a much cheaper measure-welding a piece of hardened angle iron over that part of the steel door that protected the locking mechanism. This also won an award from Telecom's Staff Suggestions Board and was successful insofar as the next gang of offenders, apprehended in April 1988 following formal surveillance, had only tackled public payphones not having the angle iron attachment.

South Australia had not suffered the level of organised thefts as Victoria but readied itself in early 1988 by starting to install its own local response-the wave door, originally developed in Western Australia. The wave door also further protected the coin box locking mechanism from attack, but at only

one-tenth of the cost of the Kirk Safe, and was, therefore, preferred. A marked upsurge of coin box thefts, possibly displaced from the eastern states, helped speed up the replacement of the standard and often compromised coin box doors with wave doors. By late 1988, wave doors had been installed across the state.

All this clearly illustrates that physical target hardening reduced incidental damage to public payphones in Australia over the period between 1986 and 1988. However, it also indicates that the various regions were independently tackling the problem at their own pace: no coordinated approach or formal campaign was responsible for these activities.

The subsequent coordinated management approach has built upon these physical responses with introduction of the Phonocard, which designs out opportunity rather than actually target hardening. This prepayment card-which allows use of a public payphone without the need for coin-has now been introduced in Australia. Obviously, coinless public payphones will considerably reduce the prevalence of incidental damage. But they may also impact upon other vandalism. Scotland provides a good example: In 1987 vandalism of the public payphones on one Glasgow housing estate reached the point 'where it became difficult for British Telecom, to maintain a service'. After overcoming resistance, and with a considered publicity and education program on the estate, the phones were converted to phonocard operation. In the following two months not one of the phones was damaged (Great Britain 1988, p. 48).

Formal surveillance

Telecom Australia, using its own security staff, has achieved some modest but considerable success through formal surveillance of high-risk telephone boxes. For example, in late 1984, public payphone box-thefts were running at around 400 per month in the Sydney metropolitan area. This led to a special public payphone surveillance team being established and, over the next twelve months, the theft rate fell to about 50 per month.

Surveillance, of course, is a most expensive exercise and is viable only where major and persistent episodes of incidental damage occur. Electronic surveillance has been used but was found to be of modest success when costs were taken into account. The best-and Telecom Australia's continuing -approach to surveillance is to use it where major problems arise.

Natural surveillance

Natural surveillance is a variation of defensible space. Very simply, if a telephone cabinet is situated in a busy public place or is otherwise observable, for instance from adjacent buildings, then it is provided with natural surveillance (see Mayhew, Clarke, Hough & Winchester 1980). Moran and Dolphin's (1986) study of the characteristics of public payphone locations in Dublin did not find that features such as levels of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, accessibility and local vandalism could be used to identify locations that suffered greater damage. Nevertheless, by removing or relocating many public payphones that were situated in dark or quiet places, Telecom Australia has effectively increased the percentage of public payphones that are provided with some sort of natural surveillance.

Through keeping cabinet lighting operational, natural surveillance has increased for Australia's public payphones. Lighting is provided to make public payphones identifiable from 400 metres away and to assist with operation of the phone. However, a working light inside the cabinet also reduces the soiling of public payphone cabinets and seems to lead to greater usage as well as increased visibility of the phone user to the passer-by. All of this leads to additional natural surveillance.

Employee surveillance

Surveillance by employees in the normal course of their work has long been observed to reduce damage in the workplace. Caretakers, doormen, bus conductors, shop assistants, bartenders and many others all play this role (Mackay 1988, p. 89). It is not surprising that increased attention from Telecom Australia technicians, cleaners and coin collectors have also contributed to the decrease in public payphone vandalism that has occurred in recent years.

Fortnightly cleaning of public payphones is now the national standard (although some remote and country locations are cleaned less frequently). A system has been introduced so that cleaners dial a special telephone number and report not only that they have cleaned a particular public payphone, but also any maintenance work that is required.

Telecom Australia now undertakes the majority of coin collecting from public payphones, having terminated arrangements with Australia Post. This has led to more frequent clearances of coin (itself a problem in the past in that a full coin box renders a public payphone inoperable). It has also led to a further presence at the public payphone, another avenue through which damage is noted and a less attractive theft target as coin boxes contain less cash.

In some areas, Telecom Australia has actually used their own stickers to address vandalism problems. One sticker with relevant graphics reads, 'this public payphone could save your life', and it is plainly intended to deflect offenders. Its effect is not easily measured, and its use is also not wide enough for its effect to be reflected in general statistics.

Rapid repair

There is absolutely no doubt that public property that is well-maintained and obviously well-cared for is far less likely to be damaged. What is also important is that, when damage is noted it is quickly repaired. In order to achieve rapid repairs, specialist public payphone technicians have been introduced to act promptly on the problems reported from any source.

A further innovation is the public payphone monitoring system whereby a mechanism will report direct to a central computer when the coin box is almost full, the handset has been removed, or the phone has not been used for two days. While still under trial, this system when fully-operational will provide another valuable source of information for technicians to ensure that public payphones are kept operational.

Employee surveillance and rapid repair directly reflect the new management approach of Telecom Australia to the public payphone business.

Again, they were not introduced specifically as crime prevention measures but they have plainly had their own impact upon vandalism.

The value of each of the last three approaches has been documented in literature. For instance, Mayhew et al. (1980) showed that 'supervised' public payphones in cinemas, cafes, laundromats and so on were less likely to be damaged, whilst Wilson and Kelling (1982) indicated that vandalism was more likely where property showed signs of being uncared for.

Public Activity

Apart from the above five measures that have all been implemented within Telecom Australia, a number of initiatives directly involving the public has also been introduced, and these need to be seen in light of Telecom Australia's considerable public exposure. Media coverage and advertising ensure Telecom Australia is almost constantly in the public eye. In the public payphone area, a recent campaign has publicised the fact that 'Nine Out of Ten' public payphones are now operational. The public are thus made aware that public payphones are now being maintained effectively and being cared for, and the public are also being encouraged to make greater use of them.

A public payphone that is used more might be expected to suffer more damage (reflecting constant wear and tear) or less damage (because they are a valued and highly utilised community resource). Existing (British) research on this topic is equivocal. Mawby's (1977) study found that telephone kiosks for which takings were highest were the most heavily vandalised. A more extensive study by Mayhew et al. (1980) found no such strong relationship, and Markus (1984) asserts that 'the heavily used kiosk suffers relatively little'. No relevant Australian data exists, so the effect of any marketing publicity on damage or vandalism cannot be stated. Nevertheless, even seemingly neutral public activities could have some effect on vandalism.

A specific public activity that directly addresses vandalism is the Adopt-A-Phone program that aims to re-establish the public payphone as a community resource and encourage community members to assist in caring for it. The program is mostly aimed at school children, although some Neighbourhood Watch groups have also taken to overseeing their local public payphones. In the formal program, the children design and paint a motif on the public payphone cabinet, clean it, and regularly check its condition. This program has been most successful, with maintenance calls and costs being reduced noticeably since its introduction. One of the best examples is provided by the Driver High School in the Northern Territory where the program was first introduced. The public payphone adopted by students at that school had needed over 100 maintenance calls per month prior to its 'adoption' by the students. It has since averaged less than ten maintenance calls per month during the two years the program has operated. In that time, there has only been four acts of vandalism.

The Adopt-A-Phone program was implemented at the same time that target hardening was taking place through installation of wave doors and Kirk Safes. Wilson provides statistics relating to the target hardening exercise in the region (Wilson 1990, p. 152), and while he is correct in saying that those 'measures were clearly effective', it must be noted that the Adopt-A-Phone

program was introduced at the same time with the same primary objective (see Table 1).

Table 1

Public Payphone Vandalism and Activity in the
South Australia/Northern Territory Region
July 1987-March 1991

Quarter Ending	Recorded Incidents of Vandalism	Notable Developments
September 1987	1,373	Region's public payphones virtually 'unprotected' despite Eastern States problems and target hardening activity.
December 1987	1,821	--
March 1988	3,459	Marked upsurge in coin box thefts and incidental damage
June 1988	5,666	Gradual introduction of target hardening with wave doors, Kirk Safes, and modified coin heads.
September 1988	5,062	Payphones Division established to manage Telecom Australia's public payphone business. New policies for maintenance, cleaning and coin collection developed. Adopt-A-Phone program commenced in the Northern Territory. After reductions in damage to telephones 'adopted' by local schools, program extended to South Australia.
December 1988	2,775	--
March 1989	1,167	On-site media conferences to publicise vandalism problem. TV crews film repair teams at work. (Two thieves arrested the following week after information from public).
June 1989	773	All public payphones in South Australia now target hardened, mostly with wave doors.
September 1989	1,009	More media publicity. Eight citizens publicly presented total A\$1,500 in rewards for information leading to apprehension of offenders.
December 1989	1,170	--
March 1990	985	--
June 1990	1,106	Phonecard introduced, majority of public payphones converted for its use.
September 1990	1,112	--
December 1990	1,360	New more accurate statistical reporting of incidents introduced in October 1990.
March 1991	1,560	--

Some effort has been put into the introduction of educational materials especially prepared for primary schools. These materials emphasise the ways in which telephones, and public payphones in particular, are essential and valuable to the community. Any impact that such material would have on a vandalism problem would not be expected to be instant. Rather, by emphasising the community ownership of public payphones, the impact should be noticed in the long term.

More organised attempts have been made to encourage the public to report any malfunctioning public payphones through the 1100 number. This has involved public pleas through the media and the distribution of pamphlets. Again, this action itself does not lead to a direct attack on the problem, but rather serves the purpose of allowing rapid repair.

Financial rewards are available for presentation to members of the public who help identify offenders who have damaged public payphones. Although this is not widely publicised as a matter of course, the possibility of a reward is often mentioned by Telecom Australia representatives in media interviews and similar circumstances. It would be wrong to attribute any great impact to the granting of rewards, but it does alert the public to the problem in another way. Indeed, all media coverage of Telecom Australia's problems, and vandalism in general, sensitises the public to the offence. Public awareness further complicates any analysis as this awareness could help reduce vandalism by condemning it or increase it by encouraging copycat incidents.

All of the activities discussed in this paper contributed in some way to the reduction of public payphone vandalism in Australia. Table 1 uses the reasonably reliable statistics of vandalism for the South Australia/Northern Territory Region of Telecom Australia to illustrate this point. Although the number of incidents shows a decrease from late 1988, the separate contribution of relevant activities listed in Table 1 cannot be established.

Conclusions

Evaluation of crime prevention measures is bedevilled by the multiplicity and interplay of factors that could influence the prevalence of the crime under question. Retrospective evaluation provides an opportunity for, and should incorporate, discussion of all such factors. It has been shown that the major relevant factor was the new, concentrated, professional approach to public payphone management that was adopted by Telecom Australia in creating the Payphones Division. This move unequivocally established the 'owner' of the crime problem.

The professional approach involved physical target hardening and changing the payphone's physical environment. However, caring for the facilities has probably produced the more substantial and lasting result. Despite the improvement, Telecom Australia still has a problem with vandalism, and thefts from public payphone coin boxes continue to be a sizeable problem. Addressing those problems from a crime prevention perspective requires the collection of accurate and specific data on the 'victimisation' of public payphones. The new management team is collecting such data, and, hopefully, some prospective evaluation of preventive approaches may be possible in the future.

The reduction of costs in repairing damage to public payphones has been considerable: the Payphone Division itself put the problem in perspective. As a result of

the initiatives outlined in this paper, the Payphone Division says that in some areas 'a public payphone which may have been damaged every day now lasts unscathed for at least nine days'. It would be excellent if this rate of improvement could be maintained.

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Towards a National Approach to Crime Prevention

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Australia now faces the challenge of a genuine opportunity to work towards a truly national approach to crime prevention. Australians are witness to the growing maturity of a crime prevention sector which has reached a stage of development where there is:

- a degree of sophistication about theorising and debates on crime prevention—the models, issues and problems;
- a host of projects and initiatives around the country at local, regional and state levels;
- a growing body of literature, including some evaluative material;
- a series of major conferences over recent years;
- an interest and involvement indicated at all levels of government, statutory authorities, research and education institutions and non-government organisations; and
- a number of people who have made careers out of crime prevention work or advocacy for it.

These developments are occurring simultaneously with a fundamental reappraisal of the division of crime prevention responsibilities across federal, state and local governments under the banner of the so-called 'New Federalism'. This paper will extend the 'New Federalism' position: that is, if adequate and effective crime prevention measures are to be ensured in Australia, then a change in the roles of federal, state and local governments is required.

A period of recession and contracting government expenditure may not appear to be the best time to be advocating new official responsibilities with

significant resource implications. There is a danger of a retreat from even the existing limited Commonwealth and local government roles in crime prevention. However, it seems that there are graver dangers in this context-dangers of an expansion of poverty-related crime with all its costs, as well as a further shift of resources from social and community programs to law enforcement-that compels us to advocate a more sophisticated and systematic approach.

'New Federalism' presents bureaucrats, researchers and community workers with a 'window of opportunity' to convince government of a more rational, responsive, effective and equitable way of dealing with the problems and consequences of crime for individuals and the community.

Accordingly, this paper endeavours to address some of the structural and policy issues which might facilitate the development of a national approach to crime prevention in Australia, and to canvass some options for initiatives at a national level. The intention is not to review the many existing or potential crime prevention programs or projects across Australia, or to give a 'state of the nation'-type overview of crime prevention theory or practice: rather, the aim is to put forward one view of a path toward a more coherent and comprehensive structural and policy framework to crime prevention.

In doing this, the author will draw upon his experience of the Youth Justice Project in New South Wales a twelve-month Community Crime Prevention Project with Waverley and Fairfield Councils in Sydney.

Social Justice-A Policy Framework for Crime Prevention

At the launch of the Australian Institute of Criminology's publication *Young People and Crime: Costs and Prevention* (Potas, Vining and Wilson 1990), the Federal Minister for Higher Education & Employment, the Hon. Peter Baldwin MP, said:

Social justice is a focal point of Commonwealth government policy and the principle that all Australians have equal right to access the benefits and opportunities offered by a caring, industrious and successful society is vitally important . . . There are still some young people who are not in a position to access education and employment opportunities because of other influences in their lives. In the interest of social justice we now have to turn our attention to these young people who are amongst the most disadvantaged in our society (Halstead 1991, p. vii).

The principles and objectives of 'social justice' strategies offer a sound basis from which to articulate a policy framework for crime prevention. Such an approach is entirely consistent with federal social policy, as articulated in *Towards A Fairer Australia: Social Justice Under Labor* (Australia 1988) and in *The Youth Book 1989-90: The Federal Government's Strategy For Young Australians* (Australia 1989a). In the former, the achievement of a fair and just society has been said to be based on:

- equity in the distribution of economic resources;
- equality of civil, legal and industrial rights;

- fair and equal access to essential services such as housing, health and education;
- and
- the opportunity for participation by all in personal development, community life and decision-making.

At the Youth Crime Prevention Policy Forum, the Tasmanian state position paper explicitly located youth crime prevention measures in a social justice perspective (Vincent 1991). Social justice strategies have also been embraced in other states-Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Western Australia-which gives considerable weight to a national crime prevention initiative within the framework of the Federal government's own social justice policy.

In 1991, it could not be said that a coherent policy framework for crime prevention exists. This can be demonstrated by a number of observations.

First, there are as yet no national manifestos, Commonwealth/state agreements, or communiques from Ministerial conferences that might articulate a policy framework for crime prevention. There is no national strategy instrument as there is for the environment, women's affairs or multicultural affairs, to name a few; and there is no Federal Minister with explicit executive responsibility for crime prevention. However, the South Australian 'Together Against Crime' and Victorian 'Good Neighbourhood Program' have laid much of the groundwork for a national crime prevention strategy.

Second, one of the supposed purposes of our criminal and juvenile justice systems is the prevention of crime, yet references to crime prevention in mission statements and corporate plans of law enforcement agencies continue to occur as little more than passing references in deference to custom rather than a clear and considered goal, policy or performance measure.

Third, as was stated in *Kids In Justice: A Blueprint for the Nineties*, Overview and Full Reports of the Youth Justice Project (Youth Justice Coalition 1990), society's approach to crime should be based on both a clear conception of the causes of crime and a realistic and informed appraisal of the extent and nature of crime. However, governments continue to introduce measures without having a clear picture of the dimensions of crime, and without having a comprehensive evaluation of the range of policy options available. Directions have, in some jurisdictions, been driven more by headlines in the tabloid media than by systematic and planned crime prevention approaches.

Fourth, policies have often been contradictory in their aims, implementation and outcomes. One obvious and serious contradiction is the pursuit of law and order policies-policies which emphasise greater control and punishment, as against those promoting support services and (legitimate) education and training opportunities. The Youth Justice Project noted a shift in public expenditure from education and welfare to law enforcement in New South Wales in recent years (Youth Justice Coalition 1990), as had occurred in Queensland in the 1980s (O'Connor & Callahan 1989). The Federal government has also attempted to address the problems of homeless youth, and emphasised increased provision and coordination of support services (Australia 1989b). On the broader macro-economic level, young people face an exceedingly tough and uncertain future, yet in the years prior to 1991 there

has been shift in youth policy responsibility from the government to young people and families (Eckersley 1988; Polk & Tait 1990; Maas 1990).

Fifth, there are tensions within the currently dominant, conservative approaches to issues of crime and its prevention and punishment. On the one hand is 'law and order' paradigm which emphasises retributive punishment and compels an expansion of incarceration. On the other, economic rationalism compels a greater reliance on economical community corrections and smaller government.

Sixth, the demands, languages and goals of the key agencies in criminal justice systems are frequently conflicting. Amidst the politics and shifting balance of power, duties, rights and responsibilities of the criminal justice system personnel-the police, officials, magistrates, lawyers, welfare and community workers-there is precious little dialogue, let alone consensus, about what action is to be taken.

Seventh, agencies alternate their crime prevention views from one extreme to the other-from seeing crime as largely society's fault, to seeing crime as solely a matter of individual free-will and hence culpability. The periodic search for someone to blame is also witnessed. In the case of juvenile crime, the Youth Justice Project argued that neither the extremes of changing ideological fashions nor the pursuit of scapegoats offer an adequate policy framework for the serious problem of juvenile crime (Youth Justice Coalition 1990, p. 34).

Finally, the role of the media in constructing public opinions and shaping political action on crime and justice issues is generally destructive of informed debate and policy making.

With these observations in mind, a crime prevention policy might begin to be constructed. This will involve building a consensus about acknowledgments such as:

- that crime is a complex social and economic phenomenon-with links to a multiplicity of factors such as social change, urbanisation, power differentials, poverty, difficulties in integration, exclusion from the mainstream, lack of opportunities, gendered differences, increased temptation of but lack of access to disposable goods, economic crises and the exigencies of 'growing up';
- that there is no single explanation for crime-none of the many theories about the causes of criminal behaviour are conclusive, although each has something to offer to our understanding and responses (Borowski & Murray 1986);" · that crime is not one monolithic entity-the prevention of different types of crime in different contexts may be responsive to specific management strategies;
- that there are host of agencies, programs, strategies and professions-from the police to architects, planners, teachers, child care workers and community workers-which have something to contribute to crime prevention.

Such acknowledgments are not new, but they are not followed through to their logical conclusion. For example, crime is rarely mentioned in the formulations of social and economic policy. It is not known how to 'factor-in' to the national accounts the consequences of crime created by burgeoning unemployment. The shifts between crime-related and other public expenditure across the country-or the shift in fiscal burden in this regard from Federal government to state governments-is not known with any certainty. The social and economic costs to the community of an individual criminal career, nor the savings from effective and early prevention, are also not known.

If it is accepted that crime is part of society not something outside it, then crime prevention policy must be seen as social policy. The starting point of a comprehensive policy framework for crime prevention should be an attempt to incorporate measures in areas such as employment and industry policy, urban planning and the environment, education, transport, housing, childcare, and child, family and youth support services.

The state position papers and other papers on crime prevention measures presented in *Youth Crime Prevention: Proceedings of a Policy Forum* (Halstead 1991) indicate the broad range of approaches being pursued. These approaches are positive steps toward a comprehensive, coherent and integrated policy and structural framework. The failure to develop a such a framework is not only inefficient but extremely costly in economic and human terms.

In the United Kingdom (UK) the failure of 'law and order' policies to reduce crime and public disorder, and the social consequences of reducing welfare services have been well-documented. In order to avoid repeating the mistakes of the UK, those agencies responsible for dealing with crime need to re-stress the importance of paying attention to social and economic crime prevention strategies alongside the containment and control of individual actions. Law and order policies appear to have been overtaken in the UK by more constructive approaches. Through the efforts of the Home Office and organisations such as Crime Concern, NACRO and the Safe Neighbourhoods Unit, the UK is light years ahead of Australia in the theory and practice of 'purpose-built' crime prevention programs and structures as, it appears, is much of Western Europe (Wilson & Geason 1988; King 1988).

The Youth Justice Coalition (1990) argues that the basis for re-appraisal and restructuring of the juvenile justice system must be one of social justice. Its report sets out, in a detailed way, both a critique of existing approaches and a comprehensive package of recommendations to incorporate a social justice approach into our laws, policies and programs for responding to youth crime. The Coalition's report makes 233 recommendations for reform and restructuring of the New South Wales juvenile justice system and its findings and suggestions have an application well beyond the borders of New South Wales. The following summarises the policy directions advocated by the Youth Justice Coalition: The Youth Justice Project proposes a joint approach, a combination of social and situational crime prevention measures working hand in hand with law enforcement agencies. We must turn our back on solutions which see crime and criminals as separate from the problems that beset society. We should develop proposals that encourage social harmony, that improve the physical

and social environments of urban and rural areas, that increase the equity and participation of young people in society, that enhance family life, that re-establish the conditions for informal community controls, that allow for self-determination of minorities, that mobilise, involve, support and empower young people, and that support victims.

We require a juvenile justice system that involves all elements of the community, that is accountable to the public and its users, that coordinates and integrates all levels and arms of government. This is unashamedly ambitious. We must set high goals and standards, otherwise we condemn society to perhaps a spiralling problem of juvenile crime (Youth Justice Coalition 1990, pp. 10-11).

The Federal Role

Apart from the sponsorship and participation of the Australian Institute of Criminology in bringing people together for a national overview of crime prevention, there has not been presented to this conference a view on behalf of the Federal government about its current and future role in relation to crime prevention.

The Federal government already has a substantial and important-albeit a largely unacknowledged-stake in crime and crime prevention. In direct terms, the Federal government expends considerable resources on legal aid and family mediation; criminal justice research and data collection; the investigation, prosecution and punishment of Commonwealth offences; and on the prevention of damage and repairs to damaged Commonwealth property. The Federal government's social security, employment, education and training programs, the general grants to the states, the tied grants for accommodation, health and other such services, and its international and domestic human rights promotion and monitoring are all of indirect relevance.

In particular, in addition to the work of the Australian Institute of Criminology, the Federal Office of Local Government is providing funds for local government to run innovative community development programs, such as the crime prevention pilot programs being undertaken by Waverley and Fairfield Councils. Whilst the Commonwealth Youth Bureau provides funds through the Australian Youth Initiatives Grants Scheme for youth crime prevention projects and their evaluation.

As yet, there has been no serious suggestion that the Commonwealth should take over the field of criminal justice or crime prevention from the states and territories. However, the Commonwealth has already proved willing to coordinate and promote the activities noted above, as well as lead Australian participation in the development of relevant international instruments such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) adopted by Australia in 1981; the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice, the UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of Their Liberty, and the UN Rules for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency.

Proposals for an expanded role for the Federal government in the juvenile justice field again provide a useful analogy. The Australian Law Reform Commission's Research Paper, *Sentencing Young Offenders* proposed that:

the Commonwealth should now take a greater role in relation to the sentencing of young offenders. It should do so, first, to fulfil its leadership role in giving effect to international agreements and standards and to facilitate and coordinate efforts at reform within Australia. Secondly, to promote consistency in the treatment of the young offenders (against Federal law) for whom it has primary responsibility. Thirdly, because the effort which the Commonwealth has put into sentencing law reform would be unrealised if an essential group were omitted from any proposed Federal sentencing statute (Freiberg, Fox & Hogan 1988, p. 217).

In addition, the Research Paper concluded that:

- any Federal sentencing commission should have a mandate which includes review of sentencing of juveniles;
- the current changes to juvenile justice throughout Australia present an opportunity to institute comparative evaluative studies;
- the UN Beijing Rules (to which should be added the Draft Rules referred to above and the UN Convention) should be referred to the Australia Institute of Criminology as the basis for formulating Australian guidelines;
- the lack of policy making or coordinating structures at a national level should be addressed by the utilisation of the relevant standing Ministerial Councils, national conferences, and ongoing consultative mechanisms to link the various agencies;
- greater Commonwealth intervention was needed to ensure significantly upgraded and better coordinated statistical and research efforts in relation to juvenile justice systems for public policy to develop on an informed basis (Freiberg et al. 1988).

