’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 USA\(^1\), the crack-house V100 battering ram\(^2\), and disciple of the tough, autonomous ‘LAPD mentality’\(^3\), 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' program\(^4\) (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.

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 Bonnemaison 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 Bonnemaison 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 Bonnemaison 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.
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).