The Youth Justice Coalition put these ideas into more concrete terms and in its report recommended that:

- R.16 The Commonwealth government should take a more substantial role in undertaking and stimulating national action on juvenile justice issues. This should include:
- establishing an office to initiate and coordinate Federal endeavours on juvenile justice matters;
 - Establishing a national advisory body on juvenile justice;
 - establishing funding programs in relation to:
 - local community crime prevention projects;
 - diversion programs;
 - institutional programs;
 - advocacy programs;
 - commissioning Standards projects;
 - developing model legislation;

- targeting some employment, education and training programs to young offenders; and
 - integrating data collection and analysis.
- R.25 The Commonwealth government should establish a National Juvenile Justice Consultative Council to bring together relevant Commonwealth and state officials, judicial officers, academics and advocates to provide advice and assistance to the Federal and state governments on juvenile justice issues.
- R.36 The Commonwealth government should give consideration to identifying and differentiating that part of its funding to states which is used by them for juvenile justice programs, and making receipt of continued funding conditional upon agreed Standards. This might be done in the context of existing and new Commonwealth/state Funding Agreements.
- R.37 The Federal government should commission a National Juvenile Justice Standards Project involving the Australian Institute of Criminology and the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission and relevant state departments and non-government organisations. The project should be undertaken as a comprehensive consultative exercise, and take into account the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice, the UN (Draft) Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of Their Liberty, and other relevant UN and overseas instruments (Youth Justice Coalition 1990).

Towards National Strategies and Structures

It is time for a national approach to crime and crime prevention. Crime is costing Australia too much money and is wasting scarce human and economic resources. There is too much inequality and inequity in the treatment of people between jurisdictions and there are international obligations to be fulfilled. There is much to be learnt from the lessons of the rich diversity of schemes at state and local levels and much to be gained from a coordinated, comprehensive, and cooperative venture.

There are plenty of precedents for a Federal government role as envisaged here-the joint arrangements such as the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program and Home and Community Care Programs; the national standards for nursing homes; tied grants in relation to health and education; and a host of national advisory bodies, from the National Health and Medical Research Council to the National Women's Consultative Council. The following direction outlines might be worth considering: some might sound fanciful-and they are by no means fully-developed proposals-but they could provide an agenda for a national approach to crime prevention in the 1990s.

First, the exercise of some executive responsibility within the Federal government is required. It would seem logical for the Attorney-General or Minister for Justice to take an overall coordinating responsibility-perhaps even as the Minister for Crime Prevention-and hopefully together with other relevant Ministers in a specially convened Cabinet Sub-Committee.

Second, in consultation with colleagues at state, territory and local government levels, a National Crime Prevention Strategy should be produced. This strategy would articulate the driving crime prevention principles and goals, specify the potential roles of various agencies, and announce some program initiatives.

Third, a central body is needed-comparable to the UK Home Office Crime Prevention Unit or the central authority responsible for implementing the Bonnemaison Report in France-to implement the strategy. Australia has a National Crime Authority, why not a National Crime Prevention Authority? Such an authority could incorporate professional and non-professional groups, victim and offender support organisations, government and non-government agencies, community, trade union and employer groups.

Fourth, just as the Economic Planning Advisory Council has produced a study of the national impact of immigration, a national study on the impact of crime and criminal justice would be extraordinarily valuable.

Fifth, some form of funding program should be established-possibly a joint Commonwealth/state initiative which would consolidate, promote and expand upon the existing funding efforts. This program should encourage the 'bottom up' approach of local initiatives and contain a solid commitment to evaluation. There is a Commonwealth-sponsored Healthy Cities Program which takes a broad and prevention-oriented primary health care approach. Why not devise a Safer Cities Program which likewise encourages inter-sectoral cooperation in the task of improving the social and physical environments of urban areas to make them safer and more habitable?

Lastly, the Australian Institute of Criminology is well-placed to build upon its research, program evaluation, data analysis, education and training in the crime prevention field to fulfil the role of a National Clearinghouse for Crime Prevention.

Conclusion

A systemic approach to crime and its prevention is required. Australia needs a national approach which incorporates the roles for Federal, state and local governments and the non-government sector. This framework must be structured around integrated and planned measures and should encompass the crime preventive functions of all aspects of social policy and programs, as well as ensure targeted crime prevention measures.

This may be an ambitious plan, but the first steps have already been taken. The 'New Federalism' offers an opportunity to achieve fundamental restructuring of methods of dealing with crime. If social justice is to mean anything for those at risk or already caught up in the welfare and justice systems, to those victimised or whose lives are otherwise inhibited by crime both directly and indirectly, to the citizens and taxpayers of this country, and if we are to be true to the potential of national overview conference, a national approach to crime prevention needs to be high on all our agendas.

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Police Deputies Club

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As part of the South Australian Crime Prevention Strategy a major effort is aimed toward youth. 'Youth' is a term which covers the first stages in life during which dramatic physical and character changes occur. At the younger end of the scale, youth is a time of innocence, new experiences and, more importantly, character and attitude development.

A person's attitude towards others is an important factor when considering the tendency to commit crime, and many workers in crime prevention agencies believe that 'community caring' guidance and instruction is necessary at an early age. If the initial attitudes formed are correct, then the long-term goal of juvenile crime reduction can be achieved.

The South Australian Police Deputies Club evolved as an endeavour to create popular, caring ideals amongst very young members of the community. It is a crime prevention scheme targeted at primary school children (aged between 5 and 12 years) but welcomes the involvement of older children who have particular disabilities. The Police Deputies Club actively teaches young children to become aware of their community responsibilities through constant contact utilising a series of meaningful assignments. Regular visits by local police officers to school classrooms are also encouraged as part of instructional development and also to attract new members.

History

In 1985 the South Australia Police Department obtained sponsorship through local businesses to launch the Police Deputies Club at the Royal Adelaide Show. Posters and collector stickers of police activity were given away to young children in an effort to improve police/child contact and trust. Although highly popular from a child's viewpoint, no records were kept of the children involved and no other activity was planned. This was a successful public relations exercise, but the lack of follow-up by police and feedback from the youngsters failed to reinforce the Club's purpose.

As a result of the Attorney-General's Crime Prevention Strategy in 1989, the Police Deputies scheme was revamped to go beyond public relations and

become a true club with the prevention of crime as its primary objective. A grant of \$65,000 was allocated to the South Australia Police for this purpose. The new Police Deputies Club was designed to maintain the children's interest through a series of fun assignments and quizzes intended to encourage contact with crime prevention agencies and, at the same time, educate children in community awareness.

Objectives

The objectives of the Police Deputies Club are to:

- engender a spirit of community involvement;
- create a lasting and friendly relationship between children and police;
- promote crime prevention philosophies in primary schools;
- educate children as to their community responsibilities and encourage a respect for law and order; and
- prevent future crime.

The New Police Deputies Club

The Police Deputies Club was organised and is operated by police personnel attached to the Community Affairs Branch of the South Australia Police, however, the main promotion of the scheme rests with local police as part of their community duties. A target of 5,000 members was set for the first year of operation, however, any child who demonstrated the desire and motivation to join was not to be refused membership.

The most important aspects of the Police Deputies Club from an administrative stance were:

- the Club did not have give-aways, all rewards had to be earned; and
- regular contact had to be maintained with members.

A Course in Crime Prevention

The new Police Deputies Club was launched in November 1989 through the use of local publicity and paid newspaper advertisements. Application forms and promotional posters were sent to all government primary schools and police stations. The application form required details of name, address and age as well as the school which the applicant attended. These details were used to establish a database on a personal computer which became the administrative 'brain' of the Police Deputies Club.

The application forms had a community police message that encouraged children to report incidences of unacceptable behaviour. On receipt of these

forms, the Club administration returned via post an entrance Quiz Book which required the child to research answers for a number of crime prevention and police related questions. The concepts in the book were not easy and it was not expected that a child would be able to finish the book without asking questions from parents, teachers and police officers. Some questions actively encouraged the children to approach other crime prevention people, such as local Neighbourhood Watch leaders, and to be aware of the importance of public telephones and 'Safety Houses'.

It was recognised that some effort and motivation would be necessary for children to complete and return the entrance quiz and a 'drop-out' rate was expected. However, those that persevered were rewarded by a visit of a local uniformed police officer to their school where the child was sworn in as a Police Deputy in front of their peers and presented with a 'starter pack'. This pack consists of:

- an identity card;
- a badge;
- a pencil case, ruler and pencil;
- a Police Deputies Club code book;
- a welcoming letter from the Deputy Commissioner of Police;
- an explanation letter for parents; and
- the first of a series of activity books.

The activity books are a five-part series which separately addresses different topics associated with crime prevention, safety and social issues at an appropriate level. Each activity book contains a different story about the Police Deputies Club character 'Deputy Koala' and friends. For example, Book One reinforces the points that Police Deputies:

- always tell their families where they are going;
- respect other peoples' property;
- never leave litter;
- care about their school;
- respect senior citizens;
- never use bad language.

The content of the activity books was a joint contribution by police officers involved with the Club and primary school teaching staff enlisted to help.

The middle pages of each activity book contain a question and answer sheet that can be removed and returned to the Club administration. On receipt, the next activity book is posted out until all five activity books have been completed satisfactorily. When this occurs the member is promoted to the rank of 'Senior Deputy' and is issued with a new badge and a certificate of achievement. The next step is for the member is to pursue the highest rank-Deputy Leader-by completing a local or school community activity as set in the activity book.

Whilst the correspondence course continues, regular newsletters and competitions are also conducted, for example, a design-a-poster competition aimed at increasing respect for school property. Eight winners from a large response were selected (two from four age levels) and the children were made police officers for a day. This involved visits to many police areas including the air wing, water police and the mounted branch where the children became involved with planned activity. They also received a new bicycle for their efforts, and winning idea was produced into a printed poster that was distributed to all schools.

Future competitions planned are 'Write the Words' for a Police Deputies Club song which will be put to music by the police band, and 'Deputy Days' have also been organised-one such event at Renmark attracted about 600 children.

Review

Over 11,000 children have applied to join the Police Deputies Club and between 50 and 100 applications per week are still being received. About 2,300 children are currently corresponding and some school classes have taken on the program as a social studies activity. Judging from the large response, the Police Deputies Club has been successful, although it was hoped that more children would persist with the activities. This lower level of continuation was accepted as the level of motivation required to complete the course is high, whilst the large number of children who continue with the Police Deputies Club have demonstrated that they are the likely leaders of tomorrow by expressing learned community values to their peers.

Conclusion

A regular contact Police Deputies Club with a printed correspondence course and other planned activity requires a substantial sum of money to maintain. The administrative duties are constant and require a small and dedicated staff. Overall evaluation-as with all crime prevention schemes-is difficult but comments received from all areas of the community thus far are positive and encouraging.

Without the support and work of local police officers and school staff the Police Deputies Club cannot succeed but, with the appropriate encouragement, the potential to achieve the stated objectives is high. If the juvenile crime figures reduce in six to ten years within South Australia, perhaps the Police Deputies Club can rightfully claim some of the kudos.

School Watch

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School Watch

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On 6 March 1991, in keeping with the state government's 'Together Against Crime' strategy, the Education Department of South Australia and the South Australia Police Department-with the support of the Crime Prevention and Criminology Unit-launched a joint cooperative effort to protect valuable school community facilities. School Watch is a community awareness and crime prevention program which involves local communities in the protection of schools. Since school facilities are shared by the community, a shared responsibility for them is implied. By working together, public and private interests can support each other for the benefit of both.

The aims and format of School Watch closely resemble those of Neighbourhood Watch-which is considered to be the most successful crime prevention program ever undertaken in South Australia. School Watch aims to reduce crime directed at schools and has the following objectives:

- to encourage communication between local police, Education Department personnel and the community;
- to increase awareness amongst members of the school community of the benefits to be derived from taking preventive action against crimes directed against schools;
- to improve security management practices at school level; and
- to foster a spirit of community ownership and pride in schools.

A project team-consisting of a seconded teacher and a police officer-was formed in 1990 to plan and coordinate the implementation of all School Watch programs and to encourage community interest and involvement. A video, together with a range of signs, stickers, pamphlets and other highly visible community materials have also been produced.

A pilot program was successfully put into practice in seven schools situated on four campuses in the northern Adelaide metropolitan area. Schools selected to participate in the pilot program had earlier attempted to

address the widespread problems of vandalism, theft and arson by developing a similar school watch concept. Key teachers were identified in each pilot school to coordinate the program at school level, and liaison was established with the local police, local government authority and local Member of Parliament. School Watch committees were established at each campus resulting in a considerable reduction of crime at these schools.

Membership of School Watch is voluntary. It is gradually being introduced in schools in South Australia according to factors such as the statistics of crime related to schools and demonstrated school and community desire to participate in the program.

Subject to their maturity, students at each level of schooling are invited to participate in School Watch. Parents are invited to participate since they have a vested interest in the maintenance of their children's education facility and represent an extremely potent resource. Representatives from local government, local service groups and Neighbourhood Watch can also become involved.

The Education Department is committed to working in partnership with business, industry, trade unions and the wider community to prepare students for life beyond school. Private organisations have been offered the opportunity to support School Watch by providing financial sponsorship. Police, being at the forefront of the crime prevention movement, have also been invited to participate.

Establishment of the School Watch Program

Once a school council has decided to establish a School Watch program, the following procedure is followed:

1. Schools express their interest by making contact with the School Watch project team.
2. A school contact person is nominated.
3. Liaison is established with the local police, local government body and the local member of Parliament.
4. A series of meetings are conducted by the School Watch project team to explain the program and basic school security measures to students, staff, parents and members of the community.
5. All residents and community members within the local area receive an invitation to attend the meetings.
6. A letter signed by the Director-General of Education and the Police Commissioner expressing support and urging attendance at the meeting is provided and, if possible, the invitation is accompanied by a Mayoral letter of support.

7. Volunteers are invited to form a School Watch committee which operates as a committee of the school council and acts at the direction of the council.
8. Volunteer application forms are made available at each meeting for those members of the community offering themselves for selection as members of the School Watch committee.
9. The project team collects and processes all volunteer applications. Standard police screening procedures apply and confidentiality is assured.
10. A subsequent meeting of volunteers is held to establish a formal committee and to identify individual roles. The committee must not exceed ten members and must comprise the principal or another member of the school council so as to ensure plans are in keeping with school management responsibilities which are governed by the Acts and Regulations covering education and associated policies and instructions. It is desirable for the committee to consist of representatives of students attending the school, parents, staff and members of the local community including the local police.

The Responsibility of the School Watch Committee

The main responsibilities of the School Watch committee are:

- to generate awareness of the program and encourage cooperation;
- to canvass support of the local community by requesting assistance in reporting suspicious activities at the school; and
- to identify specific weaknesses in the school's security system and develop strategies to overcome these weaknesses.

The role of the Education Department in School Watch is to support and assist in the development of improved security in schools, whilst the role of the Police Department is to support and assist communities in developing and sharing the responsibility of crime prevention.

The School Watch project team responds to queries from School Watch committees and provides assistance as required. A School Watch handbook explaining the program in detail is issued to all committee members together with a booklet of security hints to assist the school in improving its security management practices.

Safety of individuals is paramount and participants are urged not to place themselves in any danger and not to form vigilante groups. The parameters within which School Watch members may operate are stated in the handbook and participants are reminded not to exceed their authority. School Watch members must observe the curfew hours (midnight to 7 a.m.) unless

they carry written permission of the principal to be on the premises at that time. They have no authority to request persons to leave the school premises unless they are a member of the police force, an officer of the Education Department or of the teaching service, a member of the school council, the principal or a person authorised by the Minister or principal to protect school property. School Watch members have no power of arrest and are urged to report trespassers to the police.

Results of the School Watch Program

In 1991 fourteen schools in South Australia have established, or are in the process of establishing, School Watch. Response towards the program from students of all ages has generally been positive with most students expressing anger and distress when their school is affected. Attendance at community meetings has fluctuated and averages approximately twenty people. Although this attendance level is a small proportion of the school community, the high level of enthusiasm, motivation and determination of the volunteers has ensured the success of the program at each school.

School Watch has resulted in benefits not only for South Australian schools but also for local communities and the individuals in those communities. Crime directed at the schools participating in the program has been significantly reduced with less disruption to educational and community programs and consequently a reduction in replacement costs. The greatest benefits are the social and personal benefits and these cannot be measured in monetary terms. In areas where School Watch has been established, there has been a noticeable upsurge of community spirit and pride. This has improved morale in areas where a sense of community has sometimes been lacking. On a personal level, some individuals have perceived a sense of empowerment by greater involvement in the development of community programs.

Conclusion

School Watch does not profess to be the panacea for all school security problems but it is proving itself to be an effective crime prevention measure, particularly when developed as part of an overall security framework. It offers an opportunity for everyone to accept their responsibility towards crime prevention and allows individuals to select their own level of involvement.

Community bonds are strengthened by students working together with adults, and School Watch helps instil in young people respect for public property and a community-minded attitude. It is this attitude which may, in the future, produce the greatest and most far-reaching benefits of the School Watch Program.

Postscript

By December 1992, more than 100 schools had joined School Watch.

Problem-Oriented Policing: A Team Approach

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This paper will show how the idea of using a problem-oriented approach to policing (POP) was developed, and will then discuss the trial of problem-oriented policing. Finally, a brief overview of the techniques used to evaluate the trial and how problem-oriented policing works in practice will be given.

Background

A fundamental development was made in crime prevention in North America in the late 1970s by Herman Goldstein (1979) when he began researching a problem-oriented approach to policing. According to Goldstein, the public wants to see improved management of a wide range of behavioural and social problems such as residential burglaries, domestic violence, vandalism and robberies. These problems are currently addressed by a series of law enforcement techniques. Goldstein suggested that police focus much of their time and energy on matters other than crime prevention such as the large amount of paperwork associated with the reporting of offences.

Eck and Spelman (1987) carried out extensive research into problem-oriented policing and suggest that police have traditionally treated calls for assistance or service as individual episodes. Their research has shown that what appears to be an isolated incident can, in fact, be connected to a series of events—a cycle that may lead to repeated calls for police attention.

To improve service to the community, Goldstein, Eck and Spelman suggest that police must develop a more systematic way of processing the problems of the community they serve. This includes not only crime problems but any persistent problems that affect the community. To this end, a problem-solving proactive strategy was proposed, in addition to the reactive

mode of responding to incidents and calls for help after the fact. This strategy involves four principles.

Firstly, that police use their extensive knowledge of the local environment to identify patterns of crime, often associated with certain locations, which can then be defined as problems-the scan phase.

Secondly, in order to understand the underlying causes of an identified problem, police can collect and analyse as much information about the problem as possible, both from sources within and outside the department-the analysis phase.

Thirdly, by grouping incidents or offences together, officers can analyse the underlying conditions that contribute to a problem, and can then develop and implement a potential solution. This may involve research into the nature of the current police response to the problem, to assess its adequacy, and then, based on their experience in police work, a range of possible alternative responses which may solve the underlying problem should be explored. The underlying causes of these problems can then be systematically dealt with. As the causes of most crime lay beyond the normal boundaries of police work, development of solutions would usually involve other agencies and, in many cases, the community in general-the response phase.

The fourth step in the problem-oriented approach is the assessment phase, where implemented solutions are assessed to determine their effectiveness. This assessment may be accomplished through simple observation or through a complex evaluation process. If the first response failed, the information gained through assessment would be used to change the response, improve the analysis and, in some cases, to redefine the nature of the problem.

The Trial of Problem-Oriented Policing

The impact of the problem-oriented approach to policing in North America has been so encouraging that, when Dr Adam Sutton developed the South Australian Government's Together Against Crime Strategy, he recommended that a pilot scheme be implemented and systematically evaluated within an operational area of the South Australia Police Department. This recommendation was supported by the South Australia Police Department as problem-oriented policing (POP) meshes well with the community policing strategy which the Department embraced in 1984.

When considering where the South Australia Police Department should trial POP it was important to choose an area with a reasonably high workload and range of socio-demographic conditions. Para Hills Sub-division met these criteria. In terms of workload, Para Hills has the second highest level of taskings in the metropolitan area. The Para Hills Police Sub-division has similar boundaries to the Salisbury Local Government Area and is located about 18 kilometres north of Adelaide. The trial area is approximately 120 square kilometres in size with a population in excess of 96,000 people. A wide cross-section of socioeconomic lifestyles are also represented in this fast growing council area. The POP trial commenced in September 1990 and concluded in December 1991. Five Patrol Teams serve the Salisbury Council area and each team is made up of ten patrol officers, one Senior Constable, and one Sergeant.

Trial objectives

On completion of the trial, all Para Hills based patrol officers will have participated in a two-day training seminar on POP techniques. This training, in conjunction with the support of the Project Management Team, will enable patrol officers to develop an understanding of POP and become capable of incorporating these techniques into patrol work practices.

Patrol officers will become more operationally effective through the addition of POP methods to their current range of policing techniques. This means that patrol officers should be able to use POP techniques to solve some of the problems which have previously resulted in recurrent taskings to that location. Police officers will also become more adept in liaison with outside groups and agencies in their efforts to solve problems identified using POP techniques and this should have advantages for all aspects of their work.

During the trial, patrol officers and representatives from other agencies should increasingly work together to solve the problems which lead to criminal activity in the community. This may begin to shift ownership of crime prevention from the police alone, to the police with other agencies, and the community. Patrol officers should feel satisfied that POP is an effective and valuable method of policing by the end of the trial period. In other words, police officers should know that POP works.

Members of the public who have been in contact with police during the trial of POP should be satisfied that the POP method of policing is at least as effective, if not more effective, than current policing techniques. The police are likely to receive positive feedback from the wider community through the implementation of problem solving activities and through public evaluation surveys.

Evaluation techniques

Before and after evaluation

Before and after statistics will be collected on the number and type of patrol taskings to a POP location. Using the centrally-located Computer Aided Dispatch System, computer print-outs are provided of the number of taskings by time of day and day of week for any location. The data contained in these print-outs can provide information about a problem location before, during and after the implementation of a POP solution. These print-outs will thus enable comparisons to be made regarding the frequency and timing of patrol movements to POP locations and the activities of the patrol once in the POP location.

Similarly, collators' records of the number of arrests and reports made at POP locations before, during and after the implementation of a potential solution will enable comparisons to be made.

The Crime Mapping System will be used to compare levels of crime in the Para Hills Sub-division to the entire Metropolitan Area. Alternatively, smaller areas within the Para Hills Sub-division can be compared to each other. Crime Maps can be used to show the changing levels of particular offences in areas as small as an Australian Bureau of Statistics census collector district, or an area as large as an Local Government Area or Police Division. In addition, such maps can demonstrate whether offences have been displaced to surrounding areas.

Patrol officers will be asked to list and rate (on a scale of 1 - 5) the types of deviant behaviours regularly exhibited at POP locations. This will enable the collective opinions of police officers in the Para Hills Sub-division to be used to determine whether a problem is reducing, increasing or remaining static after the implementation of a potential solution.

Participant evaluation

Police officers will be surveyed about their attitudes to POP as a policing technique. This self-reporting survey will assist in determining:

- if patrol officers understand what POP is and how it can be used in their patrol environment;
- how effective patrol officers believe POP is, or could be, as a method of policing;
- how effective patrol officers believe they are at liaison with outside organisations/agencies;
- how satisfied patrol officers are with POP; and
- what problems patrol officers have had in using POP.

Client (public) evaluation

The techniques used to carry out client evaluation (or how the public feel about POP) will differ slightly for each case study/POP location. Possible techniques could include:

- a before and after survey;
- a needs assessment survey;
- a perceived change survey; and
- before and after interviews.

For example, before and after interviews might be used when the client group is made up of a small group of residents who live in close proximity to a problem location.

Government and other agencies in the trial area will also be contacted and asked if they have had any contact with police about a POP problem. If so, they will be asked about the frequency and quality of such contact.

Process evaluation

Finally process evaluation information will be obtained from:

- a case study diary. This diary will link changes in the statistics with the activities of the teams at POP locations. It will be supplemented by anecdotal information. In addition, time will be spent with each team to provide advice on evaluation matters, and feedback

- information about what POP responses worked well for other teams and what did not; and
- minutes of meetings team members have had with representatives from outside agencies. These minutes are kept by team members as an evaluation or assessment tool. Team members will use the minutes as a record of what they did at each phase of the POP process.

Problem-Oriented Policing in Practice*

Since 1984, in line with the new philosophies of Commissioner Hunt, community policing was given a high profile within the South Australia Police Department. Community policing puts emphasis on the partnership of the community with the police and aims to prevent crime through the creation of confident communities who work in cooperation with the police. The police consult with the community and respond to its needs with the aim of getting the community to take responsibility for its own safety and security.

POP brings together the four policing strategies (reactive, proactive, community and POP). To introduce this innovative policing concept, police departments must examine their style of management. The current way most police departments function is legalistic or paramilitary and suits reactive and proactive policing techniques. The paramilitary model does not, however, sit well with community policing or POP. The highly centralised style of command currently in force requires police to have an impersonal attitude towards the public and its problems, and stresses the influence of authority to accomplish tasks. Community policing and POP requires police to move towards becoming service-oriented. This approach operates with a decentralised style of command using proactive, preventative and deterrent strategies. Police become personally involved with the public and their problems, and persuasion with subtle authority is used to accomplish tasks.

POP, therefore, requires some risk taking on behalf of management. POP allows the grassroots patrol officer the autonomy to identify a problem, analyse the problem and determine its cause, and then develop potential solutions to the problem without being required to follow the correct procedure through police hierarchy before acting.

The South Australia Police Department's trial of POP uses a team format, which is the first trial of this type in Australia and possibly the world. Four of the five Para Hills Patrol Teams have received specific training in POP techniques and have begun tackling problems in the Para Hills Sub-division. In this paper, however, only the efforts of Team 3 and Team 1 will be discussed.

Salisbury Interchange

Team 3 was the first team to be trained in POP techniques. On the completion of training, various problems within the Para Hills Sub-division were identified. Of these problems, the Salisbury Interchange was chosen as Team 3's first target.

The Salisbury Interchange is a location near the Salisbury Community and Business Centre where trains and buses meet. It is a focal area for children and adults alike. As such, it is also an area of high crime including street offences, illegal use (car theft or damage), and robbery with violence.

When completing the analysis and response phase of the POP approach to the Salisbury Interchange, Team 3 decided to break down the Salisbury Interchange problem into sections, as it is a large problem with many contributing factors.

The first area to be examined by Team 3 was the high level of illegal use of cars. Approximately 11 per cent of all cars stolen within the Para Hills Sub-division in 1990 were stolen in and around the Salisbury Interchange. Team 3 met with numerous agencies to identify key groups which should work with the police to solve the Salisbury Interchange problem. The key groups identified were the State Transport Authority, the Salisbury Council and interested residents.

A simple solution put forward by Team 3 involved fencing off part of the carpark and providing a security officer, paid through charging a nominal fee for the parking of vehicles within the area. As an interim measure, the State Transport Authority supplied a guard and a dog to patrol the area between Thursday and Sunday evenings. This interim measure has substantially reduced the number of vehicles stolen from this location and it is expected that the secure carpark will further improve matters.

In looking at the Salisbury Interchange itself, Team 3 identified that the only persons who used the underpass beneath the railway line were offenders. These people used the underpass to conceal themselves before rushing out and grabbing handbags or assaulting people. The offenders then used the tunnel as an escape route. Team 3 discussed this with the Salisbury Council who then organised to have the underpass sealed with concrete. The design of the underpass area was also examined for other places where potential offenders could conceal themselves. As a result, Team 3 again consulted with the Council to have trees and shrubs trimmed in the vicinity. Team 3 have also suggested that the solid partitions (or weather shields) between train and bus platforms be replaced with clear perspex, or be removed completely, to further reduce hiding places and to minimise graffiti within the area.

Team 3 examined their records of the number of times patrols have been tasked to the Salisbury Interchange for the three months before the initiative commenced and for the three months after. Despite the fact that crime statistics at the Interchange over three winter months were being compared with three summer months when offences normally increase, to their delight Team 3 found that all offences except one had decreased. The one offence that did increase was larceny: there were three larcenies before POP was introduced and four larcenies afterwards.

Team 3 particularly enjoyed the client evaluation aspect of the POP trial. A perceived needs survey was conducted in November 1990 at the Salisbury

Interchange to determine what problems the public had experienced at the Interchange. The community responded very positively to this survey. They supported the police initiative to enclose the carpark and indicated that they would be willing to pay a small weekly charge to ensure that their car was safe while left at the Interchange carpark.

Team 3 were pleasantly surprised by the high level of support for the police shown by the community. As police generally deal with the worst segments of the community, this experience was valuable in building confidence and the desire to work more closely with the local population. It also made the team members feel more positive about themselves both personally and as a Team.

Gotcha Cars

Team 1, after their POP training, identified the problem of the high number of VN and VB Commodore motor vehicles being stolen from the Salisbury area. POP encourages patrol officers to identify new and innovative ways of solving problems and, through Chief Inspector Nixon of the New South Wales Police, Team 1 heard of a system called 'Gotcha Cars'.

The Gotcha Cars concept is being trialled in Britain, Europe, and New South Wales with some measure of success. Instead of chasing offenders after a car has been stolen, the technology used in Gotcha Cars allows police to detect the offence as it occurs. The 'Gotcha Car' looks identical to any other VN or VB Commodore but has significant modifications. When an offender attempts to steal the car, the doors lock into position with steel bars, shatterproof windows shut, a kill switch on the motor ensures that the motor will not start, and the brakes are locked into position so the vehicle will not move. At the same time an alarm is set off within the vehicle which activates a pager on a nearby police officer. The police officer then approaches the vehicle, unlocks it and apprehends the offender(s).

Team 1 believe that the Gotcha Cars concept is a far safer method of catching car theft offenders. In addition, word of mouth and publicity about the use of Gotcha Cars should substantially reduce the number of VN and VB Commodores being stolen. The number of high speed chases should also reduce. As such chases involve life-threatening behaviour for offenders, police and the wider community, this would also be a great benefit.

Conclusion

POP brings with it new forms of accountability and allows structured discretion or the use of the best judgment. POP puts less emphasis on whether actions are in accordance with rules and more emphasis on organisational values and ethics. POP also requires management to move away from issuing commands and toward participation management which also reinforces the autonomy of individual officers. New meaning is given to the concept of police professionalism, emphasising flexibility, interpersonal skills and problem solving abilities.

The way success in policing is measured also changes. In the past, performance of police was judged in terms of the number of arrests made. POP measures success in terms of problems solved, and police officers are

rewarded both through personal satisfaction and through positive feedback from the community.

Another benefit of POP is the increasing levels of partnership between the police, other organisations and community groups. This cooperation will provide a wider range of possibilities in solving crime and related problems.

POP also intermeshes with the Together Against Crime Committees being established in various locations around Adelaide. One of these committees-the Salisbury Together Against Crime group-has already been involved with POP activities.

POP will work and it is hoped that, on the completion of the trial period, the POP concept will be extended and utilised throughout the South Australia Police Department.

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* This part of the paper was delivered by Inspector Al Thomson, Officer in Charge, Para Hills Sub-division, South Australia Police Department.

Mapping Crime in South Australia

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Development of the Crime Mapping System

Prior to 1991, the South Australia Police Department purchased a copy of the CDATA system from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). For the first time, the South Australia Police Department had the latest available census information at their fingertips, thanks to the enormous storage capacity of the compact disk and the mapping capabilities of SUPERMAP. As is often the case, having something which is good makes one desire something even better, and thus the idea of producing an in-house mapping system developed.

The main limitations of the CDATA-SUPERMAP system, from the South Australia Police Department's point of view, were that:

- the maps produced did not depict the areas of greatest relevance to the department, such as patrol areas around police stations or larger administrative divisions;
- the maps, of course, contained only census data and could not easily be adapted to represent crime data; and
- a moderately skilled operator was needed to produce the maps.

The Crime Mapping System (CMS) has been developed in-house to meet the specific needs of the South Australia Police Department by:

- representing the geographical distribution of crime in South Australia in areas of relevance to the police and public;
- enabling the comparison of crime patterns with socio-demographic patterns; and

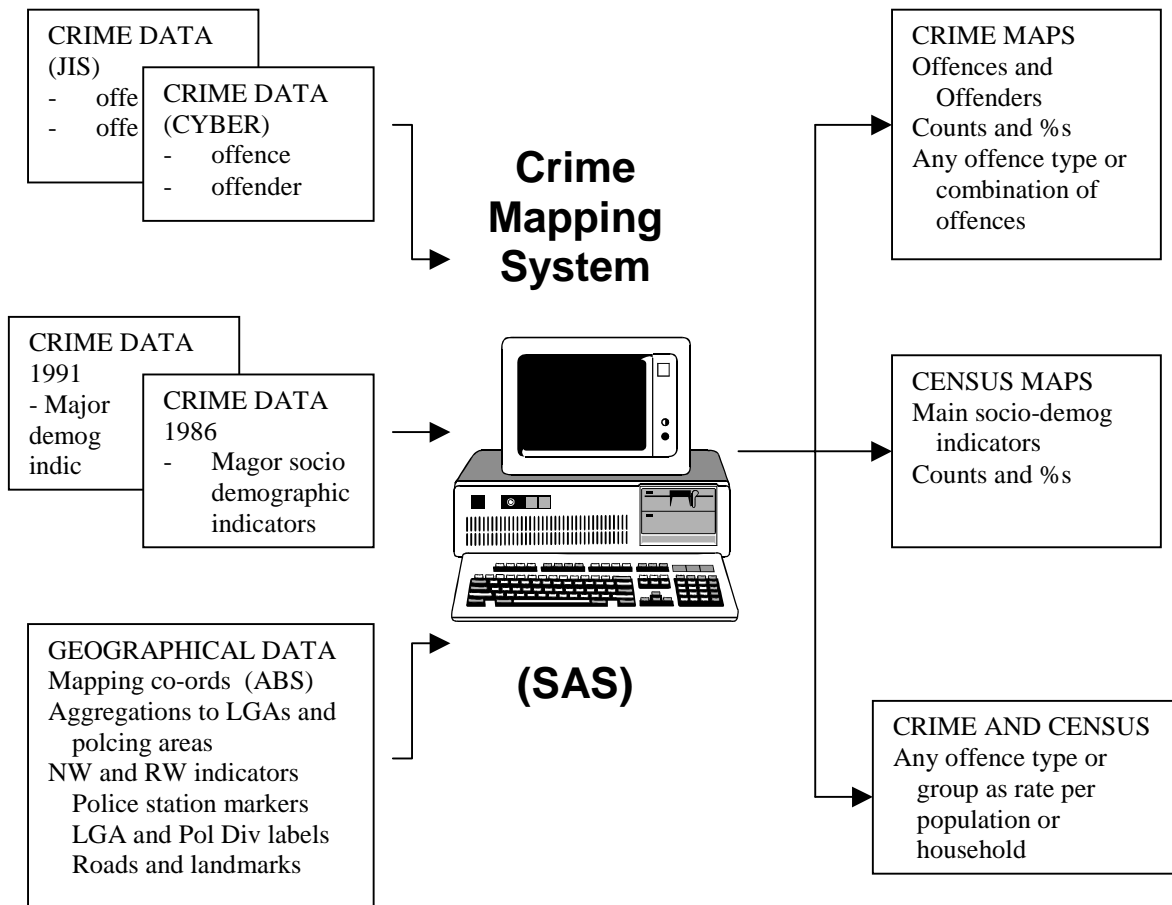
- allowing crime and census information to be combined in various ways to calculate and map standardised rates of offending and other useful percentages.

Furthermore, these objectives have been achieved in a completely menu-driven system which is relatively easy to use. In fact, it is probably true to say that knowledge of census and crime data is a far more important prerequisite for the production and appropriate interpretation of maps, than is knowledge of the CMS itself.

The CMS idea developed into a project and is now a completed system, as a result of funding from the Crime Prevention and Criminology Unit of the Attorney-General's Department. The potential of the CMS as a resource for planning and monitoring of crime prevention initiatives was recognised by the Director of the Crime Prevention and Criminology Unit, Dr Adam Sutton. Thus, the CMS became a key initiative in the South Australian Government's Together Against Crime Strategy.

The primary focus throughout the development of the CMS was the production of maps which showed the incidence of crime at the local neighbourhood level. This focus aimed to enable police and community groups to plan and monitor crime prevention programs in a way which had not been previously possible.

Figure 1
The Crime Mapping System
A Summary of Inputs To and Outputs From the System



Structure of the Crime Mapping System

The CMS collects no data of its own. It is merely a way of representing census and crime information obtained from other sources-namely the CDATE system and the South Australia Police Department's Crime Reporting System.

Data currently held relates to the 1986 census, offences reported since the beginning of 1986, and offenders apprehended over the same period. A selection of key socio-demographic indicators has been incorporated into the CMS from the CDATE disk. This information is fairly static in that it cannot be updated until the 1991 census information becomes available on compact disk.

It is intended that the crime data will be updated on a quarterly basis, and the source of crime data for the CMS will change in late 1991 when the Criminal Incident Reporting System becomes operational on the South Australian Justice Information System. The data obtained from the Criminal Incident Reporting System should improve the timeliness, scope and quality of data available for mapping.

Although it was said that the Crime Mapping System collects no data of its own (that is, in an ongoing sense), the one-off task of assembling what could loosely be described as 'geographical data' was actually one of the most time-consuming aspects of the CMS's development. This data drives the mapping capabilities of the system and provides the tailor-made features which were a major objective for the CMS.

Boundary and centroid coordinates for all census collector districts (CDs) within South Australia were purchased from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). These areas were then aggregated to make up Local Government Areas (LGAs), Police Districts (patrol areas), Police Divisions (administrative areas), Police Station Towns (major country towns which are Divisional Headquarters) and various other higher level groupings. These groupings of CDs are used to build the outer boundaries and shaded areas within maps, and to aggregate the selected crime or census information for mapping.

An important feature of the South Australia Police Department's crime data collection, which has made this system possible, is that crime reports and apprehensions are recorded against an area which corresponds to the ABS census collector districts (CDs). This means that crime data can be extracted for areas which correspond to those that appear on the maps. Similarly, because Police Districts and Divisions correspond almost exactly with ABS boundaries in the metropolitan area-and are reasonable approximations in rural areas-the boundaries depicted by aggregating CD boundaries are quite realistic.

It is important to note that, in most cases, adherence to ABS standards in the recording of crime and establishment of police boundaries in South Australia has been an important factor in the development of a system which enables crime and census information to be represented side by side, and even combined before mapping.

The final refinement of the geographical data was the addition of a range of what is called 'interpretive' information, such as major landmarks (main roads, rivers, airport, police stations), various other labels and, most importantly from a crime prevention point of view, Neighbourhood

and Rural Watch indicators. The Neighbourhood and Rural Watch indicators enable police to identify within any CD-based map (that is, any map which shows CDs as the shaded areas within a larger boundary) all Neighbourhood Watch areas which were operative on a date supplied by an operator. A similar facility is available for Rural Watch areas. Once again, this facility was only possible because police administrators chose to align Neighbourhood Watch areas with CDs and Rural Watch areas with aggregations of CDs.

The CMS is also capable of mapping external or non-system data provided the data is associated with appropriate geographical units, such as LGAs or Police Divisions. The external data need not be crime related but could represent staffing or workload statistics, for example, to assist in the deployment of police resources.

The CMS resides on an IBM compatible personal computer with historical files accessible via streaming tape. The CMS has been developed in SAS (a statistical analysis computer package) because of its capabilities for integrating complex data manipulations and good mapping facilities into a menu driven system. SAS is also mainframe compatible and is a reporting package used by the Justice Information System on their mainframe machine. Response time for crime maps is not good at the moment because of the size of the data files (approximately 25 megabytes for each annual offence file), but this should be improved with the next release of SAS which will contain an indexing capability.

Crime Mapping System Outputs and Output Uses

Outputs from the CMS can be displayed on the screen, saved to a file for incorporation into a document, or printed in colour onto paper or transparencies. The distribution of one crime or census variable can therefore be readily compared with the distribution of another crime or census variable by overlaying a transparency on a printed base map or by simply comparing maps side by side.

The 'Ad Hoc Reporting Facility' is extremely flexible, allowing users to map crime or census data, or combinations of crime and census data, in the following ways:

- Crime Maps
 - by selecting any offence type or types to map by offence location (for crime reports) or offender residence (for apprehension reports);
 - by extracting a subset of a particular offence group for mapping, based on time of offence, offender age or offender sex; and
 - by calculating a statistic which shows the incidence of one offence type or subset of records as a percentage of a larger group and mapping that statistic.
- Census Maps
 - by mapping any of the selected census items as a count or percentage;

- Combined Crime and Census Maps
 - by calculating standardised offence rates by dividing crime reports by either the total population in the corresponding area (most suitable for offences against the person) or by the number of households (most suitable for housebreaks), then mapping the resulting figures.

The capacity to manipulate data before mapping is one of the system's strongest features. This analytical capability enables the user to provide ready answers to highly specific questions. For example, subtle changes in offence patterns in response to specific crime prevention initiatives can be looked for by monitoring changes in the proportion of breaks which have homes as targets, the proportion of housebreaks occurring during daylight hours, or the proportion of property damage offences which occur in schools.

Map Types Available in Crime Mapping System

1. CDs within a Police Station Town
2. CDs within an LGA
3. CDs within an Urban Area
4. CDs within a Police Division
5. Police Districts within Non-Metro Divisions
6. LGAs within the Metro Area (as defined by ABS)
7. LGAs within the Metro Area (as defined by Police)
8. LGAs within the Non-Metro Area (ABS)
9. LGAs within the Non-Metro Area (Police)
10. Police Divisions within Metro Area (Police)
11. Police Divisions within Non-Metro Area (Police)
12. Police Districts within Non-Metro Area (Police)

Each crime or census data item or derived statistic can be mapped into any one of these twelve map types. The map type selected depends entirely on the type of comparison which is required, since comparison between geographical areas within a map is the greatest strength of this mode of representation.

The maps which are most relevant as planning and monitoring tools for crime prevention programs generally show crime and demographic patterns at the greatest level of detail, by CD within a single LGA (map type 2), Police Division (map type 4) or major country town (map type 1), although comparisons across larger areas may suit specific purposes. These maps will be used by the Together Against Crime committees set up by the Attorney-General's Department to inform local communities about crime and social conditions in their area, to monitor and evaluate the Neighbourhood Watch and Rural Watch programs coordinated by police, and to identify crime 'hot spots' for the new Problem Oriented Policing (POP) strategy soon to be fully-implemented by the South Australia Police Department.

Suggestions for Establishing Similar Systems

The use of ABS census collector districts in recording crime, establishing police boundaries, and implementing Neighbourhood Watch and Rural Watch programs in South Australia has been a major factor in facilitating the development of the CMS (in that the ABS CDATA-SUPERMAP system is CD-driven). Of course, geographical coordinates for the areas to be mapped could be derived means other than the CD, such as digitisation, but if these areas are not CD-based then census information will not be able to be fully-utilised by the system.

Several off-the-shelf mapping packages are available in Australia. These did not meet the South Australia Police Department needs for a completely menu-driven, customised package which could also perform complex manipulations of large quantities of data. These off-the-shelf packages, however, may be a cheaper alternative to in-house system development, if they meet an organisation's needs.

The most helpful suggestion which can be made is the offer to demonstrate the South Australia Police Department's Crime Mapping System to organisations interested in developing a similar system. It may be that much of the CMS is not suitable to another organisation, but knowing what is not needed by your organisation is often the most valuable information of all.

The Youth and the Law Project: Community Crime Prevention Through Youth

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New South Wales

What is the Youth and the Law Project (YALP)?

The Youth and the Law Project (YALP) is a non-profit community youth organisation which has been operating in the Macarthur region of Sydney since 1985. YALP is funded by the Law Foundation of New South Wales and is a crime prevention initiative which works with young people at risk of offending.

As a youth crime prevention project, YALP is concerned with three major issues:

- youth reactions to community problems;
- community reactions to youth behaviour; and
- traditional, reactive approaches to youth behaviour.

There have been two major stages in the development of YALP. The first was the development of eighteen youth project groups through five annual Community Youth Forums. Approximately 150 young people attended each of the Community Youth Forums. At these Forums, young people were involved in presenting and better understanding local issues. They were also involved in designing projects which they would carry out as part of a project group working with YALP staff. Local one-day workshops using a similar process also led to the development of project groups.

The second major stage in the development of YALP resulted from an extensive independent evaluation carried out in 1989. YALP now has a focus on working jointly with other youth organisations to implement YALP processes in the wider community. This has led to the development of joint-working projects with the Federation of Police-Citizens Youth Clubs (PCYC), the Sydney City Mission, and Campbelltown and Marrickville Community Youth Services.

Focus on Process

YALP takes a proactive approach to youth crime prevention, where crime control and prevention happens through community, government and youth interaction. This proactive approach makes crime prevention the responsibility of youth and the wider community. Young people are involved in the design and implementation of their own projects with the support of YALP staff who act as process facilitators.

Two key examples of project groups are C.T.'s Under 18's nightclub and the Say G'day to a Cop campaign. Other projects include Child Abuse-No Way, SK8 Campbelltown and Get it Right the First Time.

Dissemination Through Joint Working Projects Versus The Quick Fix

When an organisation wants to implement its processes into the wider community, some vital issues need to be addressed. These include:

- the adaptability and receptiveness to change of both the organisation and its processes;
- the significance of developing appropriate resources, and of developing these resources with the section of the community that is involved in the implementation;
- the significance of commitment to the whole process of implementing new strategies in a new area; and
- the development of appropriate evaluation materials and resources.

YALP is currently developing resources as part of a joint working project with the Federation of Police-Citizens Youth Clubs (PCYC), which will involve the development of three pilot projects in Mudgee, South Sydney and Blacktown. These resources include:

- how to run a workshop day;
- how to run a project group;
- skills modules to use with project groups;

- techniques for facilitating various YALP processes; and
- methods for evaluating the pilot projects.

The joint-working project also involves regular review and development workshops for YALP and PCYC staff and management. This ongoing support, resourcing and feedback between YALP and PCYC will be the key to the success of implementing YALP processes in this way.

Joint working projects also highlight the problems associated with a 'quick fix' approach to strategy implementation in areas which are new to the idea of community crime prevention. The quick fix approach cannot coexist with community crime prevention strategies because the community is not involved in the process of implementing the strategies. The quick fix approach also assumes that one strategy of working with youth should work for all youth-which is not the case.

YALP processes rely heavily on the participation and dynamics of the youth and this is generally considered to be a high risk approach. Perhaps the question of the value of the youth participation is really the issue that both makes and breaks YALP in many people's eyes.

Croydon: The Good Neighbourhood Program

An Innovative Approach to Youth Programs

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In October 1988, Croydon Council supported a Victorian government initiative known as the Good Neighbourhood Program. The aim of the program is to reduce juvenile crime and vandalism. The Croydon Good Neighbourhood committee was formed using funding support from the state government and it consisted of a wide selection of interested people from a variety of organisations.

It was decided that, as the task of reducing juvenile crime and vandalism was daunting and the resources available were minimal, a new approach to the problem was warranted. The new approach utilised by the committee has resulted in some incredible developments between 1989 and 1991. These developments were partly due to the fact that the committee went about the task by working to some commonsense guidelines. The guidelines were:

- achieve;
- use resources, find resources, create resources;
- take risks;
- limit bureaucratic behaviour;

- excite and involve the whole community; and
- evaluate, stay in touch and be prepared to change quickly.

The Croydon Good Neighbourhood committee adopted the approach of relying heavily on traditional forms of information gathering, as well as speaking to many people from all sections of the community. The results were real and useful, allowing the committee to draft suggested programs, feed these programs back to the community, refine the programs and put them into action.

The Croydon Good Neighbourhood committee programs and approach are innovative only to the extent that they value simplicity and commonsense.

The Programs

From the commencement of the Good Neighbourhood committee, a number of urgent needs were identified:

- lack of entertainment;
- lack of information;
- transport safety;
- there was no youth venue; and
- the music potential was under resourced.

Rather than develop a fragmented approach to these needs, it was decided to use music as the tool for change. Through a number of stages the tool for change has proved far more useful than could have been planned. Croydon's music movement has developed an energy of its own with bands on trains, recording facilities, students employed to promote events, a live underage music venue, and recently the staging of the first Australian Youth Rock Conference (Ausyrock).

The following information on programs that have been developed is only brief and is aimed to give an overview of what is possible with energy, networking and commonsense. Many of the programs have been developing through a number of stages since 1989, so it is difficult to fully outline all details. Further information or assistance on any of the programs can be obtained by contacting Croydon Council.

Garage bands

Facilities

The Garage Band Movement is run by a committee of musicians ranging from ages fifteen to twenty-six years. Their main role is to maintain and supervise the practising studio and recording facility.

Underneath Croydon Hall is a fully-equipped studio and recording facility. The venue is booked seven days a week for a total of approximately forty hours. Currently the studio caters for forty-two local bands, offering a recording facility at a fraction of the costs asked by private enterprise.

The studio was built in conjunction with the Office of Corrections, local business, Croydon City Council, the Good Neighbourhood Committee and the Garage Band Committee. By using this form of network resourcing, the studio was built for less than \$2,000, whilst the equipment has been purchased through Good Neighbourhood funding with heavy subsidies from local business.

Ausyrock

February 1991 saw the occurrence of the first Ausyrock. The aim of Ausyrock was to offer skill development to young musicians. Ausyrock was set up on a massive scale involving forty-one workshops with 250 young musicians learning from industry greats like Steve Housden (Little River Band), Jerry Speiser (Men at Work), Jimi the Human & Spectre 7, Wendy Stapleton, Jack Howard (Hunters & Collectors) and many more. In addition to workshops on instrument development, also on offer was the chance to learn about live production, management, women in rock and vocals.

With music exhibitions, live concerts, a battle of the bands competition, and jam sessions, Ausyrock was an event not attempted before in Australia and it was quite fitting that Ausyrock was chosen as the venue to launch the 1991 Melbourne Music Festival. Plans are already underway for Ausyrock 1992, an event that will cater for 1,000 young people from around Australia.

The Hull

Still operating in 1991, and now two-and-a-half-years young, The Hull has stood the test of time. As Melbourne's only live underage venue, The Hull has hosted over 100 live band performances on Friday evenings. With bands such as Boom Crash Opera, The Angels and Roxus playing next to Croydon's home-grown garage bands it has proved to be a remarkable success with benefits for both the performer and the 'rager'.

The Hull is open Friday nights between 7 p.m. and 11 p.m. and attracts young people aged between fifteen to nineteen years. The venue has strict security, dress standards and a behaviour code, as any nightclub would be expected to have.

Since its inception, The Hull has been run by a strong and innovative committee of young people who have designed their own uniform and business cards, marketed the facility, planned the entertainment and trained themselves as a group through weekend planning camps and consultant input.

Safe Train and Shuttle Bus

The Safe Train was set up to address the perception that train travel, especially on a Saturday evening, was unsafe. The Safe Train departs Lilydale Station at 5.58 p.m. every Saturday and stops at all stations, arriving at Flinders Street Station one hour later. It returns the same evening, departing

Flinders Street Station at 11.34 p.m. The Safe Train may vary from three to six carriages and carries a youth rock band on one carriage and a juke box on another. The other areas of the train are deemed 'quiet carriages'.

The Safe Train is manned by two plain-clothed police from Croydon and a number of community volunteers. The role of volunteers on the train is to give the impression of ownership and concern by the community. So far, the Safe Train has been extremely effective.

On its return from the city, the Safe Train is met by ten community volunteers at Croydon station. The station is normally deserted at this hour and the volunteers create a sense of security for those travellers normally disembarking during quiet periods. Once all patrons have departed the area via foot, taxi or car, the volunteers return home. There have been no incidents since the station volunteers began in October 1989, and on many occasions the volunteers have been able to assist passengers in a variety of ways, the most dramatic to date involved helping a young girl who had an epileptic fit in the station carpark.

The youth bands who perform on the Safe Train are drawn from Croydon's garage band movement. The entertainment has proved a useful ploy in that it has helped create an artificial peak hour. This in itself is the most effective form of safety. The major benefits of the bands on the Safe Train are that they distract bad behaviour, soften the environment, give a sense of ownership to those involved and create employment opportunities for young people. So far, the Safe Train has had no reported incidents of vandalism and has increased the patronage (quite considerably) on some occasions.

Another phase of the Safe Train Project is the Shuttle Bus. Soon after the Safe Train began, community volunteers reported a number of young people travelled home on foot—some of them travelling amazing distances. To assist these young people, a scheme was put together involving the National Australia Bank and the South Croydon Anglican Church. A twenty-two seater bus was purchased, twenty volunteer drivers trained and the Shuttle Bus—a free service—was born. The bus aims to assist those young people who need transport and is not considered a replacement for parental responsibility.

The Victorian Government has just released the results of an evaluation that has been carried out on the Safe Train, and it is indicated that the Safe Train will expand, with a number of other train lines in Melbourne and South Australia already in the planning stages.

Student Information Officers

Information was highlighted as being a great need for young people. At the time of the consultation there were two major events occurring in the Croydon community. One was the opening of a Council-run coffee shop for which Council Officers had flooded schools and the community with over 2,000 brochures. Posters had also been put up and articles were included in the local press. The other event was a Saturday dance being arranged by a private promotions company. This company had produced similar posters, brochures and advertising material. Both of these events were occurring in a city where very little was happening (in an entertainment sense) on Friday or Saturday nights. When school students were asked about these events, some 4

to 5 per cent had knowledge of either of these events. This indicated that there was a communication difficulty in conveying information to young people in the Croydon community.

Rather than produce more brochures, better posters and larger articles in the local newspapers, it was decided to employ one Student Information Officer (SIO) in each of the fifteen secondary schools throughout Croydon and its immediate environs. The SIOs are students and receive an honorarium of \$20 per month. They attend a monthly meeting and receive training in advertising procedures. SIOs are also given information on what is occurring in and around Croydon and the resources to promote these events properly. Each school selected their SIO in a different way, for example, through the Student Representative Council or via a special student election.

The SIO system is proving remarkably effective. In addition to the benefit of information spread to young people, the SIOs are a very useful vehicle to feed information back to the Croydon Good Neighbourhood committee-the information flows both ways.

Challenge '89, '90, '91

Since 1989 the Croydon Good Neighbourhood committee has run a series of outdoor adventures known as the Challenge. The Challenge is aimed at young people who are traditionally labelled 'at risk'. It was believed, and has now proved to be so, that if a group of young people having problems with the social system were thrown into a physically challenging experience over a ten-day period in an isolated area, the potential for change would be created.

The Challenge involves canoeing, trekking, climbing and basically pushing the young people to their limit. The results have been very encouraging, with follow-up a priority of the Challenge. The last Challenge took a team from the Today Show and the video of this Challenge is available to provide others with greater knowledge of the Challenge.

Change the Environment and You Change the People

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Background

I would like to take you all back in time, further than your lifetime and your parents' lifetimes-back further than the early explorers and the First Fleet to a time long before non-Aboriginal habitation of this land. Three hundred years ago, when my ancestors lived on this land, complex systems existed between each of the language groups. Marriage and behaviour were all governed by strict regulation or law, and the Aboriginal people had developed sophisticated systems of trade, resource management, education and law.

The essence of the Law was reinforced in the way of life of the Aboriginal people. Children learnt by the stories of the Dreamtime, by the example of others, by the repetition of an act or style of behaviour. The right place to sit, the right method to communicate, the right way to look after the land-there was a right way for everything. This Law-Tjukurpa, the observance of Aboriginal Law-was repeatedly reinforced through the way of life, in fact, Aboriginal people believed that Tjukurpa influenced their very survival.

The initiation, for both young men and women, indicated an acceptance of the responsibility for maintaining the Law. This was further reinforced by the position each person held in the community, accompanied by a sense of responsibility for all members of that community. Adults in the community were responsible for ensuring that all children learnt the stories, the songs, the dances and the rituals of living, as well as how to care for the land and manage the resources of this arid continent.

Later, as an elder, one became responsible for ensuring that the Law-Tjukurpa-was upheld, and that, when decisions were made, they observed the learning, collective knowledge and responsibility of a hundred lifetimes.

Then the influx of non-Aboriginal people took place. These newcomers made no attempt to consider any existing Law, code of behaviour or responsibility, and they imposed their form of law enforcement on the Aboriginal people. Our environment was changed and this in turn changed the Aboriginal people. This change caused absolute confusion.

Just imagine if some power greater than the one developed by this society arrived in Australia and imposed a new set of rules for society to live by. Imagine your feelings if this power dictated that a new language be the accepted and only form of communication and that the speech used today be discontinued. Perhaps this new power would also change the method used to trade and obtain food, clothing and shelter. Furthermore, parental rights may be suppressed and children taken from the family unit, and possibly never seen again. This new power might take control of the land and restrict the use of resources that have come to be expected as rightfully ours. This all seems unfair and hardly likely to happen, but consider-this is how my ancestors' environment was changed just two hundred years ago.

Port Lincoln-Changes in the 20th Century

Port Lincoln is no different from any other town or city in Australia. Like most other places, it has an area for shopping, an area for recreation, an area for education, a hospital, a police station, an industrial or business area, and a place for the indigenous people. Over the years, Port Lincoln has become a mixed population. Our community is not a political 'hot spot', nor does it attract a lot of media hype (even though a death in custody has occurred). Port Lincoln also has the same problems with domestic violence and substance abuse which face nearly every other community throughout Australia.

However, the 700 Aboriginal residents in this city are determined to work together towards change-to make life better for themselves and their children's children. It is because of the determination of each individual in the community that changes have occurred.

Around the time of World War II, some Aboriginal families moved from Koonibba Mission down the railway line to jobs at the abattoirs, and on the wheat stacks and wharf in Port Lincoln.

In the 1950s, living conditions for the Aboriginal people were poor. Their homes were built in the scrub on the edge of town and were made out of flattened 44-gallon drums or old discarded galvanised iron. These homes had dirt floors and a hessian or wheat bag doorway. Some Aboriginal people had jobs, bought their own land and built their own homes, but this situation changed when the wheat silos came and the abattoirs closed down. Employment was reduced and most Aboriginal people become totally dependant on the welfare system. A newspaper article in the Port Lincoln Times on 16 January 1958 highlighted the living conditions on the Aboriginal reserve and questioned the future for the 'dead end kids'.

With more enthusiasm than money, government departments and agencies-together with service clubs and church groups-worked toward change with the Aboriginal people. Band-aid measures were put in place, but it was eight years before the first major project was developed and

implemented. In 1991, these 'dead end kids' of 1958 are leaders in their own right in the Port Lincoln community.

New buildings and developments in other areas of Port Lincoln caused flooding several years running in the Aboriginal Reserve, so the reserve had to be moved. Houses were obtained in ordinary streets and, accompanied by complaints from the neighbours, Aboriginal families moved in. These were hard times, but the Council, education, welfare, police and enterprise development groups worked together and changed the community environment again. In doing so, they have changed not only the people but the future for the Port Lincoln community.

For over twenty-five years, the Aboriginal people in Port Lincoln have been working towards breaking the cycle of poverty and family dependence on the welfare system. By doing this, it is realised that the environment is being changed again and this is resulting in a change in the Aboriginal people.

One of the first projects to be started by the Port Lincoln community was one addressing the issue of small children. This project was executed with the assistance of Welfare Department staff and the Save the Children Fund. A preschool kindergarten was established to help socially disadvantaged children learn the skills needed to assist them to take part in the public school system. This program has been refined over the years and presently the Port Lincoln Children's Centre program aims to enrich children's social skills, assist with health, speech and comprehension development and family involvement. It also conducts cross-cultural exchanges involving both staff and students from other centres in Port Lincoln. However, there is a lack of commitment to fund the planned upgrade of this facility and consequent program expansion to cover full-time preschool and day care to meet the needs of community workers, program participants and organisation staff who need to use a child-minding facility.

The next major step occurred in July 1975 when the Port Lincoln Aboriginal Organisation (PLAO) became an incorporated body. Under the care of this group, negotiations were completed for the relocation of the Mallee Park Aboriginal Reserve and, with the assistance of local government, the completion of the Mallee Park Football Oval.

The 1980s saw the birth of the Mallee Park Football Club and, in the space of ten years, the Club won five A-Grade premiership flags-the last four consecutively. The Club won on the field but not in the clubroom. Learning how to manage a business like non-Aboriginal people was a problem-Aboriginal people are encouraged to share amongst the community and it was hard to learn other ways.

The 1980s also saw an abundance of short-term training and employment projects for the Aboriginal people. Whilst these projects kept people occupied for a six-month period, none of them resulted in real jobs. In between projects (or if one missed out on being selected to participate), individuals became more disheartened and sick of trying because, in the end, these projects were just band-aid jobs that did not lead anywhere. Occasionally work would become available at Mallee Park or Poonindie, such as putting up fences, tree planting or gardening, but there were no real jobs or job security. Ultimately, days would be spent sitting, smoking and talking at the Red Shed (a meeting place on the foreshore). Eventually, after all our literacy and numeracy

training, it became the common joke that we would have to be the most-trained unemployed people in Australia.

A Community Plan

In the mid-1980s the PLAO Management Committee decided to write down a community plan setting out the issues and indicating the needs of the Aboriginal people in Port Lincoln. The PLAO Management Committee then set priorities and decided what needed to be done first. Community meetings were held and a survey conducted to get ideas from the community, while at the Red Shed, the Aboriginal people just asked for 'somewhere to go, something to do and some pay for the work they had done'.

Police liaison

The Aboriginal people did not want 'sit down money', they wanted to earn their pay, so a Police Liaison Group was started and meetings were held to formalise a working relationship between Aboriginal people and police. Chief Inspector Barry Willoughby and Chief Inspector Peter Cameron set the groundwork for the Aboriginal Police Aides (subject to funding for 1991-92).

Community relations

The establishment of the Police Liaison Group was followed by the commencement of a Community Relations Group Committee mainly consisting of welfare-type agency people. This committee met to brainstorm and develop plans dealing with specific situations. Towards the end of the 1980s, Aboriginal women started sewing classes and five of the 'Red Shed' men got jobs as contract workers with the National Parks. A group of volunteers worked solidly for a year and, after about 3,000 hours of meetings, a plan for the introduction of one of the first Urban Community Development Employment Programs in Australia was constructed.

Community Development

In the 1990s, there are about 700 Aboriginal people living in Port Lincoln-approximately 5 per cent of the population. Our aim to break the welfare cycle targets specific sections of community development and has both corporate specific project plans addressing the following specific issues: employment, training and enterprise.

In addressing these issues, several project plans were introduced:

- **Aboriginal Early Childhood Education Program (AECEP):** is an annexe of the Magill Campus, University of South Australia, and a local training proposal which aims to make it possible for Aboriginal people to obtain formal teaching qualifications without having to move to study full-time in Adelaide. This sets a good role model for the junior primary children.

- **Poonindie Farm Re-development:** a remnant of the first Native Training Institution in Australia. The 313 acres are not viable for broad acre farming so a fencing, pilot gardening, rabbit eradication program and extensive re-tree program has been established. A Landscape Design Consultancy is in the final stages of determining the future development.
- **Mainstream Employment:** the local Commonwealth Employment Service obtained short-term work for Aboriginal people in mainstream employment situations, but there were no real job prospects. After the training period, the individual was laid off as there was no ongoing employment.
- **The Women's Group, Ngura Kanpi:** is designed to help Aboriginal women learn skills and gain confidence, and in the future plans to include enterprise development and self-sufficiency courses. Projects include printing, painting, sewing, catering, childcare, jewellery making, health and small business management. Currently a sub-program of PLAO, this group has approximately 150 weekly participants and is currently working towards incorporation.
- **The Contract Employment Program with the South Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service (SANPWS):** aims to help long-term unemployed to work in Land Management particularly in the areas of Walking Trail Development, interpretive centres and signs, establishment and maintenance of Camp grounds, re-tree/re-vegetation projects, fire fighting and rabbit control. A sub-program of PLAO, this group of five workers has become one of the first contract programs in Australia to obtain mainstream employment for a project participant within the SANPWS. A South Australian first is also anticipated under the National Parks Preferential Tendering Plan for a fencing contract.
- **Kuju Community Development Employment Program:** aims to develop a self-supporting enterprise base for the community and assist participants to follow career development paths. Projects include Yard Gang, Wood Gang, mechanics workshop, and community workers within specific projects (for example, schools, Department of Correctional Services, PLAO, Aboriginal Visitor's Scheme, and the Library). This project is incorporated in its own right and employs 92 previously unemployed people.
- **Wanilla Forest:** the development of a management plan is underway for this former Woods and Forest Department resource. Wanilla Forest is a hardwood forest covering about 2,000 acres with some contamination from the use of a CCA wood post-treatment plant. The community won the tender for the future use of the forest and, with the assistance of the South Australian Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, the title is being transferred to the Aboriginal Lands Trust. The forest will be managed as a commercial enterprise and employment venture. However, some sections of the forest have

conservation value for native vegetation and as a habitat for the Funereal or Yellow Tailed Black Cockatoo so the SANPWS have been involved in the joint management of Wanilla Forest.

- **Mallee Park Sports Complex:** a revised approach for the management of the Club is being undertaken so that the Club includes input and representation from all sports, not just football.
- **Childcare:** A planned approach to expanding the services available from the Port Lincoln Children's Centre, providing planned childcare for participants in the Community Development Employment (CDEP) programs and participants at the Women's Group House.
- **Health:** Consolidation of all sections of health including provision for the community to include Aboriginal health workers, a Family Care program and a Substance Abuse program. This is to be expanded to deal with the whole issue not just part. Under the National Health Strategy, money has been made available for a study of this community need.
- **Law and Justice:** Regular community relations group meetings and police liaison meetings are aimed at predicting problem times and areas and developing strategies to deal with these problems. Supplying volunteers for the Department of Correctional Services Visitors' Scheme and workers within the system, games nights and activities in the prison, coordination of activities with an Offenders Aid and Rehabilitation Service (OARS) Worker, negotiating for legal right's representation, development of Aboriginal Police Visitors' Scheme and employment of a coordinator to negotiate for Aboriginal police aides, crime prevention.
- **Youth:** Nunga Youth Program, extend workers, support Youth Action Committee, camps, Out of School Hours program, Vacation Care program. This area is presently under review. Currently, one youth worker works thirty hours per week and sees about 100 children. This is unacceptable and is a real problem which needs to be redressed.

Vacation Care and Out of School Hours programs are aimed at primary school-aged children and approximately fifty to sixty children attend each evening. The youth section needs a lot of planning and money to provide an interesting and challenging program for these young people. Ballroom dancing could not replace the adrenalin buzz of riding a stolen motorbike on the beach, and this problem is being addressed.

- **Education:** Establishing an effective Aboriginal Education Worker (AEW) network, expanding the Aboriginal education profile, encouraging school interaction within the Aboriginal community, for example, National Aboriginal and Islander Day Observance

Committee (NAIDOC) activities, school use of facility, representation on school committees, and expansion of the Aboriginal Studies program relevant to local people.

- **Land and Heritage:** Develop Land Management Resource Plans, the Poonindie development, and Wanilla Forest Management Plan. Retrieve the language, oral history, stories, and law. Develop a 'Keeping Place', and tie all these issues into the Aboriginal Heritage Act 1988 (SA).
- **Community and Policy Development:** Finalisation of the community plan Towards the Year 2000 Stage 2. Set the vision and goals for each program, develop strategies to address each situation, evaluate projects to assess the effectiveness of the proposal. Develop PLAO policy document. Assist management in setting and devising appropriate policy decisions relating to the Aboriginal community.
- **Housing:** Although there is an Aboriginal Housing Board, only a handful of Aboriginal people own their own homes, and there is no a hostel or emergency accommodation. On behalf of a group of older men, PLAO is currently negotiating for a local government and community housing grant that will provide suitable accommodation.

This is just the tip of the iceberg, although some things have changed. It is easier for my children at school than it was for me, but Aboriginal people are still finding it hard to keep teenagers interested at high school so that they can get better jobs. In all the businesses in Port Lincoln there are only two Aboriginal people employed in their own right, all others are there as a result of subsidies and at virtually no cost to the employer.

Aboriginal People Need Role Models for Their Children

The projects and programs outlined provide examples to our children. In late 1989 a local delicatessen owner who had complained about the children's behaviour in the past said that there had been a considerable improvement in their behaviour. A teller in a local bank commented on the change in Aboriginal customers when asking to withdraw their wages, and a class teacher commented on the change in attendance and behaviour of a high school student after the father obtained full-time employment.

The Chief Executive Officer of the Port Lincoln City Council also said that since PLAO had started their programs (that is the Women's Group, National Parks Contract Employment, Community Development Employment Program, Substance Abuse and Visitors' Schemes programs), there had been a significant decrease in the problems associated with Aboriginal people on the foreshore. PLOA have not shifted the problems anywhere else, rather the causes have been addressed and strategies developed that aim to meet the needs of Aboriginal people.

Crime Prevention in the Port Lincoln Aboriginal Community has been developing slowly over the last twenty to thirty years. All the programs

PLAO have in place in Port Lincoln indicate that the whole situation has been approached from a community base. By addressing unemployment, low self-esteem, low socioeconomic standing, welfare dependency, low education, and substandard housing and living conditions, PLAO has developed a general social reform plan aimed at breaking the welfare dependency cycle and addressing the cycle of poverty. In doing this, PLAO has inadvertently also addressed the issue of crime prevention.

PLAO Has Not Done This On Its Own

Everyone in the Port Lincoln Community has a share in the responsibility of synchronising a total community approach to a common problem, but this will cost a lot of money. Many different phrases have surfaced in the last few years. We have heard about self-determination and self-administration. We have also heard about self-management and 'Set Up To Fail'. We have heard about band-aid short-term projects, RED scheme, CEP, law, justice and social justice strategies and now we have heard about crime prevention. It does not matter how a situation is viewed, the bottom line to every solution is money.

PLAO is proud of what has been achieved. Aboriginal people walk tall again: when they go to a shop they pay for their goods with money they have earned not with a government handout; they are proud of their homes; and mothers learn to sew and dress their children in smart clothes they have made themselves. Change has come slowly. A quote attributed to Robert Louis Stevenson says it well:

Life is not a matter of holding good cards but of playing a poor hand well.

In Port Lincoln and as Aboriginal people, PLAO may not hold many good cards but we are playing a very good game.

Queensland Police Service Women's Safety Project

Lisa Rosier
Sergeant
Queensland Police Service

Why a Women's Safety Project?

The Women's Safety project was undertaken by the Queensland Police Service to enhance the safety of women in Queensland by focusing on the prevention of actual violence and the heightened fear of violence against women. The corporate goals of the Queensland Police Service are:

- to enhance to safety of people in Queensland;
- to prevent crime;
- to investigate crime and apprehend offenders;
- to improve the effectiveness, efficiency and accountability of the police organisation;
- to enhance the professionalism of the Police Service;
- to restore public confidence in the Queensland Police Service.

As women comprise 52 per cent of our population, women's safety is definitely part of the mandate of the Queensland Police Service. The Queensland Police Service recognises that violence and the fear of violence are major social issues and that the community looks to the police to respond to and protect them from incidents of violence. The Women's Safety project was established to develop strategies which can be implemented and achieve a more effective response to violence when it occurs. These strategies must also, and more importantly, focus on crime prevention. In undertaking the Women's Safety project, the Queensland Police Service acknowledges that violence against women is a complex and multidimensional problem for crime prevention agencies. Women's safety, as well as the community's safety,

requires the cooperation of the community, all levels of government, the media and the police.

Objectives

The objectives of the Women's Safety project are:

- to have a coordinated approach to women's safety in Queensland;
- to develop and implement inter-agency and community-based crime prevention strategies that enhance the safety of women in Queensland;
- to develop and implement policing strategies directed at enhancing women's safety by the Queensland Police Service;
- to develop and implement strategies that provide compassionate and effective responses to the needs of victims of crime;
- to enhance the quality of life for women in Queensland by reducing unwarranted fears of crime;
- consideration of women with special needs;
- to establish an ongoing forum on women's safety beyond the life of the Women's Safety project.

Background

In October 1990 the Queensland Police Service began the Women's Safety project with a project officer and now Manager, Acting Senior Sergeant Peter Pyke. In December 1990, Acting Sergeant Lisa Rosier joined the project and a 'team' approach to women's safety developed.

A broad-based reference group was established, comprising senior representatives from local government and community agencies, as well as state government departments, including the Women's Policy Branch. The reference group provides a forum for community and inter-agency input into the Women's Safety project. It comprises over thirty agencies and community representatives and has proved invaluable in providing input on immediate concerns. The reference group is also a resource for contacts, networking and exchanging ideas outside the formal Women's Safety project group. The Women's Safety project has also developed links with the National Police Research Unit, the National Committee on Violence Against Women, the Federal Ministry for Assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women, and all other police agencies in Australia.

Strategies

A number of strategies were initiated by the Women's Safety project at its inception. While these strategies are being further developed, others are currently being developed for future implementation.

Community awareness campaign

In marketing the crime prevention messages of ending violence against women it is understood that media awareness campaigns and strategies should relate to and target different audience groups. At the same time, the community should be encouraged to assist police agencies in the prevention of violence against women.

In changing community attitudes, it is necessary to change:

- men's attitudes towards women;
- women's expectations of what is appropriate male behaviour towards them; and
- further, to empower women in unsafe situations.

The Women's Safety project chose the theme 'Women's Safety: A Community Responsibility' to encourage the community to take responsibility for violence and to reinforce the message that violence against women is legally and socially unacceptable. Such messages have been directed at the community through the cooperation of both the print and electronic media. The media coverage has included regular features in a leading newspaper covering topics such as the Women's Safety project, domestic violence, child abuse, home security and how the media can assist in empowering women by publishing positive articles and photographs.

When addressing the media, delivering community awareness lectures, or messages of empowerment to women, the project uses the 'team approach' ideology as the most effective means of promoting the issue of violence against women. The female-male team approach has been particularly useful in presenting community awareness messages. It is derived from the view that it may be patronising and inappropriate for men to inform and advise women on how to act to be safe from male violence and that women have equal rights and status to men in our community.

In line with the objectives of the Women's Safety project and the corporate goals of the Queensland Police Service, a statewide, regional training program-containing safety and security information for women, seniors and children, as well as the objectives and strategies developed-will be packaged in the form of a training and lecture kit for police. From this kit, information booklets may be extracted and disseminated to the community. This material will be an important resource for police and can be taught in schools, the workplace and in the community by uniformed police officers, thereby reinforcing the crime prevention and empowerment messages, particularly through uniformed policewomen addressing women in the community.

Up until 1991, the community awareness campaign has been at no cost to the Queensland Police Service. Channel 7 have offered to produce a

documentary on violence against women, and this proposal is currently under consideration.

HomeSafe

Violence in the home is acknowledged as the most common form of violence against women. Its impact is occasionally lethal and always harmful, not only to the victim, but to other family members or people involved. Other instances of violence in the home may include psychological, sexual, social and economic abuse, date rape, and the fear of victimisation by women who may be alone at home, whether by choice or by separation. All these factors can, in turn, affect women's self-esteem and quality of life.

The Queensland Police Commissioner publicly announced a 'go hard', pro-arrest policy for police on domestic violence, through the formal departmental processes, as well as in the media through a press conference with the Police Minister in late 1990. The Police Commissioner instructed police to take a hard line with perpetrators of domestic violence by taking immediate action under the Domestic Violence (Family Protection) Act 1989 (Qld) or, where evidence indicates that a criminal offence has occurred, the offender is to be charged in accordance with that evidence.

A departmental Domestic Violence working party was convened by the Women's Safety project to identify and develop strategies that address operational, departmental, procedural or other difficulties police may experience in responding to domestic violence. The working party also had to develop recommendations for senior management so that they could resolve these problems.

The working party comprises a range of operational and specialised police officers from general duties, training, lecturing and administration areas as well as the Queensland Police Service Domestic Violence Unit, which has the full support of the working party. The aim of the working party is to provide a forum for reviewing the effectiveness of departmental policies, procedures and responses by police to domestic violence.

The community awareness campaign mentioned previously addresses all of these HomeSafe. It also provides information on home security, prowlers and the need for the community to assist in the prevention of violence against women, whether in the home, or on the street, by reporting acts of violence to the police.

Senior citizens program

The Seniors Program is currently being developed. It is designed to involve the police and community agencies (such as the Lions Club, Rotary and Community Watch) from local regions to enhance the safety and perceptions of safety of seniors citizens who may be more fearful due to isolation, loneliness or sensationalised media.

This seniors citizens program may include the 'Grant-A-Wish to a Senior' and 'Adopt-A-Senior' programs, with the objective of mobilising community support networks and reducing the isolation and fear of victimisation that may be felt by senior women living alone.

StreetSafe

Although it is recognised that most violence against women occurs within the home or family environment, street violence does exist and cannot be ignored. This strategy is aimed at providing a safer public environment for women in Queensland. StreetSafe was introduced quickly for the Christmas/New Year period to enhance the safety of women who were more likely to be active during the holiday season in the course of late-night shopping, working late, or attending social events.

StreetSafe involves the cooperation of both public and private sector agencies that are reputable, mobile 24-hours a day, and have radio or telephone communications that enable them to provide police with information of unlawful or suspicious behaviour. These agencies can assist members of the community-especially women-whose cars may have broken down, or who may need help and quick access to police services. StreetSafe agencies include South East Queensland Electricity Board (SEQEB), Royal Automobile Club of Queensland (RACQ), local government authorities, RAAF and military police, Wormald and MSS security companies, and the Transport Department.

Female commuters were provided with information on how to access the safest public transport systems with the cooperation of the Transport Department, including:

- Bus-Taxi-link: Brisbane City Council Bus and some private Bus Companies upon request would radio ahead for taxis meet women at the end of their destinations on some routes and where practicable would wait until women were safely in their cars before continuing;
- certain taxi ranks were recommended to women that were patrolled by taxi inspectors, supervisors and police as well as bus terminals that had inspectors, television monitors and frequent services; and
- police, railway employees and security firms patrolled trains and platforms. Queensland Rail had many of their female employees working to provide women commuters with a female face and an empowering message.

Five Women Only carpark were established at railway stations. These 'safe' carpark were selected and reserved for women and patrolled by security guards, donated by the MSS and Wormald security companies. The guards would report disturbances on trains and stations to police, as well as walking women and children from the stations to their cars. This strategy was designed to enhance women's safety by creating designated 'safe' areas that women could have access to. It was also hoped that community safety awareness would also be increased.

StreetSafe was promoted through a community awareness campaign involving the media, promotional materials obtained from community sponsorship, involved agencies, and the police. StreetSafe is not intended to make women more fearful, nor to restrict women's activities, but rather aims to provide women with a safer public environment. It is also aimed at

enhancing women's safety and security over a period of higher public social activity. StreetSafe is being reviewed and is under further development.

CabSafe

CabSafe is a cooperative crime prevention strategy involving police, Transport Department and taxi industry resources. It is designed to enhance the safety of women using taxis and drivers in the taxi industry. The CabSafe strategy aims to prevent crimes of violence against women by enhancing effective regulation of the taxi industry, and by encouraging the industry to take responsibility for the safety of its passengers and drivers, particularly women. The CabSafe strategies involve:

- the implementation of a thorough system of criminal history checks of all renewals and applications for hire licences;
- ensuring that those drivers who have a history of crimes of violence against the community are removed from the industry;
- increased enforcement of licensing requirements;
- a better system of identification of drivers and vehicles. Proposals have been made to introduce postcard size photographs of the drivers with licence details, including the renewal date, to be prominently displayed within the vehicle, as well as the introduction of larger reflectorised numbers to be displayed on both sides of the taxi, including the front, rear and roof as well as inside the windscreen. A taxi can therefore be readily identified and if necessary tracked from the air should a passenger or driver's safety be at risk;
- an Accredited Driver Scheme is an option to be developed and fostered by the taxi industry, whereby women passengers, or other taxi users could request an accredited driver when a pre-booking is made. Accredited drivers could be selected from those who have been with the company for a certain number of years, have no history of misbehaviour, and are trustworthy and competent drivers who have passed a driver education course;
- A Driver of the Month Award could be fostered by the taxi industry. The Brisbane business community has offered support for this scheme in the form of an award and prize presentation.

The CabSafe strategy has been developed with great interest and support from both the Transport Department and the Taxi Council. Once the necessary changes to regulations and history checks have been completed, these sorts of measures can be enhanced by community awareness and with the participating agencies involved, will offer the community and the drivers a safer form of transport.

CitiSafe

CitiSafe is currently being developed with the cooperation of the Brisbane City Council, Queensland Police Service, and community agencies. It is based on the Canadian Metrac System and will be designed for implementation in Brisbane and other Metropolitan areas, as well as country centres, the workplace, university campuses and schools. CitiSafe may include safety audits of problem areas (such as homes, parks and buildings) to ensure existing and future town plans consider the safety of the community, particularly that of women.

A proposal that safety audit kits (when developed), and safety and security information be sent to householders and accompany rates notices is being considered. This information would also be available upon request at council offices. It is important to acknowledge the assistance and shared information given to the Women's Safety project by Victoria's 'Safety, Security and Women' initiative to the development of CitiSafe.

Conclusion

The Queensland Police Service Women's Safety project has received support from the community. This is evidenced by a number of calls and letters received from other departments requesting information and assistance in developing similar projects. The cooperation and readiness of areas of the media, agencies, departments and the community to become involved in the prevention of crimes against women has been encouraging. For example, a Radio Program Director, John Miller, volunteered his services to act as a media consultant and chairperson of 'EXPO 88' and Sir Llewellyn Edwards has offered written support for the project.

The Queensland Police Service acknowledges that strategies designed to enhance the safety of women will also enhance the safety of all community members and it is critical that crime prevention agencies be at the forefront of elimination of violence against women and the community. It is also clear that there is a need for police and community agencies to work in partnership to develop and implement crime prevention strategies at local, state and national levels. Violence has no boundaries, and is not unique to any one particular state. These objectives can be achieved when all are working towards a common goal, that is, the safety of women and all community members.

Addendum

In July 1991, Ms Dianne Jeans, Principal Policy Officer for the Queensland Police Service became manager of the Women's Safety Project, which is also staffed by Sergeant Lisa Rosier and Nerida McIntosh.

The Women's Safety Project identified as main priority strategies for 1991/92 to develop and implement: Safety Audits and Step Ahead crime prevention material on personal safety.

Safety Audits

Safety Audits are about the community, local government, police, businesses, the South East Queensland Electricity Board, Telecom and others working together to inspect their neighbourhood and determine the actions necessary to make the community safer. Safety Audits are about taking back public space and are a simple, practical community-based crime prevention program.

Process

Small community teams are formed to undertake a Safety Audit of the local neighbourhood. Aspects of the environment which make community members feel unsafe are noted and strategies to improve safety in the neighbourhood are suggested. As there are many different perceptions of fear, it is important that each team has a balance of men, women, students and the elderly—each opinion is significant.

Safety Audit was successfully piloted in the Morningside Police Division. The action plan developed from the Safety Audit process in this area has been acted upon by the relevant authorities and the issues noted by the community teams were also addressed.

As a result of the successful pilot, the Queensland Police Service developed a Safety Audit kit for statewide distribution which is due to be launched in late 1992. The Queensland Government has also announced the allocation of funds to enable the Safety Audit concept to be introduced across the state. Safety Audit will then be administered by a unit within the Administrative Services Department, who would also coordinate activities and work needs as identified by the Safety Audit processes.

Step Ahead Brochures

As a result of increasing demand by the community to access accurate and standardised information relating to the area of personal safety, the Women's Safety Project has developed eight different brochures in the 'Step Ahead Safety Information for Women' series: Safety in the Car; Safety Out and About; Safety Around the Home; Safety on Public Transport; Safety in the Workplace; Safety for Teenagers; Self Confidence and Self Defence; and Rape and Sexual Assault.

These brochures emphasise the need to develop a safety plan to address areas of personal fear or concern. For example, individuals are encouraged to identify situations which make them feel unsafe and to think about options available to them should the envisaged situation arise.

The Step Ahead brochures were launched in late July 1992. Initially, 50,000 of each in the series was printed and distributed. However, due to the demand and popularity of the brochures—supplies were exhausted within six weeks—reprints have been necessary. The Step Ahead brochures are being used in some schools as part of a personal development program and have also been converted to braille.

Safety, Security and Women: An Initiative of the Victorian Ministry of Police and Emergency Services and Victoria Police

***Pat Thurgood
Senior Policy Advisor
Ministry of Police and Emergency Services
Victoria***

***Ralph Stavely
Inspector & Police Liaison Officer
Ministry of Police and Emergency Services
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As Minister for Police and Emergency Services and Minister for Corrections, I am taking the uncompromising position that to significantly enhance women's safety and security-the community, all levels of government, the media, and the police must act together.

The issue of violence against women is not simply a women's issue. It is a community issue. Anything which potentially places 51 per cent of the community at risk is a community issue (Victoria 1991b).

In October 1990, the Minister for Police and Emergency Services and Minister for Corrections, The Honourable Mal Sandon, requested that a joint working party of members of the Ministry of Police and Emergency Services (MPES) and Victoria Police be convened to examine the issues of safety, security and women.

With the growing number of violent and sexual attacks on women, increasing community awareness of the nature and extent of family violence and varying responses from the media, the Minister for Police and Emergency Services determined that priority be given to examining and developing a range of measures which could be addressed by Victoria Police, the MPES and the Office of Corrections in conjunction with other government departments, the private sector and community groups.

The report of the National Committee on Violence, *Violence: Directions for Australia* (Australia 1990), states clearly that although the 'ability of police, courts and correctional agencies to prevent and control violence is limited', these law enforcement agencies 'nevertheless have an important role in preventing and suppressing violent crime' (pp. 186). The report further indicates that the police have a substantial contribution to make in reducing the fear of violence in the community and that these contributions should be made in conjunction with other key agencies. The role and involvement of the police and other public sector agencies in the reduction and prevention of violence against women has been encouraged and supported by the National Committee on Violence, the new National Committee on Violence Against Women and the Victorian State Government.

The most recent meeting of Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs in Ottawa, Canada (held in October 1990) issued a communique which firmly places the issues of violence against women on the agenda. While indicating that progress has been made in reducing the incidence of violence against women, the communique calls for 'continuing coordinated and effective preventative intervention strategies to eliminate violence against women' (Canada 1990, p. 5).

The Minister for Police and Emergency Services, the Hon. Mal Sandon, requested that a joint MPES and Victoria Police Safety, Security and Women working group be established to:

- provide a status report on the critical issues affecting safety, security and women;
- identify 'gaps' which can be addressed to improve women's safety and security;
- consult with significant groups and others in the community on ways in which to address issues of safety, security and women; and
- provide recommendations for addressing these issues.

Background: The Extent of the Issue

Data

Violence against women takes many forms including physical assault, psychological, emotional and verbal abuse, sexual assault and economic abuse. All these behaviours are executed to obtain and maintain power and control, particularly in the case of family violence. Appalling behaviours and attitudes towards women are demonstrated in women's experiences of sexual

harassment, sexist and degrading language, sexual assault, family violence, sexual molestation, rape and murder.

Over 80 per cent of violent and sexual crimes against women in Victoria occur in the home and are perpetrated by men known to the victims. The most conservative estimate suggests that 12 per cent of all women are physically abused by their partners, whereas some commentators put the figure as high as 50 to 60 per cent.

Family violence is rarely an isolated event-many victims are subjected to repeated violence in the home. During a twelve month period to June 1990, 11,000 Family Incident Reports were received by the Family Violence Project Office, Victoria Police. In the same period, females constituted 75 per cent of complainants in violent family incidents reported to Victoria Police. It must not be forgotten that most cases of family violence go unreported.

Sexual assault is also a crime of violence that is usually perpetrated by a man against a woman or a child. Studies show that females are approximately 97 per cent of all rape victims and 82 per cent of victims of sex offences. We also know that sexual assault is largely a hidden problem, given that an Australian Bureau of Statistics survey in 1983/84 showed that only 26 per cent of victims of sexual assault reported the incident to police (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1987, p. 3). This has been recently verified in Victoria by the phone-in survey conducted by the Real Rape Law Coalition (Real Rape Law Coalition 1991, p. 1).

An international victim survey conducted in 1989 in fifteen developed countries found that Australia has a relatively high rate of sexual offences. In the study, Australian women reported the highest level of sexual incidents, ranging from rape to offensive sexual behaviour, at 7.3 per cent of women. Australian women have the third highest risk of sexual assault, at 1.6 per cent, after the USA and Canada (van Dijk, Mayhew & Killias 1990, pp. 34-5).

A recent survey by the Domestic Violence Advocacy Service indicated that one in five people believe that it is acceptable for a man 'to bash a wife or a girlfriend if she nags him or fails to keep the house clean' (Domestic Violence Advocacy Service 1991, p. 3).

Fear of violence

There is a large body of research and other material now available which confirms the view that women's safety and security is limited and under constant threat. It is clear from research that violent and sexual crimes against women are symptomatic of a society where power is distributed unequally between men and women. It is also clear that women's safety and security is affected by a multitude of other factors including community understanding of violent and sexual assault, community acknowledgment of family violence, treatment of offenders by the criminal justice system, the impact of pornography, urban design, and standards of professional judgement.

It has not been until recent years that the needs of women as victims of crime have been an issue on the crime agenda. It is apparent that crime prevention programs are beginning to take on board women's fear of crime and finding ways of reducing that fear, women's experience as victims of crime and implementing ways to prevent women from becoming victims.

Fear of violence and quality of life issues defy quantification. Yet on that note, a 1985 survey in Adelaide showed that 54.4 per cent of females felt

somewhat or very unsafe walking alone at night, compared to 13.4 per cent of males (Mukherjee & Dagger 1990, p. 15). A 1990 study by the Australian Institute of Criminology stated that 'women generally feel less safe than men even in their own homes, as well as when out alone at night . . .' (Mukherjee & Dagger 1990, p. 15).

Safety, Security and Women Working Group: Not Re-Inventing the Wheel

The Safety, Security and Women working group determined that solutions needed to be creative and innovative if real and long-term changes were to be achieved. This approach is a positive step towards systematically and strategically addressing the issues of women and crime prevention. Early in the planning and consultation stage, the Safety, Security and Women working group also determined the following:

- It is impossible to divorce the issues of women's safety and security from wider social issues, and at the core of the problem are male/female roles and relationships. To introduce any meaningful change, a long-term strategy has to be developed which will, in effect, change community attitudes and behaviours. In the meantime, there are a number of measures which can be introduced which will give positive (and almost immediate) benefits.
- Given the time frame and resources available, a brief picture needs to be presented of the perceived problems based on available research, the current ways in which these are being addressed, and the recommended strategies for addressing these issues.
- Broadly speaking, all authorities on the topic point to the gender aspect as being at the heart of the matter. The overseas experience (mainly British and North American) seems to have many parallels here. However, of major use to the Safety, Security and Women working group is the research and findings of the National Committee on Violence.
- The wheel must not be re-invented. Given that there are departments, organisations and groups working in the community on these same issues and given their level of expertise, it would be inadvisable and presumptuous to duplicate their efforts.
- There is a great need for coordination and cooperation, and the Safety, Security and Women working group has an important role to play in highlighting the need to maximise efforts and attention, as well as recommending short and long term strategies for the police.

In order to critically contribute to the strategies already in place, to maximise efforts and to provide the MPES and Victoria Police with realistic and achievable outcomes, the Safety, Security and Women working group identified three critical aspects of the dimensions of women's safety and

security. These were summarised as policies, programs and services which could be categorised as follows:

Policies, Programs and Services:

- to assist women should be:
 - preventative;
 - supportive at the time of the offence; and
 - assisting with recovery.
- to change male behaviour should be:
 - preventative;
 - relevant to their responses at the time of the offence;
 - supporting of ongoing change; and
 - clearly indicating total social and legal unacceptability of such behaviour.
- to address environmental issues should be:
 - preventative strategies;
 - immediate responses at the time of the offence; and
 - address ongoing and changing needs;

Existing Programs and Services

As a brief summary, the Victorian Government and the Victoria Police provide the following services to address the needs of women and children.

Community Policing Squads, Victoria Police provide a specialist response to community problems, including those associated with family violence and sexual assault.

Family Violence Project Office, Victoria Police provides training to police officers to assist them to deal more effectively with family violence issues, and gives advice to service providers who have responsibility for women's issues.

Family Violence Database, Victoria Police has been established to gather and maintain records of victims and complainants by gender, age and relationship to the perpetrator. Approximately 1,000 reports are received per month. The database is used for planning programs and services.

Crisis Support Unit, Victoria Police is designed to establish crisis care teams of police members and social workers to deliver after-hours personal contact and outreach services to assist people in crisis situations. Many of these situations involve family violence.

Victims of Crime Liaison Office, Victoria Police seeks to improve rather than duplicate existing services, and has two principle objectives. Firstly, to provide training to police on issues relevant to victims of crime and, secondly, to assist in the development of policy and program initiatives specifically designed to complement the role of police in dealing with victims.

The *Protective Behaviours Program* is supported by the Community Policing Coordinating Office, Victoria Police, who provide training and advice for squads in police districts, government and non-government agencies, schools and community groups. The program incorporates positive

messages about any threatening situation a person might face at any time. Protective behaviours is empowering because it is full of DOs rather than DON'Ts. It presents practical steps which can create safety and personal support for people of all ages, particularly women.

The *Defensive Living Program, Crime Prevention Bureau, Victoria Police* is a crime prevention strategy designed to provide women with accurate and realistic information about sexual assault and dispels many of the current myths. The program includes a self-defence video, information on alternatives for both passive and active defence and a range of safety strategies for the home, street, car and public transport.

The *Law Enforcement Assistance Program (LEAP), Victoria Police* is a new major integrated crime prevention initiative designed to give Victoria a smarter Police Force. It provides a systematic analysis of localised crime information and will therefore significantly contribute to the identification of crime patterns. The police will now have the most advanced technology in the world to analyse crimes against women and to therefore implement proactive and reactive responses to crimes against women.

The *Office of Corrections* provides treatment programs for violent/sex offenders. These are:

- the Parliament Place Sex Offenders Clinic which is a pilot psychosexual treatment program involving the Office of Corrections and the Office of Psychiatric Services;
- the Sale Prison Sex Offenders Individual Program: due to the high proportion of sex offenders in this prison, individualised and voluntary psychiatric services are made available; and
- the Pentridge Prison Pilot Psychosexual Treatment Program which will begin operating shortly and be based on the Parliament Place model.

The *Family Violence Preventative Committee* was established in 1987 to monitor the successful implementation of the Crimes (Family Violence) Act 1987 (Vic.) and to oversee the work of interdepartmental task forces and subcommittees established to raise awareness and reduce the incidence of family violence. The three task forces which are coordinated by the Family Violence Prevention committee are the Professional Education Task Force, the Community Education Task Force and the Housing Task Force. After a review of the role and operations of this committee, the Member for Bentleigh, Ms Ann Barker has been appointed as the new Chairperson to undertake critical and timely coordination across government.

The *Professional Education Task Force* is convened by the Ministry of Education and is producing a textbook on family violence for professionals such as doctors, lawyers and social workers. This textbook will be released in 1991 and be entitled *Family Violence: Everybody's Business, Somebody's Life* (Victoria 1991a). It is expected that the resource book will be used in tertiary institutions throughout Victoria. In addition, the task force has developed curriculum units on family violence for courses in Technical and Further Education (TAFE) colleges.

The *Housing Task Force on Domestic Violence* (Ministry of Planning and Housing) oversees and coordinates the development of a range of housing options for women who are leaving situations of domestic violence. These include refuges and emergency accommodation, bond and relocation assistance in the private rental market, priority access to public rental housing and priority loans as longer-term options.

The *Community Education Task Force* (Health Department Victoria) aims to educate and inform victims of family violence about their rights and to break down the myths associated with family violence. To date, a community education campaign has been developed, involving the mass media, community advertisements, resource information materials and seminars and the establishment of family violence networks. These groups are resourced to develop local strategies to combat family violence.

The *Domestic Violence and Incest Resource Centre* (Community Services Victoria) provides information, support and referral services to victims, conducts community and professional education seminars and workshops, facilitates the development of self-help networks, and acts as a resource centre or clearing house for information on domestic violence and incest issues.

The *Victorian Advisory Committee on Rape* is an interdepartmental policy/advisory committee convened by the Health Department Victoria. A separate committee to address specific problematical issues within the Health Department Victoria sexual assault program has been convened by the Women's Health Policy and Programs Unit.

Standing Strong (Ministry of Education and Training/Community Services Victoria). Funds have been provided for the introduction of Standing Strong material into schools. This program seeks to build self-esteem and self-defence skills in girls, and to break down extremes of sex stereotyping and aggressive behaviour in boys.

The Victorian *Community Council Against Violence* (CCAV) was established by the Victorian Government in 1989 and arose out of the Government's response to the tragic shooting in Hoddle and Queen Streets. The very first inquiry conducted by the CCAV was in regard to the issue of violence in and around licensed premises. In this inquiry, the CCAV considered the level of understanding of the licensed premises industry to the question of violence, the policing response, the unions response and the broader issue of how the community can take a stronger stand against violence against women (Victoria 1990). The Melbourne City Council has auspiced the West End Forum project with the CCAV (which has been funded by the MPES) and is currently examining the King Street, Melbourne, precinct to determine ways in which to improve the conditions of the area and to make it safer for women.

Services for those Affected by Family Violence

Centres Against Sexual Assault are funded through the Health Department Victoria and provide both crisis and long-term assistance to the victims and survivors of sexual assault. In addition, the centres link-up with existing health and community services and play an important role in public advocacy and community education on sexual assault. There is now at least one centre against sexual assault in each of the Victorian health regions with a

commitment provision of 24-hour services in all of these regions. It is the Victorian Government's intention that not only will the work of the centres against sexual assault continue to be supported, but all service providers should be more sensitised and become more responsive to the needs of the victims and survivors of sexual assault.

Community Services Victoria funds twenty-four women's refuges, including specific services for Aboriginal and non-English speaking background women, and young women survivors of incest. These refuges provide secure accommodation, personal support and assistance in obtaining advice on legal services, medical services, social security payments and appropriate housing.

Under the *Family Violence Initiatives Fund* in Community Services Victoria, twenty services are funded. These provide community education, self-help and support groups for family violence survivors as well as programs for perpetrators.

Community Services Victoria assists women who cannot or do not need to enter a refuge, and supports women settling in the community with the provision of fourteen domestic violence outreach services.

The *Women's Refuge Referral Service* offers a 24-hour/seven day telephone referral service to facilitate women's entry into refuges. A Refuge Ethnic Worker Program provides an outreach service to support non-English speaking background women who are in refuges, whilst the Women's Information Referral Exchange provides information and referral to women including the provision of information on support services for women who are victims of violent and sexual assault.

Ministerial Statement on Safety, Security and Women

On 27 March 1991, the Minister for Police and Emergency Services and the Minister for Corrections, the Hon. Mal Sandon, with the support of Victoria Police, delivered a Parliamentary Ministerial Statement. The Statement made reference to:

- the unacceptability of violence against women in this community;
- the fact that nowhere is the under-reporting and under-recording of criminal activity more exaggerated than in the case of violence committed against women;
- the concern that the sexual victimisation of women is pervasive, at times only nominally discouraged and in some instances, actively encouraged (for instance, through media advertising). The cost for these women, for policing, medical, legal and social services and for the community as a whole, is immeasurable and devastating;
- a central feature of these safety, security and women initiatives is based on the intention to improve women's status as a crime prevention strategy;

- the Victorian Government's commitment, across many departments and agencies, to addressing the needs of women who are the victims and survivors of violence and sexual assault;
- the ways in which the police and the corrections system are addressing the issues of safety, security and women; and
- detailed specific areas for attention:
 - violent and abusive men will be made to face the legal and social unacceptability of their violent behaviour and take responsibility for changing;
 - women will be further empowered, they will be strong and informed enough to act on their own behalf in unsafe environments, both at home and in public places; and
 - the community will be encouraged to take responsibility and demand equality and respect by and for all members of the community.

Action

Immediate

Several announcements were made in the Ministerial Statement relating to some immediate actions arising out of the recommendations of the Safety, Security and Women working group.

Safety programs are to be conducted in local areas to identify ways in which safer environments can be facilitated at the local level, including examination of specific areas of the community by local groups including police, local council, women's organisations, other groups such as neighbourhood watch and representatives of the various services in the community. A strategic review of features which contribute to safe and unsafe environments will be conducted including street lighting, location and safe accessibility of public transport stops, security in car parks and the availability of street parking, adequate street signs, security in other public places such as parks, gardens and shopping malls, urban design and the location of public phones.

A pilot program for women offenders is to be initiated for women who have been living in a violent relationship prior to their sentencing. This program is designed to ensure that information and programs about safety, security and women are available to women offenders and that the causes of and responses to issues of women and violence are addressed.

A community awareness campaign will be aimed at the whole community with the intention of improving the community's understandings of the issues related to all women's right to safety and to reducing the incidence of violence against women. The campaign includes printed information and community announcements on television and in the printed media and will explore the

images and perceptions of who in the community is violent towards women and why.

The campaign targets men who are violent in our community, women (in order to empower them about their right to be safe and secure), and the general community who must declare violence against women as unacceptable as drink driving. The theme of the campaign is 'Violence Is Ugly' and it will begin with a major conference followed by the release of the television advertisement.

Long-term

It is the intention of the Safety, Security and Women working group to raise with the Minister for Police and Emergency Services and Minister for Corrections and Victoria Police a number of initiatives and recommendations relating to long-term strategies. These will include highlighting the need for:

- educational programs, for use by the Victoria Police and Police/Schools Involvement Program;
- coordination across government departments and agencies; and
- processes to be established once the Safety, Security and Women working group has completed its report to the Minister and Command, Victoria Police.

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HomeAssist: A New Approach to House Security

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During 1989, a national workshop on Crime and the Elderly was jointly organised by the Office of the Commissioner for the Ageing, the Victims of Crime Service, and the National Police Research Unit in South Australia. The workshop was a state-level response to the mounting evidence that elderly people feel particularly vulnerable to crime and that this fear impacts adversely on their quality of life.

The workshop was also a response to a call for a coordinated approach to the problem from several local government authorities. They were concerned with the enormous anxiety created in their communities by a spate of attacks on elderly women accompanied by the high level of publicity surrounding these events. The workshop identified that:

- elderly people believed themselves to be the easiest and most frequent target of criminals;
- fear of break-ins, should elderly people leave their house during the day, is accompanied by a fear of burglary and personal assault during the night-time hours;
- this fear was a very real problem because it impacted on personal health, restricted lifestyle and increased social isolation; and
- there were links between this perception of threat and premature or inappropriate admission to residential care.

The workshop recognised a need to focus on strategies which would work at changing the elderly person's perception of the degree of threat. This

change in perception would bring about some small but critical behavioural and home environment changes and that these changes would protect the person and their property and improve their quality of life. It was recognised that, in order to implement such a strategy, an integrated approach to home safety and security needed to be devised involving all levels of government and including a wide variety of government and non-government agencies and community organisations. The strategy should be coordinated at the state level through one central agency (Department of Employment and Technical and Further Education-DETAFFE).

It was recognised that the home safety and security strategy needed to be centred around the elderly person and their environment. The strategy needed to:

- cater for all levels of the elderly person's concern for their safety and security;
- offer reassurance;
- offer advice on matters of personal safety at home and outside the home;
- offer assessment and advice on the home environment;
- provide access to practical changes around the home; and
- raise community awareness regarding home security issues.

In July 1990 HomeAssist was launched. Its design and delivery model is believed to be unique in Australia in that it provides an integrated, yet multifunctional approach to a multifaceted problem-the provision of a safe, secure and healthy environment to the people who most need assistance. These people include the frail, aged, people with disabilities, carers and people on low incomes.

HomeAssist has a complex set of funding arrangements spread across the Commonwealth, state and local government sectors. Funding for HomeAssist makes its way into a conglomerate budget through the Home and Community Care program, the Together Against Crime program, the Department of Employment and Technical and Further Education, the Local Government Association, and participating councils. Most of the annual budget of \$2 million is expended on the salaries of personnel involved in HomeAssist. Of the first year's budget, \$100,000 was allocated proportionally to councils for use as a subsidy on hardware for those people who could not afford to pay for security modifications to their homes.

The operational base of HomeAssist is the team of workers in each of the forty-three funded councils. In the local government sector, HomeAssist operates as a labour market program providing \$1.7 million annually to workers who have been unemployed for six out of the previous nine months. These employees are sought through the Commonwealth Employment Service and many-at the specific request of councils-come from the older age group of unemployed people-the over 45's group. Councils report that workers in this age group are more likely to have a social and ideological

empathy with older clients and are more likely to be trusted by them. These workers may become HomeAssist coordinators within councils and be employed for a period of two years, or they may become security advisers, community aides, or handipersons and be employed for a one-year period.

With the exception of four councils in the north Adelaide region, where a community organisation delivers HomeAssist, all metropolitan councils in Adelaide (twenty-four in total) were funded to deliver HomeAssist and nineteen country councils also deliver the HomeAssist program.

HomeAssist operates through a single assessment by the agency delivering the program. This agency uses either its own HomeAssist funded services or calls on other agencies and services funded directly or indirectly as part of the HomeAssist network. The genesis of the delivery model for the new HomeAssist lay in the pre-existing Home Assistance Scheme, based in local councils, which has been delivering home maintenance and social support services for six years. The injection of \$1 million into HomeAssist in 1990 boosted the annual budget of the new HomeAssist to \$2 million and provided for the delivery of the new safety and security service.

Within the combination of the Home Maintenance Service, the Home Safety and Security Service, and the Social Support Service lies the key to the effective delivery mechanism of HomeAssist. This delivery mechanism is that, to secure a home adequately, simple safety precautions and protective measures can be implemented at very little cost in the course of routine repair and maintenance work and very often by using existing hardware.

However, securing homes so they are less likely to be broken into is not the full HomeAssist picture. Turning homes into prisons and perpetuating the 'Fort Knox' mentality is not what HomeAssist is about either. While the 'fix it' component of the safety and security service is organised and happens through the home maintenance part of HomeAssist, the coordinator who does the assessment is taught to be mindful that fitting better locks than those already in existence may not be the total solution to the problem.

Allaying the person's fear of crime is a critical factor in the assessment process. The broader social aspects of the problem—that is, recurring illness, pain due to age-related difficulties, or loss of a partner or spouse—may have precipitated fears which need to be addressed. This is where the social support service, either directly or with the assistance and resources of other more specialised agencies in the network, is utilised. The social support service includes the Victims of Crime Service workshops on personal safety, the local Neighbourhood Watch, the local Council Volunteer Support Network, the Telecross Telephone Reassurance Service and agencies working with the local crime prevention committees.

As part of the assessment process, the HomeAssist coordinator or the security assessor (sometimes these two positions are amalgamated) is careful to match security modifications to client needs, special circumstances and behaviour patterns. For example, some styles of locks are unsuitable for clients with arthritic problems. Security screen doors may be the best solution for house-bound clients, and digital access code locks may be necessary for clients who are visited regularly by service agencies. A simple change like the provision of a louder doorbell can also improve a client's sense of security.

An important step in the assessment process is the follow-up procedure. New hardware is of little use if it is not used. Most councils have set follow-

up procedures with clients receiving at least two visits after the work has been completed, wherever possible. For a graphical overview of the HomeAssist program, see Appendix I.

Staffing

Various agencies funded directly to support the HomeAssist process are:

- South Australian Department of Employment and Technical and Further Education is responsible for the overall coordination and administration of HomeAssist employees (HomeAssist State Coordinator and Assistant Project Officer);
- the Victims of Crime Service provides workshops and seminars within local councils focusing on issues of personal safety, home security and victim counselling (HomeAssist Program Coordinator);
- Local Government Association-provides general HomeAssist training for local government employees operating the program (HomeAssist Training Officer);
- Telecross, Australian Red Cross Society, provides bases in Local Government Authorities for volunteers to undergo daily telephone reassurance to elderly clients (HomeAssist Telephone Reassurance Coordinator);
- the South Australian Police Department provides crime prevention and security assessment training to council employees and works with Neighbourhood Watch (HomeAssist Police Coordinators-two positions).

HomeAssist and the South Australian Police Department

The involvement of the South Australian Police Department is critical to the effective delivery of the security component of HomeAssist. HomeAssist within the South Australian Police Department is managed by a commissioned officer at Inspector level who is located within the Community Affairs Branch.

This management structure has ensured HomeAssist has access to the highest policy and decision making level within the Police Department and has provided HomeAssist with information on and exposure to the latest developments in crime prevention methods and programming, as well as specialised training, resource support and access to other community-based crime prevention initiatives operating in the community.

Just as importantly, this relationship has provided for a cooperative and mutually beneficial problem-solving environment which has allowed a smooth and trouble-free implementation of a program that, at the outset, seemed unwieldy in structure, politically and publicly sensitive and clouded with an aura of 'too difficult'. In recognising the special expertise of the Police

Department in crime prevention issues, HomeAssist has been able to develop into what is widely considered to be one of the better crime prevention programs in South Australia.

Training

From the outset it was recognised that, in order to deliver an effective safety and security service, HomeAssist employees needed special training to increase their knowledge base of South Australian crime problems, crime prevention methods, and community policing philosophies and programs. HomeAssist employees needed to acquire particular skills in order to provide advice on the practical implementation of crime prevention methods in line with the needs and personal situation of the client involved. They also needed to learn and promote professionalism in attitude and application of the crime prevention measures taught and used by the South Australian Police.

All employees involved in the safety and security service of HomeAssist must be antecedent screened and attend a series of workshops run by the South Australian Police Department for which they will receive accreditation for attendance. This last procedure further protects the integrity of HomeAssist, the client and the employing authority.

The initial workshop addresses a wide variety of crime prevention topics, a general workshop looks broadly at the rationale and program components of community policing methods, and the Hardware Installation workshop provides:

- information on the types of locks recommended for securing clients homes;
- information on the conditions under which to select locks for installation-that is balancing between security and ease of usage for client group;
- skills enhancement in the fixing of locks;
- tips on minimising installation costs where cheaper alternatives may be available and equally effective.

So far, 100 local government employees have been trained through these workshops and are working in the community under the constant guidance of HomeAssist police coordinators.

If it is assumed that a program operating at full capacity may require the security officer within council to survey, assess and secure three homes a day, then the skills building required to conduct a security survey takes up a large component of the training. Assessors are taught how to survey using a process called the Three Stage System and using the HomeAssist Security Survey (see Appendix II). This document becomes the working tool of the assessor.

Once through the initial training program, HomeAssist assessors are visited regularly by, and maintain constant contact with, the two HomeAssist police coordinators. These two officers, Senior Constables in rank, spend a

large proportion of their time in the field working professionally with employees they have trained (as well as with clients). They teach, resource and advise the assessors in areas where they may experience difficulty. Also, the police coordinators work with Neighbourhood Watch in a variety of ways including program promotion, seminars for the elderly, and client identification and referral.

Observations

While HomeAssist was launched in mid-1990 (eleven months prior to this conference), its effective operational life has been approximately eight months. Across the forty-three funded Local Government Authorities there exists a wide variety of structural and delivery models. Councils choose the delivery model that best suits their own organisational and community environment. As can be expected, some councils appear to be dealing with HomeAssist better than others, and the reasons for this are varied.

Initially, while most councils were keen to participate in HomeAssist, there was considerable concern about its implementation and operation. 'How do we do this?' was the most frequently asked question. Most concerns related to a perception of increased liability exposure, and many councils believed they had inadequate hardware allocation to operate HomeAssist effectively. Clearly the public perception is that adequate security is very costly. However, these concerns have dissipated as the knowledge and skills base of those delivering the HomeAssist service has increased.

While it would be unwise and not even possible to formulate conclusions or predict outcomes at this stage, nevertheless some observations are possible and some likely questions for the future are emerging.

Predictably the councils who manage HomeAssist well, understand it, publicise it, and involve other agencies and resources in the implementation of it (including the resources of the South Australian Police Department, DETAFE, Neighbourhood Watch, Meals on Wheels, Domiciliary Care, Royal District Nursing Society, Lions Club and Rotary) are inundated with requests for the service. And, of course, the reverse applies. Some councils have chosen a more low-key approach which encourages and relies upon their pre-existing client base to pick-up on the HomeAssist service.

Response to the HomeAssist security service initially seemed slow, with councils reactively responding to requests for assistance from clients who had experienced break-ins. Many councils have now adopted a more proactive role in delivering and even selling the HomeAssist service. Councils have reported that clients do not seem to know what adequate security means and consequently are inadequately secured. Requests for surveys have gained momentum, and it is hoped that this is an indication of raised community awareness.

Reports from councils on hardware expenditure reveal that most clients are prepared to pay for the new equipment installed. This has left the original hardware allocation almost untouched and reserved for the most needy clients. It would seem that adequate security is high on the list of expenditure priorities for most clients once they have received an assessment. As a result, several councils have been able to fund the installation of costly items like

security screen doors on the homes of some very frail and financially destitute clients who have severe mobility problems.

Country councils have reported a different experience. Most have totally expended their hardware allocation and report a reluctance on the part of their clients to pay for hardware changes. Most report their clients have little fear of break-ins. The country councils attribute this lack of fear to be related to lack of exposure to violent crime reports in the print media. One country town reports:

We're all locked up now. A fellow stopped here when his car broke down and did one break. That was all it took.

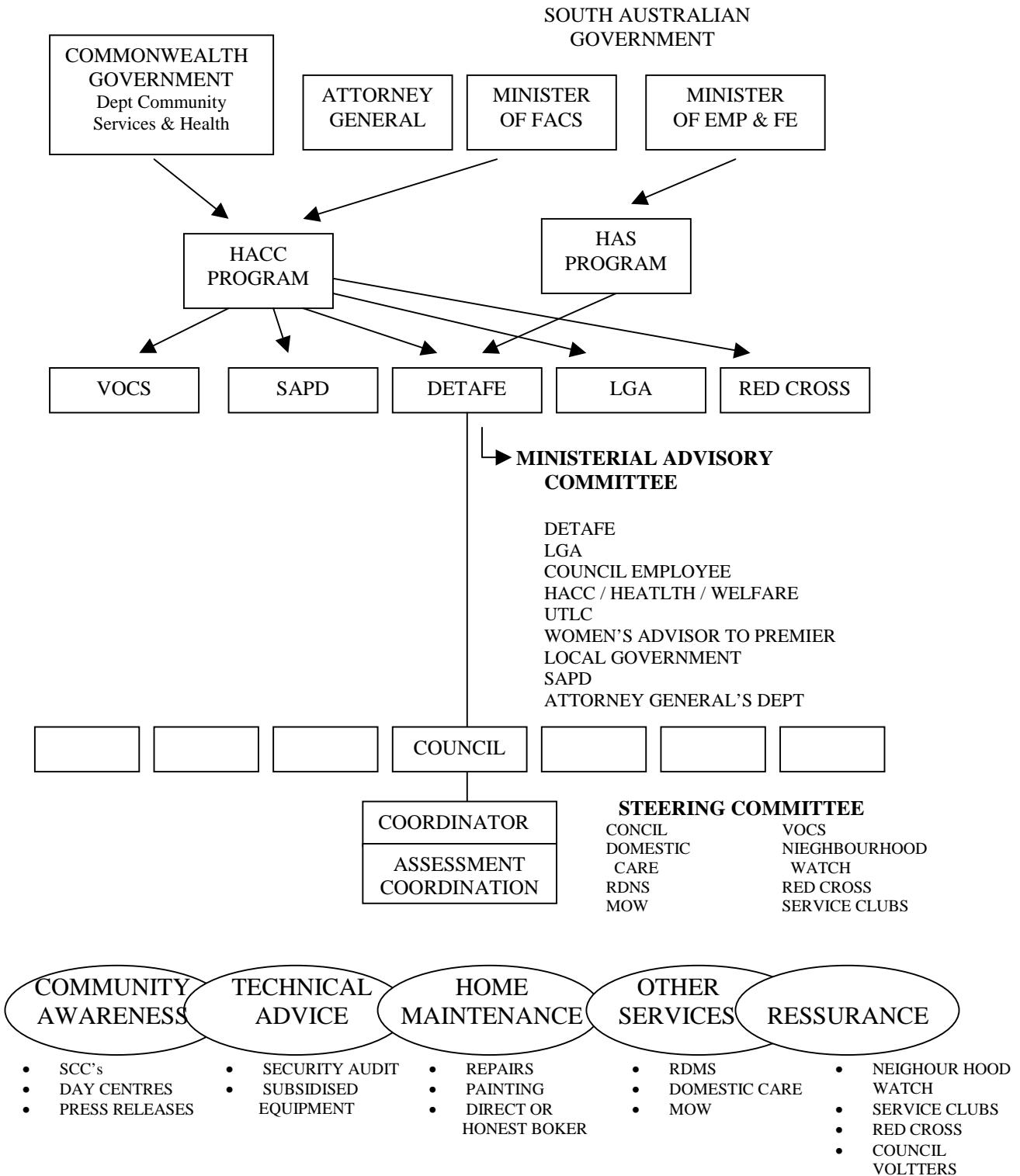
Conclusion

As with all crime prevention programs some careful qualitative and quantitative analysis of the outcomes is critical to the further deployment of resources. A formal evaluation of HomeAssist in late 1991 will undoubtedly explore a variety of issues relating to requests for service, hardware expenditure, community awareness, client perception-the 'before service' and 'after service' measurement-and the impact on these issues, if any, of variables like socioeconomic differences, age profile differences, Neighbourhood Watch activity, police presence in communities, the built environment (including the appearance of a neat and tidy community-graffiti free-and the effectiveness of safety and security service publicity in changing perceptions.

Quite simply, HomeAssist is about two things. It is about securing homes adequately so they are less likely to be broken into, and it is about getting the right information out to elderly people-information that will bring about some small but important changes to the way they go about their daily lives. This information will play an important role in helping them to maintain an independent lifestyle, to be able to go to the shops knowing their homes are not likely to be broken into, and to be able to sleep at night knowing their homes are well maintained and secure. HomeAssist is a cooperative venture in South Australia. It is a partnership between three levels of government and a large number of agencies working Together Against Crime for a safer community.

Appendix I

The HomeAssist Program



Legend for Appendix I

DETAFE	Department of Employment & Technical and Further Education
EMP & FE	Employment & Further Education
FACS	Family & Community Services
HACC	Home & Community Care
HAS	Home Assistance Scheme
LGA	Local Government Association
MOW	Meals on Wheels
RDNS	Royal District Nursing Society
SAPD	South Australian Police Department
SCC	Senior Citizens' Clubs
UTLC	United Trades and Labour Council
VOCS	Victims of Crime Service

Appendix II

HomeAssist Security Survey

Name and Address of Occupier: _____

Council Area Concerned: _____

- 1 House Number:
Visible from street?
Easy to see at night?
- 2 Neighbours:
Known and trusted?
- 3 Front Fence:
High
Low
Nil
- 4 Side and Rear Fences:
High
Low
Nil
- 5 Trees and Shrubs:
Windows and doors visible from road?
Obvious hiding places?
- 6 Outside Appearance:
From street does house look lived in?
- 7 Front/Rear Entrance Doors:
Door viewer?
Side hinges-double/single?
Solid/hollow?
Nightlatch/knobset?
Hingepins-loose/fixed?
Drop bolts?
Glass insert?
Glass panels adjacent?
- 8 Sliding Door:
Able to be lifted from track?
Self-tapping screws required?
Dead-lock fitted?

National Overview on Crime Prevention

- 9 Security Door:
 - Existing/adequate?
 - Three Pin locking?
 - Dead-lock fitted?

- 10 Windows:
 - Sash-Wood/Aluminium?
 - Hopper-Wood/Aluminium?
 - Casement-Wood/Aluminium?
 - Sliding-Wood/Aluminium?
 - Louvres

- 11 Manhole:
 - Construction
 - Hinges
 - Padlock on inside?

- 12 Skylight:
 - Fixed/Removable?

- 13 Garden Shed/Garage:
 - Lockable?
 - Windows?

- 14 Alarm Systems:
 - Existing?
 - Brand?
 - Monitored/Local?
 - Date last serviced by installer?

- 15 Internal lighting:
 - Automatic lighting timer installed?
 - Globe wattage (brightness)?

- 16 External Lighting:
 - Movement activated?
 - Outside switch
 - Are darkened areas lit?
 - Front porch light wattage?

- 17 Telephone:
 - Extension by bed?
 - Emergency numbers handy?
 - Readable?

National Overview on Crime Prevention

- 18 Keys:
 Identification on keys?
 Hidden outside?
 Key with neighbour/service agencies?

- 19 Etsa Meterboard:
 Inside/Outside Board?
 If outside, key operated lock?

List improvements recommended
in order of priority:

Name of Inspecting Officer: _____

Agency Address: _____

Date of Inspection: _____

Further Comments:

A Youth Crime Prevention Program: Blue Light Youth Camps

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Blue Light Camp Beginnings

During late 1989 and early 1990, juvenile crime in Adelaide was in the forefront of public interest. The media featured a glut of information which confidently suggested that Adelaide was faced with an unprecedented wave of juvenile crime. Such pronouncements contributed little to the community understanding of juvenile crime, created further confusion in the community, raised fears, and unfortunately provided leverage to meaningless generalised condemnation of youth. As occurs with all waves, it eventually subsided and now perhaps laps at the shores of indifference in the minds of the wider community until again generated by another public pronouncement about the level and seriousness of juvenile crime. It was in this climate that the Blue Light Youth Camp program was established by the South Australian Police Department in cooperation with the Adelaide inner-city youth services sector. The camps were funded by the Crime Prevention Policy Unit, Attorney-General's Department.

The development of the Blue Light Youth Camp program was an initiative motivated by the need to identify and experiment with youth crime prevention programs that would be intelligible to the young person, that is, programs which would make sense within young people's experience and perceptions. Furthermore, the program was to be cost-effective and therefore needed to utilise existing community and inter-agency resources, expertise and skills. Consequently, a model of inter-agency intersectoral cooperation in the provision of crime prevention services, and programs for and with young people, was required.

It was considered important that young people were encouraged to participate in the program planning and implementation process as it was assumed that young participants experiencing this process would be more committed to the program, less resistant to change, and have increased opportunities for learning, sharing and positively influencing their peers. It was also considered that young people have both the potential and desire to make productive contributions to a community which is prepared to accept them as valued participating members. Such assumptions are now well-proven as the momentum for the program is currently generated by young people who have previously contributed to the program.

Why A Camp Program?

The Blue Light Youth Camp program was inspired by the concerns of both the inner-city youth services sector and the Police Department-but particularly street workers and beat patrol officers, who intervened with an increasing number of young people frequenting the inner-city streets. It was observed that many young people viewed the excitement and variety of the street as an accessible avenue for having fun. Consequently, some young people were at risk of the hazards associated with the street environment- alcohol, drugs, street crime, sexual exploitation, prostitution and physical danger.

The responses by many young street users to the interventions by police officers and youth workers was determined by their predisposition to view authority in a hostile light, by the central importance of antisocial behaviours to their self-image, and by the adequacy of control exerted to impede these behaviours. Unfortunately, as limits were tested, attitudes were reinforced, resistances built, and mutual understanding and working together became more difficult. This contributed to frustration, suspicion and occasional hostility, and barriers were created between youth workers, police officers and young street users.

These barriers were eroded following an agreement between local police and youth workers. Both parties agreed that improved professional relationships could be achieved if there was a more informed understanding of the occupational roles of the respective service sectors, and that increased cooperation would result in an optimum service, particularly to young people with a high street presence. Furthermore, the aforementioned adverse media attention concerning the perceived high incidence of juvenile crime in the inner-city environs served to forge stronger links between the youth street work agencies and the police beat patrols.

In their joint quest for greater understanding about each other's roles and work, a climate in which the concept of cooperation and coordination could grow was created. This concept was nurtured and developed when representatives of young street users agreed to work in partnership with police and youth workers to explore strategies which could possibly reduce juvenile crime in the city. The suggestion was made that the three parties involved collectively explore ideas, issues and possible crime prevention strategies in a camp setting. The Blue Light Youth Camp program was subsequently established and, following a successful trial period, it appears

that the Blue Light Youth Camp program will be implemented on a statewide basis as funding is made available.

What Is A Blue Light Youth Camp?

Since October 1989, nineteen Blue Light Youth Camps have been conducted with participation from approximately 250 young people. The camps have attracted young people from varying cultural backgrounds and both male and females have participated. Efforts are made to target high profile inner-city street users who are considered to be at risk of either offending or serious antisocial behaviour by their peers and service providers.

Duration of Blue Light Youth Camps

Predominantly, the Blue Light Youth Camps are two-day, weekend experiences, however, the camps have been modified on occasions at the direction of the local Blue Light Youth Camp Consultative Committee. For example, there has been a longer-term (four-day) wilderness camp (canoeing trek) with Aboriginal male adolescents, police officers (STAR Force) and youth workers, and a four-day residential leadership training camp.

Objectives

The objectives of the Blue Light Youth Camp program are broad and include:

- increasing the self-awareness of the all participants (young people, police officers and youth workers);
- encouraging and assisting in the development of participants' social skills and personal competence;
- enhancing participants' sense of social responsibility, and their willingness and capacity to help others; and
- providing opportunities for participants to contribute to the development of a caring community.

It is anticipated that the camping experience leads to mutual support between young people and service providers which is maintained outside the camp environment. Expectations are set whereby the young camp participants, on their return to the wider community, engage in a creative and responsible contribution to others-this in itself is considered an essential core element of any youth crime prevention program.

Aims

The aims of the Blue Light Youth Camps are to:

- establish positive relationships between young people, police officers (preferably known to the young camp participant by local policing contact) and youth service providers;
- provide information and/or educational opportunities designed to assist young people in minimising their contact with the juvenile justice system;
- assess young people for potential role model abilities and leadership skills;
- develop a camp 'code of conduct' which demonstrates minimum standards of acceptable behaviour to young street users and which can also be modelled and reinforced by all camp participants in their street contacts with each other and other inner-city street use;
- acknowledge that camp participants have knowledge and expertise, particularly concerning street behaviour of young city users and, therefore, the setting of expectations that such knowledge/expertise can be capitalised for the benefit of future crime prevention programs.

Conclusion

It is difficult to draw firm conclusions of the effectiveness of the Blue Light Youth Camp program as a systematic follow-up study has not yet occurred. However, it is our impression that camp-oriented crime prevention programs involving young people, their local police officers and youth workers serve a useful crime prevention and interpersonal relationship development function for the kind of population described. It has been observed that, although at times there is mutual distrust and lack of understanding of how to work together effectively, this is outweighed by the learning, growing and developing through real involvement between service provider and young person in the camp experience.

To develop a youth community-based crime prevention program, effective relationships between youth community members and providers is essential. Moreover, emphasising the positive potential for growth, learning and development and taking a stronger crime prevention educational approach with the young camp participant will help to create a climate of expectation of success.

Adelaide Central Business District Crime Prevention Plan

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In November 1989, an ABC radio morning program conducted a campaign to highlight what it considered to be a major outbreak of street crime in the Rundle Mall area of the Adelaide's central business district. Several assaults had been reported to police involving 'gangs of marauding youths and individual young people'. Some of the young people attacked were private school children who were either passing through the Rundle Mall area or meeting with friends. The family of one youth who was attacked was known to the producer of the ABC radio program and therefore became the focus of a law and order campaign.

A wide spectrum of concerned individuals were interviewed both on radio and by the printed media, including high ranking police officers, Adelaide City Council representatives, youth workers, Victims of Crime Service representatives, traders within the Rundle Mall area and concerned residents of the inner city. Retrospective reports of criminal activity in the inner-city area were also made, often giving impression that such activity was rising at a phenomenal rate. Double counting of assaults in press reports was not uncommon.

The youths identified as the source of the trouble included some of Southern European origin who were said to be engaged in a process called 'steaming'. It was said that large groups of youths were moving quickly from one end of the Mall area to the other and committing various kinds of offences including shop stealing, assault and indecent interference along the way. Aboriginal youths from the city's northern suburbs were also given responsibility for some of the assaults, and a wide variety of opinion was expressed about how such behaviour should be curbed. This opinion primarily focused on increasing police presence in the area and toughening

up the juvenile justice system in order that significant penalties might be imposed.

Within two weeks of the initial reports, sufficient people had been interviewed to form the basis of an action group which was called together by the South Australian Police Department. The first meeting of this group-which by then consisted of police, youth workers, city traders, representatives of the Adelaide City Council, representatives of ethnic groups, Aboriginal representatives and city residents-decided that the formation of an action group was justified and desirable. The action group met with the initial intention of setting goals directed at reducing crime in the inner-city area.

In line with the state government's 'Together Against Crime' strategy the Inner City Cooperative Action Group (as the action group later became known) (ICCAG), was based on the presumption that an increased police presence and more draconian penalties-such as changes to loitering laws-would probably only go a small way towards solving the problem that existed in the Adelaide inner-city area. Youth workers, for example, were arguing that the problem in the inner-city area was one that involved far more than simply young offenders. The small representation of traders on the committee took the line that they deserved more protection, and the local government officials present took a cautious but open approach. The Police Department-with a view to its developing policy on community policing-was basically seeking the assistance of all interested parties to come to some conclusions about the way the inner-city problem ought to be solved.

The initial constitution of the organisation had an extraordinarily large duty statement contained in its terms of reference. This included:

- bringing together the appropriate agencies and groups concerned with the minimisation of confrontational incidents between members of the public in Rundle Mall and Hindley Street areas in Adelaide; and
- to develop cooperative strategies between inner-city agencies traders and the public, which will lead to a more effective crime prevention program.

Another general objective was:

- to reduce crime in the Adelaide Central Business District; which led to the next objective
- to reduce the fear of crime thereby encouraging greater patronage of businesses and services in the zones concerned.

This objective holds the clue to the tremendous level of anxiety and energy that was available to undertake the task of new crime prevention strategies.

The final objective was:

- to encourage cooperative action between businesses, police and human service providers through information exchange and an understanding of respective roles and potential joint projects.

This final objective was prophetic, to say the least, and has become the foundation of any achievements made by the ICCAG.

Months of discussion between ICCAG members, both in a full meeting and in small group situations, resulted in developing an awareness that little could be done without resources. Such resources were hard to detect until it was suggested that contact be made with the Attorney-General's Crime Prevention Policy Unit.

Because the ICCAG was large in its plenary form, it was decided that smaller working groups should be established to consider problems and report back. These three groups included:

- a Youth Coordinating Committee;
- a City Watch Group which was charged with the responsibility for promoting a program similar to Neighbourhood Watch amongst City Traders; and
- an Urban Environment and Crime Prevention Group which considered seeking funding for an environmental study of the inner-city area from a crime prevention point of view.

Youth Coordinating Committee

The Youth Coordinating Committee, as it became known, set out to improve relationships within existing youth service agencies in the area, the Police Department, and the Adelaide City Council. A program of Blue Light Youth Camps was commenced which involved youth service agencies and the Police Department. These camps offered weekend activities at conference centres for young people who frequented the inner city area and who were perceived as potential leaders of other young people.

Such activities led to the eventual appointment of a Youth Coordinator and Crime Prevention Officer for the inner-city area and this is expected to make a significant difference to the levels of cooperation and communication between the many existing youth agencies.

City Watch Group

The City Watch Group was charged with the task of establishing a program to encourage traders to become more cooperative in their efforts against crime. Overseas experience, particularly in The Netherlands and France, indicated such an approach could have widespread effects on feelings of security and actual initiatives undertaken to prevent criminal activity.

The City Watch group reasoned that, if a trader merely took responsibility for the area immediately in front of his or her shop, then little could be done to develop a coordinated approach to crime prevention in an area like Rundle Mall. Traders were therefore encouraged to communicate with each other

about their problems and to cooperate in the detection and prevention of criminal activity- this is similar to the Neighbourhood Watch scheme.

The initial meeting to establish a City Watch program was very poorly attended by inner-city traders. A subsequent meeting held approximately one month later was better publicised and held in a more accessible location. It resulted in a successful launch of the scheme. A second City Watch program began in mid-1991 in the inner-city area.

Urban Environment and Crime Prevention Group

The Urban Environment and Crime Prevention Group concentrated on the process of financing a specialist crime prevention and the urban environment study of the inner city. This was achieved with significant assistance of the Crime Prevention and Criminology Unit, Attorney-General's Department. Wendy Bell and Associates successfully tendered for the study.

A combination of crime mapping and a thorough review of items such as lighting, vegetation and building design have made the study unique in South Australian experience. Its many recommendations will provide the ICCAG with opportunities for innovation for many months to come.

These three working groups met frequently, and made successful funding proposals to the Attorney-General's Crime Prevention Policy Unit.

Summary

During the eighteen months in which the ICCAG has functioned, many lessons have been learned about community crime prevention initiatives. These are listed and described in no particular order of importance.

- The task confronting such a community group needs to be defined by the group itself and not by outside interests. Such a group has the advantage from the beginning of political independence and should also be independent of pressure applied by other groups such as local government, private enterprise and the media. There is no doubt that the initial pressure which resulted in the formation of the ICCAG was a result of the widespread publicity initially given to specific acts of violence in the Rundle Mall area. The ongoing decisions that ICCAG subsequently made were independent and hopefully with the interests of the inner-city community in mind.
- It is important that individuals involved in crime prevention programs listen to each other carefully. The initial meetings of ICCAG were fraught with hidden agendas, different perspectives and a wide range of hoped-for outcomes. Traders, youth workers, police, local government, the public service and residents comprised a group that had almost as many agendas as individual members. It took a great deal of patience on everyone's part to reach the point where useful dialogue and planning occurred.

- It is important to set an agenda that is clear, comprehensive, focussed and understood in order that it might be kept. The temptation to lose sight of goals and become fragmented was never far from ICCAG's activities.
- Sources of finance are crucial to undertakings such as this. It was not until ICCAG was able to locate resources under the state government's 'Together Against Crime' strategy that achievements began to be measurable. Such achievements in turn contribute to the morale of the committee and to its energy.
- The media, although probably responsible for ICCAG's birth, was always a source of some anxiety. It was decided that, in order to avoid sensationalism and distortion, group members' contact with the media should be controlled and coordinated.
- The goals set by ICCAG were always achievable and have remained so. Relatively simple processes are undertaken which lead to clearly defined outcomes. Trying to change the world too quickly would probably result in low morale and a lack of energy within the group.
- It has been important for the group to take setbacks in its stride. The failure of the City Watch program to capture the imagination of traders within the Rundle Mall area was a major setback which resulted in the need to regroup and change plans.
- The division of tasks is crucial to this process. The establishment of the Youth Coordinating Committee, City Watch and Urban Environment and Crime Prevention working groups within ICCAG have probably significantly contributed to the clarity with which tasks have been approached. Large meetings can lead to long and rambling discussions and result in little action.
- Tasks must be completed once undertaken. Outcomes need to be measured, assessed and expected.
- Finally, groups such as ICCAG should be encouraged to research and read about similar projects. The author's study trip to Europe in 1990, as well as access to materials to other parts of the world, have resulted in useful input to the committee and has assisted ICCAG to think both laterally and innovatively towards achieving its goal.

The Adelaide Inner City Cooperative Action Group (ICCAG) has achieved some of its original objectives, but still has a significant task in terms of coordination and the implementation of the specialist urban environment study by Wendy Bell and Associates. It is hoped that the energy and commitment evident so far will continue as the group seeks to work 'Together Against Crime'.

Urban Design

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This paper provides an outline of the background to, and results of, a study prepared for the Crime Prevention and Criminology Unit of the South Australian Attorney General's Department to investigate the role of urban design and crime prevention in the Adelaide inner-city. The study was an initiative of the Inner City Cooperative Action Group (ICCAG). ICCAG is a committee representative of traders, police, youth workers, victims of crime, residents and other members of the public and was formed in late 1989 in response to concerns about public safety in the centre of Adelaide.

The focus of the study has been the impact of specific design issues on crime and perceptions of crime in the study area with an emphasis on formulating achievable amelioration measures for the existing circumstances. The study provides guidelines to ensure that future building and streetscape designs address preventative strategies for reducing the incidence of crime and community fears about the safety of public areas.

Objectives

The study objectives included the following:

- identify the elements of urban design which impact upon crime and community perception of crime in inner city areas;
- evaluate urban design characteristics of Hindley Street, Rundle Mall and Rundle Street which contribute to the incidence of crime and fear of crime;
- develop amelioration measures which can be quickly and cheaply implemented to address current problem areas;
- formulate design guidelines for future building and streetscape development which focus on reducing the incidence of crime and improving community perception of safety; and

- liaise with ICCAG, the Crime Prevention Policy Unit, Adelaide City Council, the police and other agencies to explore the existing situation and develop workable design solutions.

Methodology

The methodology for the study combined qualitative and quantitative research with site assessments and included the following:

- a review of relevant literature;
- collection and collation of crime data for the study area;
- assessment of perceptions of crime within the study area and identification of problem areas; and
- formulation of urban design guidelines and other cooperative approaches to increased safety.

Analysis

An analysis of the crime data indicated that the areas which experienced the highest incidence of crime were Hindley Street (an area likened to Kings Cross in Sydney), the Railway Station and a poorly lit area along the River Torrens. It is therefore clear that different types of inner-city environments encourage different types of antisocial and criminal behaviour.

The relationship between the urban environment and human behaviour is complex, dynamic and constantly changing. While it is false to assume that a certain environment will cause certain behaviours, the environment nevertheless has the capacity to foster or facilitate certain types of behaviour and hinder or impede others. In environmental crime prevention it is important to understand the relationship between design and management in reducing crime and antisocial behaviour. Urban design alone cannot be the total answer.

The key problem areas defined within the central part of Adelaide ranged from those which created magnets of human activity to those areas with inadequate lighting and pathways that do not pass through well-lit focal points of legitimate activity. As a general comment, in both types of cases both design and management interventions are advisable with the appropriate emphasis depending on the particular characteristics of individual problem areas.

Qualitative research in the form of individual consultations and workshops found that there was a considerable overlap between those areas perceived as being unsafe and those where crimes actually occurred. Problem areas were defined from the data analysis and the consultations, and each was surveyed to cover aspects of use and activity, lighting, street furniture, vegetation, urban form and social aspects. An analysis was also undertaken of the degree to which the current Adelaide City Council planning policies cover relevant aspects of urban design and crime prevention. It was concluded that

few of the policies and guidelines address the issues of safety which emerged during the study.

The study included draft guidelines to provide the conceptual framework for the development of a manual of planning, design and management for the inner city. The key urban design guidelines were grouped under the following headings:

- legibility;
- surveillance;
- ambiguous or non-assigned spaces;
- territorial zones;
- vandalism;
- avoiding vulnerable materials;
- use of attractive materials;
- landscaping;
- safe paths, footpaths, security and lighting;
- direct access;
- lighting for safety; and
- site maps and signs.

The study concluded that, in certain parts of the inner-city area of Adelaide crime is certainly a problem and, in order to reduce it, a concerted, collaborative effort will be required by all key players. If recent success in The Netherlands is an example of successful inner-city crime prevention, the key is not to concentrate exclusively on urban design but to use supporting social approaches to achieve amelioration measures in the physical environment.

Recommendations

Of the recommendations in the study the following were given high priority:

- A strengthened role for the ICCAG in which there is a need to develop and strengthen a sense of collective responsibility among all players including the employment of a Project Officer and the securing of a central location in the City of Adelaide offices to ensure full participation of the Council in ICCAG's work.
- Full participation by the City of Adelaide Council by ensuring that one key person in the Council is responsible on a regular basis for

work in crime prevention and that the Council's urban design guidelines be expanded to address issues of safety.

- Data collection and dissemination is essential to facilitate a balanced approach to crime prevention. A full assessment of available statistics and their suitability for decision making for crime prevention needs is required.

Noarlunga Together Against Crime

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Background and Philosophy

Noarlunga Together Against Crime was formed in response to the state government's Together Against Crime program. When the Minister for Crime Prevention, The Honourable Chris Sumner, released details of the program in August 1989, a number of people in the south of the state expressed interest. Significant negotiations then followed between interested parties and the Crime Prevention and Criminology Unit of the South Australian Attorney-General's Department. Out of those negotiations a ten person steering committee was formed to investigate what might be done about crime prevention in the Noarlunga region.

One concept which caught the committee's interest was a French crime prevention model (known as the Bonnemaïson model) which advocated that the police and the criminal justice system are not the only parties that have responsibilities in crime prevention and that local communities also have responsibility and input. The committee was attracted to this idea, not only because the French model has had significant success, but also because it matched our own thinking. For this reason the committee decided not to explore ideas internally but to create a model that would reach out into the community, gathering ideas from as many people as possible.

Methodology

It was decided that there would be a three-month pilot project which had a dual emphasis. The first step was to employ a research officer to survey which crimes were occurring, and to what degree. The second step was the employment of a project officer to set up a consultative workshop process between agencies, organisations, and resident groups in the area. This process endeavoured to identify the crime issues that people were most concerned about and develop crime prevention strategies to address those issues.

In the first nine weeks of the project, over eighty visits to people and organisations who either worked with, or had insights into, the effects of crime were conducted. The concept of the Noarlunga strategy was explained and a questionnaire was distributed. The questionnaire asked four basic questions:

1. What do you consider to be the most important crime issues to be addressed?
2. Why are these issues a priority to you?
3. What ideas do you have about how these crimes could be prevented?
4. Do you have any further comments or insights?

The information gained from these questionnaires was used in the process of two workshops which were conducted on 19 November 1990, and the following priorities were identified.

Priorities

The responses fell into four main groups and the community tended to be concerned about similar issues. There was a strong leaning towards the top three issues in each category. In order of perceived priority, the identified concerns of each group are listed as follows:

- Crimes against the person:
 - family violence (domestic violence, child abuse, other family violence);
 - assault;
 - sexual assault (rape, indecent assault, and so on);
 - personal safety (safety in public places, harassment); and
 - others.
- Crimes against property:
 - vandalism;
 - break and enter;

- graffiti;
- larceny;
- illegal use-motor vehicles; and
- others.
- Drugs and crime:
 - drug/alcohol abuse;
 - sale and distribution; and
 - drug/alcohol motivated crime.
- Broader issues:
 - juvenile crime;
 - juvenile behaviour;
 - lack of police power;
 - recidivism;
 - unemployment;
 - juvenile justice system; and
 - others.

Suggested Strategies

Appendix I sets out some of the suggested strategies that evolved from the process. It should be pointed out that these are only suggestions and involve agencies, organisations and individuals who have yet to be consulted with and whose cooperation is encouraged. Some broader issues also require further exploration and discussion with relevant agencies—for example, educating young children in social responsibility/increasing their awareness of community resources.

Ongoing Structure

To facilitate the operation of any strategies, to receive ongoing input from the local community, and to develop strategies from information gained, it was proposed that:

- the steering committee evolve into Noarlunga's Together Against Crime committee, and that the committee meet on a monthly basis; and
- sub-committees be formed to address the strategies outlined in this report and other specific issues, for example, family violence, juvenile crime and behaviour, and Noarlunga Centre.

Appendix I Suggested Strategies

Area	Objective	Action	Resource Required	Possible Implementation Agency
1. Graffiti/Vandalism	To prevent and reduce graffiti in key public places and private property	Formation of graffiti clean-up groups, to include graffiti offenders who will clean up and re-decorate in mural form Explore possibility of using contracts for these offenders. Perhaps bond conditions or children's aid panel undertakings.	Street Worker Commercial Artist(contract basis)	Southside Youth Community Centre
2.	Link vandals with their vandalism.		Cooperation of Police, FACS	Police, FACS Southside Youth Community Centre
3.	To reduce shop stealing of spray cans, felt tips, and so on.	Assist and promote the setting up of 'dummy' displays in shops for spray cans, and similar items, to reduce shoplifting of these items. To be coordinated by street worker as per Strategy 1.	Street Worker Display resources	Southside Youth Community Centre
4. Personal Safety	Enhance and expand Neighbourhood Watch to address crimes against the person. To decrease isolation. To increase resource information. Decrease vandalism harassment in aged care villages.	To provide a neighbourhood care worker to work within the infrastructure of Neighbourhood Watch.	Neighbourhood Care Worker	Community Development Neighbourhood Watch
5.		To investigate if harassment problems are related to the layout of thoroughfares and to develop practical solutions.	Assistance for short term investigation of situation and propose practical situations	Crime Prevention and Criminology Unit

Appendix I cont'd

Appendix I cont'd Area	Objective	Action	Resource Required	Possible Implenientation Agency
6.	Increase public safety in Colonnades Centre.	Form a task force involving Council, traders, and Police in developing coordinated plan for the Colonnades Centre.	Council, traders, possible youth worker	To be identified
7. Family Violence	Victim support as part of Police process. To discourage domestic violence by increasing the efficiency of the charging process	Investigate northem suburb's model. Develop appropriate local model.	Project Worker Police support	Link Worker in Police Station
8.	Raise awareness of the seriousness of domestic violence in our community	Education Campaign.	Educator	Inter-agency cooperation
9.	Local response team.	Link relevant agencies.	Project Worker	To be identified
10. juvenile Crime and Behaviour	To provide positive, alternative activities.	Developn-ment and co-ordination of existing services. Blue Light Camps.	Additional Financial Resources	To be identified
11.	To develop local activity centres for young people.	Seek youth input - assist in identifying possible locations.	Support from conununity and private enterprise	To be identified
12.	To bridge gap between Police and young offenders	Explore 'police mentor' concept in conjunction with IPSS program	Input from Police, FACS	To be identified

Crime Prevention and Local Government in New South Wales

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This paper provides a descriptive overview of a pilot project on local crime prevention undertaken by two local councils in metropolitan Sydney. The two councils involved were Waverley Municipal Council and Fairfield City Council. In Waverley, the project was known as the Community Crime Prevention Project and in Fairfield, it was known as the Safer Neighbourhood Project. The project was jointly funded by the Commonwealth Office of Local Government, the New South Wales Law Foundation, the Criminology Research Council and the local councils. A full-time project worker was employed in each council area for a period of one year-the duration of the pilot project-and salaries constituted the largest item in the budget for the project. Reports dealing in detail with the project are available from each of the local councils. This paper concentrates on two areas-firstly, the major activities, or sub-projects, undertaken in each council area and, secondly, the major issues and problems raised by the project. There can be no blueprints for local government involvement in crime prevention but, as a pilot project of a quite novel kind in Australia, many of the most useful results or findings related to the process or methodology entailed in such projects: to obstacles, pitfalls and problems rather than effective measures that might be implemented elsewhere. Many of the lessons are negative as well as positive in their implications.

The author of this paper was one of the consultants to the project-the other was Michael Hogan from the Public Interest Advocacy Centre. Our involvement dated from the germination and funding of the project. However, the project in each council area was carried out by a full-time worker employed specifically for the task. The consultants provided periodic advice and various kinds of support. The following is drawn to a

considerable extent from the final reports of the project for each area, largely prepared by the full-time project workers.

Philosophy Underlying the Project

Crime is a local issue in vital respects. Even under urban conditions, much crime is intra-community and intra-group in nature. Many of crime's most visible, detrimental effects-both direct and indirect-are experienced at a local community level: in the deterioration of local environments and public amenities (parks, railway stations, public telephones, and so on); in the desertion of public space engendered by widespread fear of crime; and in the felt need of residents in some communities to turn their homes into fortresses. Crime is a crucial symbol of the urban malaise-of a sense of powerlessness, isolation and anomie in the face of perceived alien, anonymous and unpredictable forces which are nevertheless close at hand. This may help to explain the level of popular anxiety crime generates, often seemingly beyond the scale of the threat it actually holds for particular communities and social groups.

At the same time, official responsibility for responding to the crime problem is vested in central institutions of government-primarily state governments in Australia. Popular influence and control over crime control efforts therefore tend to be indirect and limited by the increasingly remote and bureaucratic nature of modern democratic government. The very thing that crime symbolises-a widespread sense of powerlessness-tends to be compounded in crucial respects by the arrangements for responding to it.

The problem of how to respond to crime in the light of these factors throws us into the perennial dilemma of modern democratic government. This is the inverse relationship that frequently exists between participation and effectiveness. Political units small enough to allow and encourage direct participation by their members tend not to be large enough to allow effective authority to be exercised over many of those problems which necessitate action on a collective or government level (Dahl 1990). The slogan of some in the green movement-think globally, act locally-perhaps downplays the extent to which it is necessary (if hardly easy) to both think and act globally as well as locally if environmental problems are to be effectively addressed. The essentially utopian couplet of direct, local participation over decision-making and effective action applies to many other issues, including crime.

It is clear that many dimensions of crime problems do require responses at state and national government level, and in some cases at an international level. However, it is also clear that conventional responses to crime (almost entirely organised around the criminal justice system) have not been very effective at reducing crime or allaying popular fears and concerns. It is arguable that the constant public demand for effective action to deal with crime, coupled with the equally constant failure of traditional law enforcement responses to reduce the incidence of crime, has fuelled popular fear and disenchantment with the authority of government on this issue. One potential consequence of this widespread popular feeling may be a form of authoritarian populism. In what they see as the absence of effective social authority, people look for a surrogate in the form of the strong hand of government and powerful symbols of authority. The recurrent debates over

capital punishment could be regarded as a reflection of this symbolic affirmation of strong authority in the face of a widespread sense of moral and social decline.

This raises the question of whether it is possible to restore any sense of local control and authority over local crime problems. Is this an entirely utopian prospect? For those concerned with the benefits of democracy and participation, Robert Dahl has suggested a useful guideline: confronted with a given issue, let it be dealt with by the smallest political unit consistent with effective action. From this vantage point it is almost certainly the case that there is an unrealised potential for effective local action to deal with many dimensions of crime problems. The logical starting point for exploring this potential is local government but, as with other issues, a longer-term and more radical perspective might see greater attention being given to the creation of and support for new political units below the level of local government.

This has clearly been realised in recent times in the spread of Neighbourhood Watch and other community policing initiatives, in the promotion of community justice centres and community aid panels, and in the growth and promotion of private security. However, as many of these developments suggest, we should avoid becoming starry-eyed about the concept of 'community'. It has a long historical association within the field of social problems (Dennis 1968). Its renaissance in recent years frequently serves to conceal rather than resolve many of the dilemmas of social policy (see Bryson & Mowbray 1981).

The major risk in the emerging trend toward community-based services and measures in relation to crime and other social policy arenas is that we might witness a form of devolution of responsibility without a corresponding devolution of resources and power. Crime prevention could thereby provide an apparently benign cover under which government sheds many of its traditional responsibilities, not just for social welfare provision, but also in the area of law and order. This could amount to an extension of the logic of privatisation into crime prevention and control, whereby security becomes a commodity to be purchased by those individuals and communities that can afford to do so. There is little doubt that there are elements of this trend to be found in the spread and influence of Neighbourhood Watch schemes.

Another point to make here, partly by way of contrast to the concern expressed immediately above, is that we need to recognise the extent to which the handling of crime remains, under modern conditions, a relatively private and informal matter. This is clear from the extent to which crime goes unreported. However, surveys of unreported crime, which are also becoming increasingly popular in Australia, implicitly treat the failure to report crime as a form of aberrant behaviour. It is assumed that victims (or other witnesses) will normally report crimes and their failure to do so is something that must be explained. An alternative way of analysing unreported crime was suggested by Hood and Sparks over twenty years ago:

perhaps the real value of hidden delinquency and victimisation studies is not to warn us of the evils lurking beneath the surface, or even to help us get into perspective our concern over published statistics of crime, but rather to

provide data to aid our understanding of the way in which deviance is perceived and dealt with in varying social contexts (Hood & Sparks 1970, p. 45).

This perspective suggests that individuals, households, communities and organisations have varying capacities for managing crime problems. 'Managing' may simply mean tolerating them and absorbing their costs in many cases. It obviously can mean a lot of other things as well, including those informal and formal measures of punishment, discipline, treatment, and compensation that are to be found in families, schools, corporations and professional associations. Little is known about these domains of private justice, despite their critical relevance to crime prevention. It is time to recognise that it is such institutions that constitute the 'community' and that may well provide the locus of effective crime prevention initiatives which avoids the problems of privatisation alluded to earlier.

The General Objectives of the Project

The general objectives of the project are more in the nature of long-term objectives that derive from the concerns discussed above (see in particular Fairfield City Council 1991) and are listed as follows:

- to promote a better and more sophisticated public understanding of local crime problems through the dissemination of information about the nature of local crime problems;
- to encourage an appreciation of the role of local communities, and community institutions, not only as the locus of criminal victimisation, but as a reserve of untapped resources for more adequately responding to local crime problems;
- to encourage a recognition of the potential for devolving 'greater resources and authority to local communities . . .' so that they might respond to local crime problems more effectively through preventive measures;
- to explore the role that local government might play in pursuing such objectives as the agent of government in closest proximity to local crime problems, that is as a provider of services, a regulatory agency with regard to many local activities (in particular, planning), a catalyst for local community initiatives and an advocate with regard to other levels of government; and
- to promote an emphasis on crime prevention rather than the traditional preoccupation with reactive law enforcement measures.

Specific Objectives

Given that this was a pilot project, working with limited resources and within a tight time frame, and attempting to traverse wholly novel ground in

the Australian (or at least the New South Wales) context, many of the concerns were exploratory and many of the more specific objectives could not be expected to be achieved in any simple and straightforward sense. The specific objectives were:

- gather more adequate statistical and other empirical data on crime problems and trends in the local government areas of Fairfield and Waverley;
- explore the prospects for a more coordinated and planned approach to local crime prevention to be pursued under the leadership and direction of local government;
- explore the resources within the local communities relevant to responding to local crime problems;
- initiate specific crime prevention strategies and projects on the basis of a knowledge of local crime problems and the local resources for responding to them;
- explore the potential for local community participation in defining and responding to the local crime problems they confront;
- 'increase understanding and use of crime prevention as a relevant assessment criteria in the processes of local government decision-making with regard to the licensing and operation of commercial activities, and within the broader area of physical development and social planning generally' (Fairfield City Council 1991, p. 8); and
- undertake an educative role within council and local communities with respect to local crime problems and the nature and potential of community crime prevention.

The general backdrop to the development of the project was undoubtedly the growing influence of crime prevention ideas in Britain and many European countries. Of particular importance was the growing literature on situational crime prevention and crime prevention through environmental design.

A Summary of the Main Initiatives Taken as Part of the Project

Although there was considerable cooperation and exchange of ideas between the two council areas, the projects in each area pursued quite divergent paths, influenced by their different local settings, problems and opportunities. The result was quite a diverse range of sub-projects.

The two major areas of commonality and cooperation were in relation to the gathering of local crime statistics and the conduct of two seminars on crime prevention, one in each area.

Data on local crime problems

This was intended to be a largely preliminary exercise intended to inform the direction of the project in each area. However, the gathering and preparation of data on crime reported to the police in each Local Government Area (LGA) proved to be a difficult and lengthy process, indicating yet again the generally limited nature of official crime statistics for even the most rudimentary of purposes.

Whilst the statistical data collected was useful for providing an overview of crime trends in each of the LGAs, it was inadequate for any more-focussed analysis of local crime problems necessary for developing crime prevention strategies. In New South Wales, official crime data has traditionally been collected by the police for specific purposes. The data as it is currently collected and compiled does not begin to meet crime prevention needs. Quite apart from the deficiencies in the data collections, there are other political, bureaucratic and logistical obstacles to efficient use of police data.

If crime prevention strategies, whether undertaken at local government level or not, are to be encouraged this will require an appreciation by the agencies currently responsible for collecting statistics of the ways in which these collections might be improved to meet crime prevention needs.

The available statistical data was supplemented by the informal gathering of information from police, youth and community workers, local organisations and council workers about local crime problems. Focussed survey research was also carried out in each LGA.

Council projects

It is difficult to draw a sharp distinction between those projects which involved direct council initiatives and the many other activities undertaken by the full-time workers, such as assisting and resourcing other local, community-based organisations and committees. The major projects were as follows:

Fairfield City Council involvement in the administration of Community Service Orders

This involved the development of a cooperative arrangement between the local Probation and Parole Service and Fairfield City Council's parks engineers involving the latter in the provision of supervised work for a small group of offenders sentenced to community service orders. Although this was not an area of priority in the original design of the project, it proved to be an area where the council's services and organisation could be readily adapted to a concrete need, which brought the council into a cooperative arrangement with another local agency.

The preparation of a Development Control Plan (DCP) for community crime prevention in Waverley

A DCP is a council policy which is used by the council in assessing development applications. It is prepared under the Environmental Planning

and Assessment Regulations 1980 (NSW) and is recognised by the Land and Environment Court. The major components of the DCP are as follows:

- the provision of guidelines for developers for the appropriate design of buildings and their surroundings aimed at minimising crime opportunities;
- the promotion of Council initiatives to address crime prevention in the maintenance of its public buildings, parks and gardens; and
- advice to residents in relation to the maintenance of the physical environment in order to discourage local criminal activity.

This was a major achievement of the project in Waverley, indicating the potential for a lasting shift in the perspective of the council as regards the relevance of crime prevention to its responsibilities in local planning and development processes.

The development in Waverley of a kit to be used for older persons self-protection groups

This was a response to the high level of local concern of the elderly about crime and the consequent interest in self-protection. This is something of a growing industry, one with many dangers and pitfalls. The kit was developed out of an ongoing monitoring by the crime prevention officer of local activities and services affecting the elderly and in conjunction with the elderly services worker in Waverley Municipal Council, a local neighbourhood centre. This also led to a local survey of crime victimisation and fear amongst the elderly.

There were a number of other projects initiated in both areas which did not come to fruition by the time of the completion of the pilot project, for one reason or another. In Waverley, a considerable amount of work was done in laying the foundations for the development of a Server Intervention Program (SIP). SIPs are aimed at promoting more acceptable models of drinking and behaviour on and around licensed premises by encouraging hotel managements to adopt a relevant 'house policy' incorporating a statement of responsible practices and conducting in-service training for staff on how to more effectively intervene to pre-empt antisocial behaviour associated with intoxication. This was a response to a widely expressed concern in the Bondi Beach community with alcohol-related violence and other antisocial behaviour associated with one particular hotel.

In Fairfield the rudiments of a strategy for responding to car theft (a major local problem) were developed, encompassing attention to public awareness and education; guidelines for carpark design and management; advocacy of manufacturing standards relating to tamper-proof locking devices to federal government; coordination and upgrading of local public transport, and stolen vehicle retrieval services. This was put to Fairfield City Council but not subsequently developed.

Resourcing community-based initiatives

As important as those areas in which the councils were led to take some direct initiative were some of the ways in which the project in each area resourced other committees and organisations.

In both areas the project worker became involved with community-based groups providing services in relation to domestic violence. In Fairfield this led, amongst other things, to the development by the project worker-with the assistance of the local Domestic Violence Committee (an inter-agency committee)-of a compact information guide to be used and distributed by police and other local agencies to victims of domestic violence.

In Waverley, the project worker's involvement with other local agencies involved in the provision of family services led to a council grant directed at assisting the development of a local domestic violence support group to enhance local services in this area.

A focus of attention in the Fairfield project was one of the 'high crime' estates in the area. The project worker undertook an enormous amount of community development work with both residents (in the shape of the Tenants' Association) and other community workers associated with this estate. The aim of this activity was to secure much needed services for the estate from other agencies. These included childcare services, upgrading community worker services, parent support services and after-school activities programs. This aspect of the project in Fairfield presented the greatest challenge to a project of this type and highlighted most clearly its limitations.

In addition to these more active support and resourcing activities, the project workers in each area participated in a range of other local committees, such as Police/Community Consultative Committees and (in the case of Waverley) the Waverley Council Precinct Committees. This enabled an awareness of crime prevention issues to be introduced to the work of such committees.

Research

Systematic survey research was undertaken in both LGAs. In Fairfield, a community survey on victimisation, fear and perceptions of the local crime problem was undertaken. This was centred on the 'high crime' estate referred to above and involved structured interviews with 180 residents living on or in the vicinity of the estate. A separate report of the survey was produced.

In Waverley, a survey of elderly residents was undertaken which explored their experience of criminal victimisation and perceptions of, and attitudes (including fear) to, local crime problems. It was sought to consider these in relation to other aspects of the lives of the respondents, including their networks of social and familial support and degree of isolation. The findings are not conclusive on the relationship between fear of crime (and its consequences) and social isolation. Most of the respondents were long-term residents of the area, were strongly integrated into networks of neighbourhood interaction and community activities, and had a positive view of their neighbourhood. Perhaps surprisingly, the respondents did not express high levels of fear about crime or feel that their lives were seriously circumscribed by the threat of victimisation. This is in complete contrast to

the findings of the survey in Fairfield. It is possible to hypothesise that at least part of the explanation for the findings in the Waverley survey is the high level of stability and community integration that characterised the respondents. This is in sharp contrast to the estate surveyed in Fairfield.

Problems and Lessons

This may be the most important body of issues for others interested in the prospects for local government involvement in crime prevention. It is only possible to list some of the major problems here. More attention is given to these matters in the final reports of the projects for each Council (especially the Fairfield report). It should be noted that there are inherent limitations on a pilot project with fairly limited resources and a short time span.

Lack of understanding and sympathy for the approach

This was encountered to varying degrees inside and outside the Councils involved. It raises a 'chicken and egg' problem. The very body of attitudes (the commonsense about crime and law and order) that the pilot project aimed at changing constituted a major obstacle to effectively developing and implementing the practical measures envisaged by the project. It is hardly surprising that people working in town planning, engineers and departments within councils might not see the connections between crime prevention and their work. This problem highlights the importance of political commitment and leadership and adequate advance education of the target groups in such a project.

Bureaucratic structure of local councils

This directly follows on from the first issue. The purpose of such a project is to influence Council in a wide range of areas of responsibility. The vertically integrated, bureaucratic structure of councils may not provide a very sympathetic environment for getting the message across. In both council areas, the project worker was located in Community Services departments. Not surprisingly, it was perceived by other departments as a community services issue rather than an issue touching on the other council departments. Moreover, the resources were not allocated to other departments to permit them to take crime prevention initiatives relevant to their areas of professional expertise. This again emphasises the importance of understanding, commitment and leadership from the top so that communication across bureaucratic structures can be encouraged and facilitated.

If projects such as this are to be undertaken in future it is also important to consider where crime prevention workers should be located within the structure of local councils. This points to another more general issue raised in the final report of the Fairfield project:

A general issue . . . is the link between 'crime prevention' and good 'social planning' or 'community development work' and whether it is desirable or appropriate to consider 'crime prevention' as a special area of activity and

resourcing or whether it should be integrated in all social assessment and planning processes (Fairfield City Council 1991, p. 20).

The objective is indeed to connect crime issues to the range of other social policy arenas which are relevant to crime prevention rather than simply promote a new specialism. Of course, the problem lies in finding the means of making that connection, of ensuring that, for example, crime impacts are routinely appreciated as one of the important social impacts within the planning process.

Funding crime prevention strategies and measures

There are obvious limitations in a twelve-month pilot project with resources limited to essentially funding a full-time project worker. This means that what can be achieved is limited to what the worker her/himself can actually directly do and/or the changes and measures that can be initiated which either require no significant resource commitment or which can be funded from other sources. There is a danger, and one which was apparent in this project, that the project worker may be relegated to the job of making funding applications to state and Commonwealth government bodies to support a variety of council and community-based measures relevant to crime prevention. This problem transcends the particular limitations of a pilot project.

Many of the problems identified by the project related to the areas of responsibility of state and Commonwealth government departments, for example, problems on housing estates. It is a mistake to over-emphasise what local government can do given its limited powers and resource base. Initiatives at local government level must be complemented with initiatives at other levels of government.

There are also the problems of raising expectations which simply cannot be met without state and/or Commonwealth government support. The level at which the problems can be effectively identified and articulated is not the level at which resources are allocated to deal with them.

This indicates the need to be appropriately modest about what can actually be achieved at local government level in the way of new programs and services. This does not mean that a crime prevention perspective cannot be brought to bear on the existing responsibilities of council, as the actual activities and achievements of the pilot project indicate (in areas like planning, for example). In relation to many other local problems, however, councils must become an advocate for the local community in relation to such issues at other levels of government.

Objectives and resources

More careful decisions at the outset about specific objectives which are achievable within the resources and time frame available to the project are important to determining other features of such projects. Apart from those mentioned, such as the location of the worker, this planning is important for making decisions about such matters as the composition of steering committees and other working committees designed to monitor or participate in the project.

Research and action

The mixture of research and practical action is always a problem in such projects. Research is time consuming and costly. People involved on a day-to-day basis with major and urgent social problems are understandably impatient with research. There are also the dangers of labelling and stereotyping particular communities with the sort of research entailed by projects such as this one.

There is no sure way around these tensions. The researchers have to demonstrate that research is not simply a theoretical luxury and that it can do more than confirm what is self-evident to community workers and residents. This is not always the case, of course.

A particular problem arises with a project like this one and that is, what is the right combination of skills needed by the project workers and where can you find them combined in one person? It is fair to say that in Australia at the present time, with few exceptions, they do not exist.

Conclusion

Many more lessons of importance could be drawn from the experience of this pilot project. Interested readers are referred to the reports of the projects available from the councils involved. This paper has indicated that there were a number of (possibly lasting) achievements that came out of the project for the two councils involved. It is fair to say that the project has greatly assisted in putting crime prevention on the political agenda in New South Wales, both at local government level and more widely. It remains to be seen what long-term prospects there are for a law and order politics that gives greater weight to crime prevention.

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New South Wales Police Service Crime Prevention Program on Anti-Gay/Lesbian Violence

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For sixteen months the New South Wales Police Service has been involved in developing a multi-focussed program aimed at lessening and preventing the increasing number of prejudice motivated crimes committed against gay and lesbian members of the community. The program is based on looking at the problem of anti-gay/lesbian violence in its widest possible context and approaching it from as many angles as possible. Prevention of anti-gay/lesbian crimes (as with any crime prevention program) requires strategies for the commitment and involvement of:

- politicians-as voices of authority in the community who can condemn the violence against people purely because of their sexuality;
- senior police-as the voices of law and order who, in condemning the violence, can influence community perceptions and willingness to give information to police;
- operational police-as those directly involved where the crimes happen who can develop policing strategies and work closely at fostering cooperation in communities;
- the media-who can heighten awareness and educate the community in the abhorrence of these targeted crimes of violence;

- the community-who must take responsibility and say no to violence and crime (rather than showing an ambiguous attitude and justifying violence in some circumstances) and take ownership of its problems rather than being disassociated from them;
- gay/lesbian community leaders-who can shape attitudes and foster greater liaison with police and the reporting of crimes to police;
- gay/lesbian business owners-whose restaurants, hotels and shops are constants in areas of passing populations and can play a unique role in policing and community initiatives;
- residents-who are important gatherers and observers of useful information for police intelligence;
- the education system-where young people's values are shaped, whether directly or indirectly, and who must be given accurate information about sexuality so that their bizarre beliefs about homosexuality do not foster increasing amounts of targeted violence; and
- local government-who may have access to necessary local facilities/resources to aid the community or police in their programs.

Background

Prejudice is an entrenched reality in society with prejudice on the grounds of someone's homosexuality ranging from mild misunderstanding to wild homophobia that has often resulted in the bashing and murder of innocent people. For centuries fanciful myths and beliefs have abounded regarding homosexuality and homosexual lifestyles, and many who have absorbed these myths have then justified their vicious attacks, thinking their victims to be somehow different and sub-human, and thinking of themselves as 'moral ambassadors'.

Up until 1984 in New South Wales, and even more recently in some other Australian states, homosexuality was a criminal offence with the result that police viewed homosexual men, and by association women, as being criminals and deviants. This meant that these people were perceived as 'criminals' and were easy prey for bashings and assaults with little likelihood that attacks would be reported to police-who were viewed as the enemy, likely to lock up the victim and not the assailant.

The Current Situation in Police-Gay/Lesbian Liaison

For six years the New South Wales Police Service has been actively involved in building links and bridging gaps with gays and lesbians via a formal Police-Gay/Lesbian Liaison Program which has the support of the Commissioner and senior police, and lists many achievements.

Only as gays and lesbians have begun to trust the new era of police cooperation and commitment to professionalism has the extent of anti-gay/lesbian violence come slowly to light. This has been further evidenced via a community study of the violence and has now resulted in a concerted crime prevention program within the New South Wales Police Service which encompasses a wide range of strategies in the Service.

The Program

The Anti-Gay/Lesbian Violence Crime Prevention Package has been developed in consultation with Police and Gay/Lesbian Groups and is based on some basic premises from which strategies are developed:

The need to remind the whole community of the unacceptability of this violence

- Issue of media releases under the names of senior police officers condemning the violence and making a public police commitment to tackling it as a serious problem.
- Media launch of the Gay/Lesbian Rights Lobby's Report 'The Streetwatch Report, A Study of Violence Against Gay Men and Lesbians' by the Police Minister attracting extensive media coverage.

The need to set up systems which show police commitment and identify police officers as contacts (overcoming years of wariness by putting police forward and improving access):

- Establish Police Gay/Lesbian Liaison Officers as Key Patrols in consultation with community representatives and advertise their names and phone numbers in gay/lesbian media.
- The need to interrupt the sense of powerlessness and resignation in the targeted community and raise the level of expectation for things to be better:
- Advertising/Marketing Campaign in gay/lesbian newspapers and magazines focussing on stopping the violence and reporting bashings or attempted bashings to police.
- Extensive media campaign in print, radio and television with regular stories of police operations, arrests and the nature of the problem.
- Police Poster Campaign within gay/lesbian community:
 - * shops in relevant areas
 - * hand bills in gay newspapers
 - * colour advertisements in magazines.

- General Community Awareness Campaign via state wide poster distribution with covering letter by the Police Commissioner.
- Uniformed police involvement in gay/lesbian community forums on violence and homophobia.

The need to encourage reporting to police to enable appropriate allocation of resources in problem areas:

- Marketing, media and advertising campaign as above.

The need for police to work with the community to solve the problems; joint ownership of a mutual problem (break down the 'I can't do anything' into 'what can I do'); and development of joint strategies:

- Surry Hills Police and Community Street Violence Committee involving police gay/lesbian businesses and venues, residents, community leaders, bordering police patrols.
- Gay community street patrols working closely with police.

The need to develop and trial policing methods tailored to the problem:

- Beat police and foot patrols-geographic ownership of particular areas within patrols, recognising problems and initiating strategies to overcome them at local level.
- Mobile Police Van launched by Police Commissioner to provide extra services for worst trouble spots at peak problem times.
- Operation Taskforce Assault with twenty-two undercover police for eight weeks as an intensive operation to arrest bashers and compile intelligence.
- Homicide Police coordination of hate-related gay murders with proper analysis of patterns and trends.

The need to shock people out of silence by abruptly heightening the greater community awareness of the vicious extent of the problem and to enlist their support in coming forward:

- Homicide media strategy reminding people that the issues of life and death overpower those of prejudice.

The need to ensure prevention strategies are also being implemented in educational institutions with young people:

- Police Minister's announcement of an Inter-Departmental Advisory Committee to advise on Gay Community recommendations to combat gay/lesbian violence-Streetwatch Implementation Advisory Committee.
- Running of an intensive Crime Prevention Workshop on Violence Against Gays and Lesbians in a school-police, youth workers, education personnel.
- Ongoing discussions with Department of Education management and assistance to schools, training courses and so on.
- Liaison with youth workers.